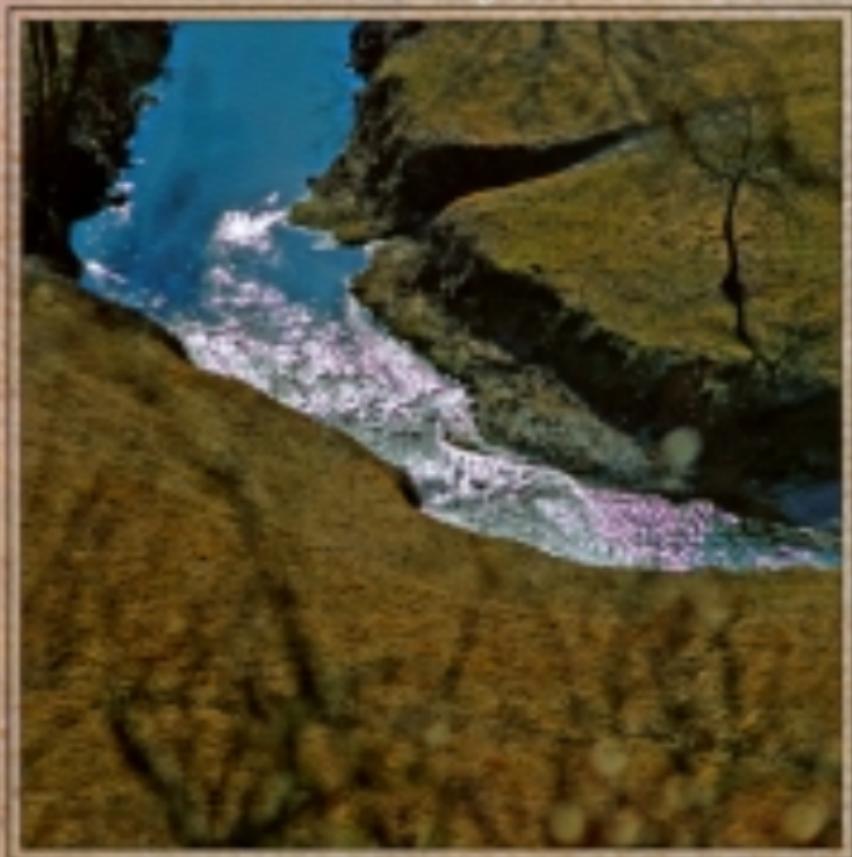


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IS POST-COMMUNISM STILL A USEFUL CONCEPT? EVIDENCE FROM STUDIES OF YOUNG PEOPLE'S LIFE STAGE TRANSITIONS

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ABSTRACT

This paper proposes adding a post-communist type to the existing ideal-types of European youth transition regimes - Nordic, Southern, Central (high apprenticeship), and neo-liberal. It is argued that in much of the former communist bloc a new pattern of youth transitions has been created as a result of the legacy of communism, path dependence from outcomes during the immediate post-communist transformation, and late-development effects. The definitive features of this post-communist regime are: a middle-lower class division in social origins and destinations; relatively small primary and relatively large secondary labour market segments; prolonged dependence on families of origin; weak public and voluntary sector leisure provisions, thus young people's leisure is typically a mixture of the private/informal and commercial. There is no implication or assumption that all former communist countries will match this type more closely than existing (Western) ideal types. Rather, this paper proposes using the post-communist type alongside existing ideal-types to assess the directions of change in different East European and ex-Soviet countries and regions therein.

Key words: education, housing, labour markets, post-communism, youth

È ANCORA UTILIZZABILE IL CONCETTO DI POST-COMUNISMO? TESTIMONIANZE DALLO STUDIO DEI MOMENTI DI PASSAGGIO DEI GIOVANI ALLE DIVERSE FASI DELLA VITA

SINTESI

Nell'articolo viene formulata la proposta di introdurre, accanto all'esistente tipologia di ideali tipi di regime di transizione dei giovani- nordico, meridionale, centrale (prolungato processo di applicazione) e neoliberale- il concetto di transizione post-comunista. Viene presentata la tesi secondo cui in gran parte dell'ex blocco comunista è nato come retaggio del comunismo il fenomeno di un nuovo modello di emancipazione dei giovani, dipendente dai risultati dei percorsi intrapresi (path dependance) tanto nella fase di transizione post comunista immediata, quanto dagli effetti nella fase della sua successiva evoluzione. Le caratteristiche di questo regime post-comunista sono: la suddivisione in classe medio-bassa a seconda dell'estrazione sociale e delle aspirazioni, un relativamente limitato mercato del lavoro primario e relativamente più esteso mercato del lavoro secondario; una prolungata dipendenza dalla famiglia d'origine; nelle attività legate al tempo libero una debole presenza del volontariato pubblico e privato sostituita da un mix di iniziative private/informali e commerciali. Non ci sono ipotesi o supposizioni che confermino come rispetto alle esistenti tipologie ideali (occidentali) il succitato modello sia di fatto più vicino agli ex paesi comunisti. Nell'articolo viene pertanto formulata la proposta di utilizzare nella valutazione della possibile direzione dei processi di trasformazione nei Paesi e regioni dell'Europa dell'Est e dell'ex Unione Sovietica il modello post-comunista parallelamente agli altri già presenti.

Parole chiave: educazione formale, esistenza, mercato del lavoro, post-comunismo, giovani

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

As we approach its third decade, we need to ask whether post-communism has become a redundant concept. If it retains value, as the following passages argue, we need to be clear about exactly what this value is. Does the fact that countries were once communist explain any current conditions? For our purposes the relevant conditions are those of young people in former communist countries.

There are many generalisations in the following passages. These are meant to apply to young people in former communist countries in general, not everywhere. One must bear in mind throughout that most of the young people 'in general' live in the parts of the ex-Soviet Union that have not become new European Union member states. They are in Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, the South Caucasus, the five Central Asia states, Mongolia and of course Russia, where conditions in Moscow and St Petersburg are not typical of the entire country. Nor are conditions in the North Caucasus where young people, along with other citizens, are probably continuing to experience greater difficulties than anywhere else in the entire ex-Soviet bloc (see Cava and Michael, 2006). Small countries, situated adjacent to the pre-2004 European Union, probably have the least typical post-communist histories. That said, the experiences of young people vary immensely from place to place within most countries. Most of the quantitative evidence available for making international comparisons is about countries, yet 'country' may not be the ideal unit for distinguishing different youth conditions.

There will probably be no dispute that at a particular historical moment post-communism was a useful concept. Its explanatory power was most vivid in communism's immediate aftermath – when lives were clearly being reshaped (shattered in many cases) by the end of the old system (see Gros, 1997). This led to the closure of factories, governments running out of money, state services being drained of cash, salaries unpaid for months, daily breakdowns in electricity and water supplies in some places, and a weakening of law enforcement. The persistent differences between conditions of life in West and East Germany show that, in this particular unified state, a communist past continues to make some difference (see Steiner, 2009).

History certainly matters, but different ex-communist countries have now built very different post-communist histories. Some have been able to recover and, in some ways, resume national histories that were interrupted when the countries became communist. This has been most likely in countries that became modern industrial states and political democracies prior to becoming com-

unist. Countries without pre-communist histories as independent states, such as the central Asian republics, have been busy discovering and recovering or inventing lengthy national histories and associated identities.

The following passages make a case for retaining the post-communist concept, at least for the time being. The case is made tentatively, though as persuasively as possible. At present it seems reasonable to insist that the possibility of some of the countries developing a distinctive 21st century version of modernity deserves to be treated as seriously as orthodox transition theory, which regards the countries as (ideal-typically) becoming more-and-more like the older market economies and democracies of the West.

The challenge of diversity

All the countries that were once communist began their post-communist histories from similar (though not identical) starting-points. Each of them had been countries where all major economic assets were state owned, where the economies were state planned (except Yugoslavia), and where communist parties monopolised political power. Today they are more significantly different from one another.

Some of the countries have become multi-party western-type democracies where presidents and governments change according to how votes are cast, and defeated candidates go into opposition rather than exile, prison or enforced retirement. All the countries that have joined the European Union can pass these elementary democracy tests. In contrast, apart from the Baltic states (now in the EU), Ukraine and Moldova (where the president is elected by the parliament) are the sole ex-Soviet countries in which a president has been ousted by an election.

There are now huge differences in how the ex-communist countries' economies have performed. When communism ended the populations in all the countries shared a similar way of life. In the immediate aftermath of communism they nearly all experienced steep declines in economic output. Actual household incomes fell dramatically. Since then growth has resumed everywhere, but at different rates, leading to widespread inter-country inequalities. There are differences among the new EU member states, for example, Slovenia is much better-off than Bulgaria. There are similar contrasts among the countries of the former Soviet Union. Salaries in Kazakhstan are now roughly four times as high as in neighbouring Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. Kazakhstan's oil, gas and other mineral exports are responsible for the disparity.

There were urban-rural differences under communism, but these were lessened by the extent to which the countryside was industrialised. Agricultural production was concentrated on state and collective farms except in most of Poland, though even in Poland the distribution

of agricultural produce was part of the planned economy. Communism built factories everywhere, and cultural facilities were also opened in main towns in rural regions. This was part of an attempt to modernise the countryside and to close the economic, social and cultural gaps between the urban and rural populations. Urban-rural differences have widened under post-communist systems. Most of the factories in rural regions have closed. They would never have been established by, and have been proven unsustainable by market forces. Most of the cultural facilities in rural regions have also been victim of the new economic realism (see Clark, 2002). Farming has become a private enterprise which has resulted in many village households returning to subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry. Meanwhile, capital cities have become very different places than they were in 1989. At night time they are now ablaze with neon. They are their countries' main centres of consumption, the sites of major cultural facilities, centres of government, and host the headquarters of banks, inward investors, foreign delegations and NGOs. Then there are new boom towns. Wrocław in Poland is one, once again located at the centre of Europe's trade routes. Under communism it was a backwater town, at the end of a road to nowhere except the Iron Curtain. It has now become Poland's new Nowa Huta, one of the icons of communism which produced the metals that were to make Poland a leading industrial country. Present-day Nowa Huta is not an extreme case, but it is an example of the many towns whose main industries closed or downsized radically as soon as communism ended (Stenning, 2005a). Vanadzor in Armenia is a more extreme case; it is one of post-communism's economic wastelands. It was developed under communism as an industrial city, producing for the Soviet market. The end of the Soviet Union and its integrated market, combined with a devastating earthquake in 1988 and the economic blockade imposed by all Armenia's Muslim neighbours during the war with Azerbaijan over Nagorno Karabakh, closed all Vanadzor's main industrial plants (Tarkhnishvili et al., 2005). Kotayk is another region of Armenia that became mainly industrial under communism which is now mainly rural and agricultural (Roberts et al., 2008). Can the post-communist label handle this new diversity?

There are economic, social and cultural differences within the populations in all regions, as was the case under communism, and also in the West, and indeed universally. However, class, ethnic and gender differences and divisions do not prevent us from generalising about Western or developing countries. Indeed distinctive features of their internal differences and divisions may characterise and distinguish groups of countries. Are the ex-communist countries distinctive in any of these respects? Gender roles have changed since communism ended. Women have usually been particularly

vulnerable when unemployment has risen. Their rates of non-employment (unemployment and economic inactivity) have risen more steeply than those of men. Women today are also less present in politics than under communism (see Bridger et al., 1996; Predborska, 2005). In the immediate aftermath of communism all this was sometimes described as women grasping their new opportunities to live 'normally' as housewives or even to become sex objects (see Bridger et al., 1996; Roberts and Jung, 1995). New class divisions have been created. Some communist and pre-communist strata are no longer recognisable – nomenklatura and intelligentsia for example. New rich classes, capitalist classes, have been created. The gaps between rich and poor have widened dramatically. We shall return to the subject of class inequalities later on. New ethnic majorities and minorities have been created, partly by migration, but mainly due to the break-up of former multi-ethnic states, namely the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

None of these differences require us to abandon post-communism as an analytical tool, but its virtue, insofar as it retains any value, must lie in identifying the remaining or emerging commonalities that make all or some of the countries similar to each other while different than the rest of the world despite their new diversities. Before seeking these commonalities we need to specify more closely where youth researchers should focus their gaze.

Life stages, cohorts and generations

Youth is a life stage, and the issue at stake in this paper is whether, in any of the relevant countries, the life stage group has distinctive post-communist characteristics, conditions and/or experiences. More on this will follow. A cohort is composed of persons who reach a given age or have a particular experience such as being born or graduating from university at a particular time (a year or group of years). Members of the first post-communist youth life stage group were a rather special cohort. They had extraordinary experiences. The futures for which they had been prepared in education (especially most of the jobs and everything that was formerly associated with membership of a work collective) were suddenly whisked away. This could be experienced as devastating or liberating since so much more seemed possible. These cohorts personally experienced the arrival of genuine markets in which they had to seek employment, and in which they could buy whatever they desired, provided they were able to pay. Some were personally involved in the movements and demonstrations that brought down communism and, in some places, led to the creation of new independent states. They experienced the abolition of internal passports where these had formerly been mandatory, which meant that they could live and work wherever they wanted within their

own countries, provided they could find jobs and accommodation. Youth in those countries which became candidates for EU membership suddenly found that visas were no longer required either to leave their own countries or to visit Western Europe. Anyone could go and experience life in the capitalist west; all that was necessary was to board a bus with a passport. Almost immediately, thousands of young people who lived in the EU border states began to do just that. Some members of this cohort fought in the wars that accompanied the end of communism in the Balkans and Caucasus. Some did not return, some returned permanently disabled, some young women were widowed.

For young people today, and indeed ever since the mid-1990s, the market economy and multi-party politics have not been innovations but simply part of the societies into which they have grown (Markowitz, 2000). They have not experienced liberation from, or the destruction of personal hopes and plans, as a result of the end of the old system. For them, communism and indeed the wars of the early-1990s, where these occurred, are just history, learned about in school (maybe) or from elders. Their knowledge of events in the 1980s and 1990s, and their long-term significance, is probably on a par with Western youth's knowledge of the recent histories of their own countries. Today's young people in ex-communist countries appear to have internalised the uncertainty of the market economy; they experience this as simply normal, a feature of life with which they need to cope (see Reiter, 2008).

If post-communism as a concept has enduring value, if it helps to make sense of youth in present-day ex-communist countries, this will not be the result of cohort effects but generation change. This occurs when members of a youth cohort *and their successors* have life experiences that set them apart and make them permanently different from their elders. In the case of post-communism the relevant life experiences should also make them different from peers in countries without communist histories. All post-communist cohorts of young people have clearly experienced a very different youth life stage compared with their elders. Education has changed. So have the economies. The post-communist cohorts have entered labour *markets* and have been able to purchase in consumer *markets*. In what ways, if any, has their youth life stage been and remained different from the life stage in the West?

A SOLUTION

Youth as a transitional life stage

Youth is a transitional life stage. The ages at which youth begins and ends are historical variables and may be fuzzy rather than precise. The point is that young people's lives change as they pass through the life stage,

and accurate portrayals of youth need somehow to capture this biographical and longitudinal dimension. During the youth life stage individuals experience a series of transitions covering all aspects of their lives.

- From child in the parents' or guardians' household to parent.
- From living as a junior to a householder.
- From pupil/student to worker.
- From having purchases made on one's behalf to being an independent consumer.
- Acquisition of adult political rights.
- Acquisition of adult welfare rights.
- Acquisition of full adult legal liabilities and responsibilities.

Some of these transitions are particularly crucial. These are the transitions from student to worker, and in family and household statuses. Exactly how and when these transitions occur may not determine, but creates variable contexts in which other youth transitions are experienced. The crucial transitions do not occur automatically on reaching a given age. The ages are variable, and the transitions may never be completed, which has serious implications for those concerned and their wider societies. The sequences of events – always sequences rather than single events – through which the crucial life stage transitions are accomplished vary enormously, as do the destinations. Thus a task for those who study the sociology of youth is to discover whether, beneath the complexities, a limited number of main routes link different childhood origins to different adult destinations.

This definition of our subject-matter may discord with how young people themselves interpret their lives. There is plentiful evidence that nowadays (and probably yesteryear also) young people do/did not regard themselves as following pre-set routes but as negotiating their own ways forward in life, reflexively constructing what are now called choice biographies (Du Bois-Reymond, 1998; Du Bois-Reymond et al., 2001; Dwyer and Wyn, 1998). Young people may be willing to take personal responsibility: to credit themselves for their achievements and to accept blame when things go wrong. However, it is always unwise for sociologists to accept everyday commonsense at face value. How young people interpret their lives is data to be explained, not necessarily accepted as how things really happen. We have evidence independent of young people's minds that specific career routes do indeed link particular childhood origins to particular adult destinations. For example, in all countries where the evidence exists, progression through higher education is related, on the one hand, to social class origins, then, on the other hand, to the types of occupations that young adults enter.

If the post-communist concept retains analytical value this will be because there is something common and distinctive in some combination of young people's origins and/or destinations, and/or the routes that link

them. Any such common and distinctive features will need to be sketched as ideal-types against which the situations in particular countries, and socio-demographic groups therein, can be measured, thereby handling the diversity that has arisen between and within former communist countries. The value of a single post-communist ideal type needs to be judged against other possible contenders.

- Youth transitions under communism: how far and in what ways have youth transitions in particular countries departed from how these transitions were accomplished in the past? Probably too far and in too many different directions for a communist ideal type alone to retain analytical value in examining the situations of today's young people.

- Youth transitions in the West, but the West is not a uniform entity. Within Western Europe youth researchers have found it useful to contrast the Nordic countries with their universalistic welfare regimes, the high apprenticeship countries (Germany and some adjacent states), southern Europe where families of origin typically support and house their children into their late-20s and even beyond, and the neo-liberal UK (see Gangl, 2001; Holdsworth, 2005; Ivacovou and Berthoud, 2001; Pohl and Walther, 2007; Szdlak, 2002). Is there a need for a further post-communist ideal type? If the ex-communist countries really are in transition, gradually becoming more and more like the West, which is most likely in the post-2004 EU members states, we should then ask which West is being created in different ex-communist countries.

Path dependence

Seeking commonalities in post-communist youth life stage transitions is easier once we understand how any such commonalities are most likely to have arisen, and why they remain in place. Here we need the idea of path dependence. This may mean no more than the idea that history matters – that the legacy of history is never totally destroyed. Even if all social institutions are rebuilt, earlier knowledge, experience, and social relationships are likely to survive. The slate is never wiped completely clean. Thus communism itself will have left a legacy. However, the idea of path dependence is empowered when allied to the notion of critical moments – historical junctures when the outcomes are uncertain, indeterminate, but courses of action, once taken, and the immediate outcomes, leave enduring consequences.

During the immediate transition from communism some key decisions were made which have had long-term consequences. One set of decisions was how to privatise state assets. These could be sold to foreigners (transnational corporations), or to rich nationals (who then became much richer), or new forms of recombinant property could be created with ownership shared be-

tween the state, private investors and senior managers, thus creating new politico-economic ruling classes (Eyal et al., 1998; Stark, 1996).

As regards to youth transitions, the key decisions were in accord with a Washington Consensus in the early-1990s which recommended:

- Rapid privatisation of state assets.
- Price liberalisation.
- Balancing of budgets by governments.

This led to:

- Labour markets in which employers were able to hire and fire, and set terms and conditions of employment at their own discretion.

- The privatisation of socially-owned housing to occupiers.

- Cutbacks in state spending on what were considered non-essentials, which included leisure services (sport and culture) in countries where there were no established voluntary associations, and at a time when commercial goods and services, and consumer cultures, were sweeping into the countries.

Paths were thereby created into which the lives of subsequent cohorts of young people have been channelled.

Labour market career groups

By the mid-1990s the following career groups had been formed in all ex-communist countries from which relevant evidence has been assembled.

- Fully-employed, that is, working continuously, full-time, for a full salary.

- Self-employed.
- Under-employed.
- Unemployed or inactive.

The size of the self-employed career group has varied depending mainly on how many young people have needed to resort to survival self-employment, which has been most likely to mean subsistence agriculture on small landholdings (in rural regions), or petty trading (typically in cities). In most places between 7 % and 9 % of young people appear to have established businesses that operate long-term, and whose proprietors intend to remain in business indefinitely and are not seeking other employment. Higher proportions of young people working for themselves usually means that they are doing so only due to their inability to obtain proper jobs (see Roberts et al., 1998).

Under-employment means working discontinuously, part-time, temporarily, for a low salary (by local standards) – any combination of these. In some investigations this has been the largest career group. This career group includes young people who spend periods working away from home (pendulum migrants).

The unemployed and inactive categories are partly inter-changeable. It depends on how the individuals elect

to define themselves. Some who select one of these self-definitions may be working unofficially but argue that they are doing this only because they are unable to obtain proper jobs. Thus the boundary between the unemployed/inactive and the under-employed is also blurred.

In Western Europe's mature market economies, the unemployment rate is typically the preferred single statistic for assessing the degrees of difficulty that individuals face when looking for jobs. In the new market economies the proportion who are fully-employed (still likely to be a minority) is a better indicator. In most countries in some regions, and sometimes everywhere, there is still intense competition for full-time permanent jobs (see, for example, Round et al., 1998). Vocational courses in education, where these still operate, are often 'zombie institutions', preparing young people for careers that no longer exist (see Walker, 2007, 2009).

Young people have tended to remain in the same career groups that they entered early-on after completing full-time education. Normal labour market processes can explain this (Roberts, 2006). More significant for present purposes, the career groups themselves are being perpetuated, and have become the labour market segments that await new cohorts of beginning workers (see Roberts et al., 2008). This is an example of path dependence. Economic growth may or may not swell the size of the fully employed career group. Alternatively, the benefits of (jobless) growth may raise salaries and enhance career opportunities within the fully employed career group while its size remains constant.

Family and housing transitions

Fully-employed young people, even fully-employed couples, are often still unable to afford to purchase or to rent a dwelling even where loans for purchase are available (for those who can afford the repayments). This means that young people must rely on family assistance. This may mean continuing to live with parents after young couples marry and become parents themselves, maybe eventually inheriting the dwelling, or moving into another available family dwelling, or purchasing or building with substantial assistance from family resources. All this was common under communism, and the practices are continuing (see Filiopovic, 2006; Mandic, 2008; Roberts et al., 2009a).

Multi-generation living may or may not be a cultural preference. This varies from country to country, sometimes between age groups, and males and females. Irrespective of this, there are material advantages in the multi-generational family household. Household costs are pooled, there is assistance with child rearing. Also, young couples can marry and become parents without incurring the costs of new household formation.

In Western countries with mature housing markets it is common for parents to assist their grown-up children

with the costs of house purchase or rental. However, in these cases the parents are assisting grown-up children who are expected to be primarily responsible for accommodating themselves. In much of Eastern Europe the tradition where housing grown-up children remains a family responsibility is being perpetuated. This gives their elders exceptional control over young people. There is evidence that it tends to perpetuate traditional gender roles (Tomanovic and Ignjatovic, 2006). It may help to maintain conventional sequences in family transitions (low rates of unmarried cohabitation, and multiple sequential partnerships, for example). Alternatively, depending largely on young people's own aspirations, their inability to accommodate themselves may delay family formation and depress fertility.

Leisure

In the early-1990s, following the end of communism, participation fell to near-zero in many leisure activities that are normal parts of youth scenes in the west – playing and watching live sports, going to the cinema, pop and rock concerts, disco clubs, bars and cafes, not to mention high culture (opera, ballet, classical concerts, galleries and museums). The catalysts were the disappearance of the Pioneers and Komsomol, and the closure or lack of investment in public leisure facilities (parks and swimming pools, for example) (see Roberts, 2009; Roberts et al., 2009b). The cinema, when it revived, like the new sports clubs that opened, was for those who could pay. Many young people's (and adults') leisure became almost cashless and mediatised. Television became commercial, and popular (see also Clark, 2002; Jung, 1990, 1994). Pirated videos (subsequently DVDs) became available, plus fake designer label clothing. Young people's limited spending has typically gone on relatively low cost goods and services that have been marketed strenuously, such as cigarettes and alcohol. Cigarette smoking has become more common among youth in Eastern Europe (especially males) than in the West. Levels of alcohol consumption and drug use are relatively modest in Eastern Europe. In Russia in 2006–07 only 32 % of 15–29 year olds were drinking alcohol (beer was the favourite beverage) at least once a week, and 92 % said that they had never taken drugs (Dafflon, 2009; see also Pilkington et al., 2004). Young people in the new market economies are different from Western youth, firstly, in being able to spend so little money on themselves. The exceptions are young people in major cities, and then only the minorities who are on middle class life trajectories (see below). It is true that ownership of mobile phones has spread rapidly since the end of the 1990s, that by then internet cafes were opening everywhere and have subsequently become scarcer as more-and-more households have gone online. Everywhere, as soon as communism ended, and some-

times before then, young people found themselves in a market place for styles and the associated identities (see Kirmse, 2009). Young people in former communist countries manage to look much the same, listen to much of the same music, and watch the same films and follow the same sports as Western youth, but do all this at a fraction of the cost. Young people in the new market economies are also different in being less likely to belong to any voluntary associations, and rarely use still run-down public leisure facilities.

Origins and destinations: class divisions

It has now become apparent (it could not have become apparent before the new market economies began to mature) that three new socio-economic classes are being formed in Eastern Europe (see Roberts and Pollock, 2009). Class, here, means an aggregate of people who occupy a common labour market situation. If they are earning they do so in occupations with similar market positions and workplace relationships. However, an aggregate can constitute a class only if the individuals concerned occupy the definitive position continuously, throughout their entire working lives in the extreme ideal-typical case. Thereafter members of an economic class may acquire shared social and cultural characteristics, which will then strengthen the likelihood of inter-generational continuity. Classes that are formed in this way will not have clear and definite boundaries. The conventional practice in sociology has been to treat the family-household as the unit that is classed. The case for classifying individuals is not entirely convincing in the West (where it has now become a common practice in sociology), and in Eastern Europe the case for individual classification is unpersuasive. The core family-households in any class will have all adults of working age in the definitive labour market situation. Other family-households will be scattered in various directions and at different distances from the core.

One of the new classes is an upper class, a capitalist class, likely to be referred to locally as the rich. This class is always tiny (but it is likely to be extremely powerful), and it is never adequately represented in surveys of young people.

The second emergent class is a middle class, the label that those concerned are most likely to use. Its adult members are fully and continuously employed, usually in non-manual jobs, because this is where most opportunities to be fully and continuously employed are found. The jobs may be in the public or private sectors. Young people who enter these occupations today are typically higher education graduates (though higher education does not guarantee that young people will obtain such jobs). The young people tend to be from families where the older generation became higher education graduates when they were young, and/or were

and maybe still are employed in professional or management occupations. Thus there is substantial inter-generational continuity, and distinctive class experience starts before those concerned begin their own employment careers. This new middle class is now exhibiting distinctive socio-cultural characteristics. Among young people these include relatively late marriage and parenthood, (compared with the rest of the age group) and relatively high and sustained engagement in formal out-of-home leisure throughout their 20s.

The third class is best described as a lower class. Within the countries its members may be referred to as the poor, but there are different degrees of impoverishment. Core family-households in this class have adult members who are unemployed, inactive or under-employed.

The new market economies have destroyed or at least seriously weakened the old, and are not creating new working classes. The decline of employment in extractive and manufacturing industries, and the precarious nature of the manual jobs that have been created in new service sectors are inconsistent both with the formation of critical masses who are continuously and fully employed in such jobs, and with high levels of inter-generational continuity.

The self-employed cannot be said to constitute a distinctive petit bourgeoisie. Their businesses are too varied, and too many are practising survival self-employment, to be regarded as a stable class with common labour market experiences.

The class structures that are currently emergent in Eastern Europe may be prototypical, but at present they are different from class formations in Western Europe mainly in the absence of distinct working classes. In the new market economies, the working classes have not only diminished numerically, but have become culturally and ideologically invisible (Simonchuk, 2004; Stenning, 2005a, 2005b). This means that for young people there is just one desirable destination; the new 'holy' middle class. The different start and end points, the different divisions in their origins and destinations alone, would be sufficient to make youth a different life stage in ex-communist countries than anywhere else in the world.

Mindsets

Nowadays young people all over Europe have broadly similar outlooks on life. They are more liberal and tolerant than their elders, more likely to accept plural forms of family life and alternative sexualities. Inter-generational relationships within families have become more equal, less authoritarian and less paternalistic. The similarities are partly due to cultural globalisation, albeit a globalisation that flows mainly from the West to the rest. Young people throughout Eastern Europe are aware

of the Western way of life (see Pilkington et al. 2002). They may not know what life is really like for different categories of people in different Western countries, but they believe that they know and they like what they believe. Youth in the EU's new member states have been the continent's most enthusiastic Europeans, meaning that they have wanted their countries to become part of the West (see Niznik and Illasiewicz, 1992).

Western youth are less familiar with East Europe's cultural products – films, music and TV programmes. They know that the countries are poorer than their own. They know this on account of the migrant labour that has entered their countries. Young people in Britain know that many Poles are working in their country, but this does not necessarily mean that they personally know any Poles. There are now thousands of students from Eastern Europe at universities in Western countries. Students from the West are less likely to venture eastwards. They may not even learn from visiting students about what is similar and what is different in higher education and the student experience in the EU's new member states. Even so, convergence in mindsets is underway. The extent to which this helped to cause, and the extent to which it is a product of the change of system in Eastern Europe, remains a matter for debate, and likewise whether the reshaping of mindsets in the east has been partly in response to, or would have happened independently of, economic and political conditions in the east since 1989.

A further set of reasons for convergence is that young people in all parts of Europe have become more aware of their individuality and less conscious of belonging to any social categories. This is likely to be due to the retirement of the metaphorical public transport vehicles that used to convey large numbers of children from particular neighbourhoods to the same local schools, then into the same local factories. Youth has been extended, and as this has happened experiences in education and the labour market have become more varied. In addition, all the steps forward in life that young people can take have become risky. Outcomes are less certain than in the past, whether the next step is into higher education, a vocational training programme, or marriage. Meanwhile, consumer markets enable everyone to express their individuality through the goods and services that they purchase or simply desire. Sections of the populations in all countries (males and females, on different class trajectories) continue to share advantages and disadvantages, but without their personal experiences making them fully aware of what they share with others. The individualisation that has occurred is a structured individualisation, and the agency that young people exercise is a bounded agency, but young people themselves are more aware of their individuality and agency than the structures and binds (Evans, 2002; Furlong and Cartmel, 2007; Roberts et al. 1994). This will be related to current cohorts of young people being far

more likely to seek personal, private, rather than collective solutions to problems that they face (Ceplak, 2006; Sociometr, 2004/05; Spannring, 2005; Ule, 2005). Social capital, trust relationships, are privatised. In 1989 there was enthusiasm for an impending rebirth of civil societies in Eastern Europe, but this has simply not happened (see Lomax, 1997). In Bulgaria less than 10% of young people belong to any kind of voluntary association. Across the enlarged, 27 member EU it was 22% in 2008, though 49% of young people said that they belonged to sports clubs (European Commission, 2009).

Amid these east-west similarities there are differences, though these may diminish. Young people in post-communist Eastern Europe have been the continent's optimists (Mussuri, 2003). They have believed that their parents paid the price for the change of system, often a heavy price, but that their own generation will reap the benefits. They have continued to subscribe to the theory of transition – that once the transition is complete full employment will return to their own lands, there will be decent jobs for all, and the Western way of life will then become embedded in their countries. There is just one inspirational future vision – the Western way of life, exemplified by the American way of life as seen on film and television – the new religion among youth in Eastern Europe. However, there are signs, in Bulgaria for example, that the optimism of the 1990s is starting to fade.

Western youth are more sanguine about their way of life. Many sections of the populations in Western countries have experienced no improvement in their standards of living for several decades. Parents tell young people how much easier it was to grow into adulthood when they themselves were young (Halsey and Young, 1997). Young people worry about whether they will be able to maintain their parents' standards of life. Economic restructuring is experienced as a threat, like climate change. There is no inspirational vision of a better future.

IMPLICATIONS

Theory and research

Sociology's original theories of modernisation (then called evolution) were uni-linear. All societies were believed to be heading in the same direction, with Europe leading the way. Then, during the 20th century, sociologists were forced to acknowledge that there were different kinds of modern European societies. Fascism proved short-lived. Communism was more resilient. Communism could be regarded as a different, long-term viable way of becoming and remaining modern. Alternatively, convergence/industrial society/end of ideology theories suggested that capitalism and communism were just different routes towards a common end-state. But by then unitary modernity was being further challenged by

the rise of new industrial countries, notably Japan to begin with, but now joined by dozens of others including Brazil, China and India. Even so, the end of communism inspired claims of an 'end of history' with capitalism, the market and democracy destined to triumph all over the world in an American (21st) century. Also, a new version of technological determinism has contended that the latest generation of new technology will spread a knowledge economy worldwide, and create a global information-based network society.

Long-term, the 'one best way', singular modernity theory may be vindicated. Right now, we are clearly in an era of multiple modernities. The larger question raised in the preceding passages is whether ex-communist countries are all becoming part of an expanded West (closely resembling one of the types of Western societies that are now recognised), or whether we need to add post-communist to existing varieties of modernity. The answer is likely to vary from country-to-country, and also between locations within countries. Up to now, Western governments, and their own governments also, have deemed former communist countries to be in transition (with Westernisation as the goal). Progress was measured, initially, by the pace at which countries were implementing market reforms, democratising their polities, and privatising the economies. Today GDP and unemployment rates have largely taken-over.

Part of the case for prioritising young people in social research agendas is that youth are the future: that in their minds and lives we may glimpse the kinds of adults and societies that are in the making. Therefore, a challenge for the next generation of youth studies in Eastern Europe is to critically interrogate the latest version of singular modernisation/Westernisation. An alternative scenario is that that all or some of the ex-communist countries will remain forever different due to a combination of:

- Legacies from communism,
- Path dependence following the outcomes of initial transformation processes, and
- Late-development effects (Dore, 1973, 1976).

The preceding passages indicate that common features of a post-communist variant of modernity will include:

- Labour forces divided into relatively small (vis-à-vis the West) primary segments and large secondary segments.

- Extended families resuming traditional functions while, in some places, conjugal relationships become less stable. However, the question remains, will this mix be sustainable in the long-term?

- Weak civil societies in terms of membership of voluntary associations.

- Prototypical network societies which are atomised with individuals and small local and private 'cells' linked through electronic media.

One possibility that youth researchers need to entertain is that, in some respects, post-communist countries have become the leaders: that the conditions of young people in these countries are the conditions towards which the West is now heading. In 2008 throughout the EU-27, over a third of 15-24 year olds were not registered in educational institutions, some form of employment or in training, and 40% of those in employment were on temporary contracts. Also, 62% of those who could have done so had not voted in an election during the last three years (European Commission, 2009).

Youth policies

Up to now the highest impact youth organisations in ex-communist countries have been modelled on their communist predecessors. As yet, Russia and Georgia are the only countries where the regimes have created youth movements linked to the 'parties of power'. These movements have been able to mobilise tens of thousands of young people in sustained programmes of politico-recreation activities (Hammerschlag, 2006). Parents may encourage participation, feeling that their children are otherwise missing experiences that they themselves enjoyed in the Pioneers and Komsomol. Young people have also been mobilised in the colour revolutions and their predecessor in Yugoslavia 2000 (Collin, 2007). Young people seeking political careers, and others who have perceived possible career advantages, may have sustained their involvement, but otherwise in all these instances the crowds drifted away once the revolutions were over. Nationalist parties have sometimes provided a veneer of legitimacy for the thuggery of certain types of youth groups (see Avanisian et al. 2006).

Western-backed initiatives have made less impact. These include efforts to draw young activists into networks of young European citizens, developing and then working to implement visions of how their countries should develop (European Commission, 2006). EU-supported measures to address youth unemployment via training and vocational or remedial education have not led to the decent jobs that young people seek.

Governments are all in denial. They cannot afford to admit (even if they suspect) that we are now in an era of relatively jobless growth in which the quest for decent work for all is doomed to failure (Bowring, 1999; Forrester, 1999). They cannot afford to openly accept that equalising opportunities is impossible when families with economic, social and cultural assets will always do their best to ensure that only their own benefit.

If we ask what is actually being done via state policies for young people, we realise that throughout present-day Europe, east and west, governments are tending to do less, not more. Costs of higher education and nurseries are being privatised. Public sectors are no longer, even in part, operated as job creation schemes.

Leisure is left to the market. State interventions are targeted at core problem groups, so-called excluded groups – persistent offenders, drug-abusers, and the destitute. Thus ordinary young people depend more than formerly on their families. East Europe's local NGOs are more likely to flourish as offshoots from international NGOs than through support from local grassroots or governments. Young people who join these associations often do so for private purposes (a travel grant, for example) rather than because they subscribe to the associations' stated objectives (see Kirmse, 2009).

Youth research is patently policy-irrelevant, not least in Eastern Europe when it assumes that it has only to identify wants, then governments will surely respond, especially when the wants are the gaps between young people's aspirations, or what has been normal in the West up to now, and existing realities in former communist countries. Policy-relevant youth research in Eastern Europe must identify needs in the context of current East European realities, using ideal types as recommended above, but we should note that all these types and the East European realities include the (very limited) capabilities of post-communist national governments.

ALI JE POSTKOMUNIZEM ŠE UPORABEN KONCEPT? DOKAZI IZ ŠTUDIJ PREHAJANJA MLADIH SKOZI ŽIVLJENJSKA OBDOBJA

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POVZETEK

Približujemo se tretjemu desetletju post-komunizma in potrebno se je vprašati, ali ni postal ta koncept odvečen. Pričujoči prispevek predlaga, da se obstoječim idealnim tipom režimov tranzicije mladih – nordijski, južni, centralni (dolgorajno uvajanje) in neoliberalni – doda postkomunistični tip. Zahodnoevropskim raziskovalcem mladine se je zdelo koristno primerjati nordijske dežele, kjer vladajo univerzalnimi socialnimi režimi, z deželami, za katere je značilno dolgorajno uvajanje (Nemčija in nekatere sosednje države), z južnoevropskimi deželami, kjer izvorne družine običajno podpirajo svoje otroke do poznih dvajsetih let in dlje ter jim nudijo stanovanje, in z neoliberalnim Združenim Kraljestvom. Ali je dodaten post-komunističen idealni tip zares potreben? Članek razlaga, da je v velikem delu prejšnjega komunističnega bloka nastal nov vzorec osamosvajanja mladine kot rezultat dedičine komunizma, odvisen od poti (path dependence) – tako od rezultatov neposredne post-komunistične tranzicije kot od poznejših razvojnih učinkov. Tam, kjer bivše komunistične dežele postajajo vse bolj podobne Zahodu, se moramo vprašati, katera vrsta Zahoda je ta, ki se poraja na različnih prizoriščih. Pregledani so dokazi iz študij, ki se ukvarjajo z mladino celotne Srednje in Vzhodne Evrope in Evrazije, in vodijo k identifikaciji naslednjih prepoznavnih značilnosti post-komunističnega tranzicijskega režima:

- Delitev na srednji in nižji razred glede družbenega izvora in usmeritev.
- Razmeroma majhen primarni in razmeroma velik sekundarni sektor trga dela.
- Nezaposlenost in podzaposlenost kot običajni izkušnji mladih s trgom dela.
- Podaljšano obdobje odvisnosti od izvorne družine.
- Šibka zastopanost javnega in prostovoljnega sektorja pri prostočasnih aktivnostih, zaradi česar prosti čas mladih zaznamuje mešanica zasebnega/neformalnega in komercialnega.

Poleg naštetih značilnosti, dokazi nakazujejo, da sodobna mladina v vseh delih Evrope deli podoben pogled na življenje. So bolj liberalni, tolerantni do različnih življenjskih slogov kot njihovi starši. Bolj občutljivi so glede lastne individualnosti kot glede pripadnosti katerikoli družbeni kategoriji. Bolj kot h kolektivnim rešitvam za probleme, s katerimi se soočajo, težijo k zadovoljevanju na oseben/zaseben način. 'Zahodni način življenja' je danes standardna težnja. Ni implikacij ali domnev, da bodo vse bivše komunistične države ustrezale temu tipu bolj od obstoječih (Zahodnih) idealnih tipov. Namesto tega prispevek predlaga uporabo post-komunističnega tipa vzporedno z obstoječimi idealnimi tipi za oceno smeri sprememb v različnih vzhodnoevropskih in bivših sovjetskih deželah in regijah. Dodatek post-komunističnega tipa k obstoječim tipologijam bo omogočil raziskovalcem, ki se ukvarjajo z mladino, oziroma jih bo prisilil, da se soočijo z (veliko) verjetnostjo, da je v nekaterih ozirih mladina v tako imenovanih tranzicijskih deželah postala najnaprednejša, in da se pogoji, v katerih odraščajo mladi po vsem starem Zahodnem svetu postopoma navzemajo Vzhoda.

Ključne besede: izobraževanje, bivanje, trgi dela, post-komunizem, mladina

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TRANSFORMATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN THE EX-YUGOSLAV COUNTRIES – MATERIALIST, IDEALIST, AND INSTITUTIONALIST PERSPECTIVES ON REPRODUCTIVE TRENDS

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ABSTRACT

Against the background of low and declining fertility in Europe, this paper reviews trends in fertility and family formation in ex-Yugoslav countries which have not yet been subject to a comparative analysis of family and fertility trends. On the basis of the popular explanatory framework of the Second Demographic Transition (SDT), we first review some basic indicators of changes in fertility and family formation in these countries. This is complemented by a descriptive review of relevant institutional, material, and ideational changes that might operate in the background. Finally, a logistic regression with data from the EVS/WVS 1999/00 is calculated in order to test some of the main assumptions of SDT fertility outcome (approximated by means of un/realised parenthood) concerning the interrelation of relevant factors. Somewhat surprisingly, the findings suggest that the value dimension emphasized by SDT is not relevant in these countries.

Key words: Balkan, (ex-)Yugoslavia, Second Demographic Transition, fertility, parenthood, childbearing

TRASFORMAZIONI E CAMBIAMENTI DEMOGRAFICI NEI PAESI DELL'EX JUGOSLAVIA – APPROCCI MATERIALISTICO, IDEALISTICO E ISTITUZIONALISTICO NELL'ANALISI DEI TREND RIPRODUTTIVI

SINTESI

Partendo dalla bassa e decrescente natalità in Europa, l'articolo analizza in forma comparativa le intenzioni riproduttive e i ruoli familiari nei Paesi dell'ex Jugoslavia. Basandosi sul principio della "seconda transizione demografica" analizza gli indicatori di base dei cambiamenti nel comportamento riproduttivo, nella formazione della famiglia e nel rapporto di coppia. Questo aspetto viene completato da un'analisi descrittiva dei rilevanti cambiamenti registrati a livello istituzionale, materiale e valoriale e la regressione logistica attraverso i dati di EVS WVS 1999/00 che verifica i presupposti principali su cui si fonda il concetto di "seconda transizione demografica". Contrariamente alle aspettative i risultati della regressione logistica indicano come i fattori valoriali non rivestano alcun ruolo nei risultati relativi alla natalità.

Parole chiave: Balcani, (ex) Jugoslavia, seconda transizione demografica, genitorialità, natalità

INTRODUCTION

Low and declining fertility in Europe is a highly politicised source of concern of both national governments and supranational organisations (European Commission, 2005; UNECE, 2009). In general, these changes, and especially the dramatic changes in the Central and Eastern European countries with a state-socialist past, are well documented and investigated from numerous perspectives and disciplines, and so are the diverse, long-lasting and also short-term factors in the background (Billari et al., 2006; Frejka, 2008; Morgan, Berkowitz King, 2001; Sobotka, 2004; Sobotka, 2008). In Western European nations more recent changes to marriage and family formation behaviour were first observed in the mid-1960s. However, the countries of the so-called Western Balkans, i.e. the former Yugoslav Federal Republics¹ have not yet been subject to a comparative analysis of family and fertility trends. Only a few ex-Yugoslav countries have been investigated individually and the empirical evidence is scarce (e. g. Slovenia: Černič-Istič, 1998; Ule, Kuhar, 2003; Ule, Kuhar, 2008; Stropnik, Šircelj, 2008 for Slovenia; Serbia: Bobić, 2003, Bobić, 2006; Tomanović, 2006; Croatia: Mrđen, Friganović, 1998; Macedonia: Dragović, 2003). Altogether these countries are largely blank spots on the map of European demographic and sociological research into these issues. As all ex-Yugoslav countries face historically low or decreasing fertility as well as postponed transitions to childbearing and parenthood this article intends to set the stage for further comparative and national analyses of family formation and child-bearing

patterns in the region. Its main purpose is the review and analysis of available comparative data for ex-Yugoslav countries. This is done by means of a multi-layer approach using data from official statistical sources (UNICEF, ILO, CoE) and the World Values/the European Values Survey 1999–2001.²

The overall argument is developed following the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) theory proposed by Lesthaeghe and Van de Kaa (Van de Kaa, 1987; Lesthaeghe, 1995; Lesthaeghe, 2001). SDT is one of the dominant theoretical approaches in demography to recent changes in family formation and fertility. On the one hand, this paradigm provides a coherent set of guidelines and criteria to explore the relevance of certain factors influencing changing family formation and child-bearing patterns. On the other hand, the specific, and apart from a few exceptions relatively un-researched context of post-state socialist transformation provides an opportunity to test the validity of the SDT theory itself.

According to the original SDT³ concept, large-scale changes in family and reproductive behaviour are the consequence of cultural and ideational changes (e.g. a shift towards secular individualism and an orientation towards personal self-fulfilment) driven primarily by economic affluence (Van de Kaa, 1987). Following this conceptualisation, our article tries to uncover whether the changing outcomes in reproductive behaviour (i.e. decreasing fertility rate and postponement of childbearing) in the ex-Yugoslav countries evolve in parallel (i) to the overall changes in family behaviour (e.g. pluralization of family forms, increasing cohabitation, increasing level of divorce etc.) and (ii) to values shifts (from more traditional towards more modern (post-materialist) val-

- 1 The former Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia dissolved leaving the present-day independent states of Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and also Kosovo. Political and economic transition has been relatively smooth and without a number of serious and complicated problems only in Slovenia. The dissolution of Yugoslavia was accompanied by the wars in Croatia (1991–1995) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992–1995) and by systematic violence in Kosovo (1998). Yugoslavia was a very heterogeneous country in terms of the standard economic, sociological, and demographic indicators. But these countries shared a common state period with a distinctive self-management type of socialist regime which contributed to the specific situation of Ex-Yugoslav republics in comparison with other former socialist states. For example, unlike the citizens from the countries of the Warsaw Bloc, Yugoslav citizens were free to travel to the West and communicate with foreigners with absolutely no restrictions. This was of particular importance for Slovenia, sharing borders with Austria and Italy, and Croatia, with a coastline frequented by Western tourists every summer. An important distinctive characteristic was also a relatively high level of economic liberalization: small private businesses and private farms were already allowed and promoted during socialism.
- 2 The EVS/WVS 1999–2000 covering altogether thirty-three countries is the last one of its kind that includes this region and can be used for our purposes. In each case, a single questionnaire was used and rigorous procedures and checks were applied to secure the equivalence of questions after translation. In each country a probabilistic sample of the 18+ population was polled, and all country samples consisted of at least 1,000 respondents. The data stem from the following years: Slovenia (1999), Croatia (1999) (European Values Study 1999–2000), Serbia (2001), Montenegro (2001), Macedonia (2001), Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2001), Republic of Srpska (2001) (World Values Survey 1999–2000). The national samples are as follows: Slovenia (352), Croatia (369), Bosnia and Herzegovina (410), Serbia (304), Montenegro (291), Macedonia (356). The data stem from the following years: Slovenia (1999), Croatia (1999) (European Values Study 1999–2000), Serbia (2001), Montenegro (2001), Macedonia (2001), Bosnia and Herzegovina (2001) (World Values Survey 1999–2000).
- 3 The basic idea behind the theory of the Second Demographic Transition is that industrialized countries have reached a new stage in their demographic development: a stage characterized by extensive control over fertility (Van de Kaa, 2002, 1–2). As couples tend to have no more than one or two children, fertility declined below replacement level, and as well, childbearing is being postponed. This trend leads to demographic imbalance and generates migration (*ibid.*). New developments bring also a multitude of living arrangements other than marriage and the disconnection between marriage and procreation (Lesthaeghe, 2007).

ues), or (iii) whether they are more or less determined by the rapid and radical socio-economic changes (and military conflicts) since the beginning of the 1990s.

This paper is organised in the following sections: *First*, we review basic indicators of our *dependent variable* of changes in (a) reproductive behaviour and (b) family and partnership formation. The *second* part is dedicated to three clusters of *independent variables*: (a) the institutional collapse and transformation in the course of socio-economic transformation; (b) the material deterioration of opportunities especially due to mass unemployment; (c) and the ideational changes in relevant value orientations in the region. On the basis of this descriptive information that also has the purpose of taking stock of comparative secondary data available for these countries, the *third* part estimates the *relative impact* of socio-economic characteristics (such as education level, employment, income, housing status) on the one hand and value orientations on the other on (the postponement of) childbearing in former Yugoslav countries.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF PATTERNS OF REPRODUCTION AND PARTNERSHIP

How did fertility and relationship patterns in the former Yugoslav countries evolve over the last decades? Was the development after the collapse of socialism particularly distinct, or had the main trends already started previously? The following overview concerning the *dependent variable* of changes in fertility and partnership includes selected key-indicators for the four

decades from 1960 to 2000. The comparison of change during the ten years before and after the critical year of 1990 is particularly revealing regarding information about the relative impact on the more recent changes compared to the years before.⁴

Changes in Reproductive Behaviour and Fertility

From 1960 to 2000 fertility declined considerably below replacement level in all former Yugoslav countries; with a more than 50% decline of the total fertility rate it was most dramatic in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (TFYRM; hereafter referred to as 'Macedonia'). However, change was very uneven in these countries and the impact of the first ten years of transformation is anything but equal. For instance, while the major part of the fertility decline in Slovenia had already taken place well before and especially in the last ten years before the collapse of socialism, it is a very different case for Serbia and Montenegro. The latter, where decline was altogether least pronounced, was particularly affected by the transformation and disintegration of Yugoslavia. Interestingly, the trajectories of decline are most dissimilar in Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, both starting from a high fertility rate of four in 1960. The latter witnessed a steep decline, the steepest of all former Yugoslav countries, during the ten years of transformation, while in the former the recent decline was least pronounced and rather consolidated already before the year 1990 (Table 1).

Table 1: Total fertility rate.⁵

Tabela 1: Celotna stopnja rodnosti.

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	% change		
											1960–2000	1980–1990	1990–2000
Slovenia	2,18	2,46	2,12	2,17	2,10	1,71	1,46	1,29	1,26	1,26	-42,2	-30,5	-13,7
Croatia	2,20	2,21	1,83	1,92	1,92	1,81	1,60	1,50	1,40	1,42	-36,4	-16,7	-12,5
Bosn./Herz.	3,95	3,50	2,71	2,38	1,93	1,89	1,71		1,28	1,20	-67,6	-11,4	-25,1
Serbia/ Mont.	2,57	2,53	2,30	2,33	2,29	2,22	2,10	1,89	1,66		-35,4	-8,3	-21,0
TFYRM	4,11	3,71	2,98	2,71	2,47	2,31	2,06	2,13	1,88	1,46	-54,3	-16,6	-8,7

Sources: CoE (2005); 2005: UNICEF (2009).

4 Data for 2005 is included in the table but was not used as a reference year for comparison due to the missing joint indicator for Serbia and Montenegro. Probably due to Montenegro's independence in 2006 the indicator was not calculated.

5 The order of the countries in the tables with indicators of reproductive behavior reproduces their geographical location along the north-south axis.

Table 2: Mean age of women at first birth.**Tabela 2: Povprečna starost žensk ob rojstvu prvega otroka.**

											% change		
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	1960–2000	1980–1990	1990–2000
Slovenia	24,8	24,2	23,7	23,0	22,9	23,1	23,7	24,9	26,5	27,8	+6,9	+3,5	+11,8
Croatia	23,4	23,4	23,1	23,1	23,4	23,6	24,1	24,8	25,5	26,5	+9,0	+3,0	+5,8
Bosn./Herz.	23,2	23,2	23,0	23,0	23,3	23,6	23,6		24,4	24,4	+5,2	+1,3	+3,4
Serbia/ Mont.	22,7	22,9	22,7	22,8	23,3	23,6	23,9	24,5	25,0		+10,1	+2,6	+4,6
TFYRM	23,2	23,4	23,0	22,9	23,2	23,3	23,4	23,7	24,3	25,0	+4,7	+0,9	+3,8

Sources: CoE (2005). Figure for Bosnia/Herzegovina 2000: UNICEF (2009). 2005: UNICEF (2009).

Table 3: Extra-marital births (per 100 births).**Tabela 3: Izvenzakonska rojstva (na 100 rojstev).**

											% change		
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	1960–2000	1980–1990	1990–2000
Slovenia	9,1	9,2	8,5	9,9	13,1	19,1	24,5	29,8	37,1	46,7	+307,7	+87,0	+51,4
Croatia	7,4	6,0	5,4	4,9	5,1	5,9	7,0	7,5	9,0	10,5	+21,6	+37,3	+28,6
Bosn./Herz.	6,2	5,3	5,3	5,6	5,4	6,0	7,4		10,3	11,2	+66,1	+37,0	+39,2
Serbia/ Mont.	11,7	11,6	11,7	9,9	10,1	10,7	12,7	16,4	20,4		+74,4	+25,7	+60,6
TFYRM	5,1	5,7	6,2	6,6	6,1	6,6	7,1	8,2	9,8	12,4	+92,2	+16,4	+38,0

Sources: CoE (2005). 2005: UNICEF (2009).

Correspondingly, the age at which a woman gives birth to her first child is postponed well into the mid-twenties and beyond. Here, the rate of change was in all countries higher in the ten years after 1990 compared to those before; it was most pronounced in Slovenia, which had the lowest mean age at first birth in 1980 (but the highest one in 1960). (Table 2) The decline in fertility is most dramatic among young women between twenty and twenty four years; and the development in older cohorts cannot compensate for this comprehensive trend towards postponement of childbearing.⁶

In line with the concept of SDT, extra-marital fertility is rising also in the ex-Yugoslav countries. The trend is most pronounced in Slovenia where the rate of extra-marital births more than tripled over these four decades: in 2000, more than one out of three children was born out of wedlock, in 2005 the share was close to 50%. Yet the comparison of the development before and after 1990 shows that only in Serbia and Montenegro as well as in Macedonia this development was accelerated by the post-socialist turmoil (Table 3). The increasing share of extra-marital births (see Table 3) does not necessarily imply an increasing trend of cohabitation. With the ex-

ception of Slovenia where relatively high level of cohabitation is a norm, according to the EVS/WVS 1999/00 shares of young people in cohabitation is less than 4% for the other ex-Yugoslav countries. The share of cohabitating partners is that low although cohabitation used to be legally equal to marriage during the socialist era (e.g. in Slovenia since 1. 1. 1977 with "Law on conjugal union and family relationships").

Altogether, while trends in fertility and reproductive behaviour evolve in similar directions in all former Yugoslav countries, the national trajectories are considerably heterogeneous. The impact of the transformation is especially ambiguous and requires an in-depth analysis of the changes in individual countries.

Changes in Relationship Patterns

The fact that an increasing share of children is born out of wedlock strongly indicates an underlying transformation of relationship patterns in the area. For instance, age at birth increases together with the mean age of women at first marriage; the coincidence of motherhood and marriage – at least for the decreasing number

6 It is important to emphasise that this trend towards postponing childbearing does not imply that young people do not want children. On the contrary, according to the WVS 1999/00 the vast majority considers two or three children ideal.

Table 4: Mean age of women at first marriage (below age 50).**Tabela 4: Povprečna starost žensk ob prvi sklenitvi zakonske zveze (pod 50 let).**

											% change		
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	1960–2000	1980–1990	1990–2000
Slovenia			23,1	22,5	22,5	22,8	23,7	25,1	26,7	28,2		+5,3	+12,7
Croatia	22,4	22	21,4	21,7	22,1	22,5	23,1	24,1	25,3	26,3	+12,9	+4,5	+9,5
Bosn./Herz.					22	22,4	23,3		24,3	24,6		+5,9	+4,3
Serbia/ Mont.	22	22,2	22	22,1	22,5	22,8	23,4	24	25,0		+13,6	+4,0	+6,8
TFYRM	22,1	22,3	22,2	22	22,2	22,6	22,6	23,0	23,6	24,5	+6,8	+1,8	+4,4

Source: CoE (2005). Figure for Bosnia/Herzegovina 2000: UNICEF (2009). 2005: UNICEF (2009).

Table 5: Crude marriage rate (per 1000 population).**Tabela 5: Sklenitve zakonskih zvez na 1000 prebivalcev.**

											% change		
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	1960–2000	1980–1990	1990–2000
Slovenia	8,8	9,2	8,3	8,5	6,5	5,4	4,3	4,1	3,6	2,9	-59,1	-33,8	-16,3
Croatia	8,9	9,0	8,5	8,0	7,2	6,6	6,0	5,1	4,8	5,0	-46,1	-16,7	-20,0
Bosn./Herz.	10,1	9,3	9,3	9,0	8,5	8,1	6,7		5,8	4,9	-42,6	-21,2	-13,4
Serbia/ Mont.	9,0	8,7	9,2	8,2	7,6	6,9	6,3	5,7	5,5		-38,9	-17,1	-12,7
TFYRM	8,6	9,0	9,0	8,9	8,5	8,1	8,3	8,0	7,0	7,1	-18,6	-2,4	-15,7

Source: CoE (2005). 2005: UNICEF (2009).

Table 6: Crude divorce rate (per 1000 population).**Tabela 6: Razveze zakonskih zvez na 1000 prebivalcev.**

											% change		
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	1960–2000	1980–1990	1990–2000
Slovenia	1,0	1,1	1,1	1,2	1,2	1,3	0,9	0,8	1,1	1,3	+10,0	-25,0	+22,2
Croatia	1,2	1,3	1,2	1,3	1,2	1,2	1,2	0,9	1,0	1,1	-16,7	0,0	-16,7
Bosn./Herz.	1,0	0,8	0,8	1,1	0,6	0,7	0,4		0,5	0,4	-50,0	-33,3	+25,0
Serbia/ Mont.	1,4	1,3	1,1	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,0	0,8	0,8		-42,9	-16,7	-20,0
TFYRM	0,7	0,5	0,3	0,7	0,5	0,4	0,4	0,4	0,7	0,8	0,0	-20,0	+75,0

Source: CoE (2005). 2005: UNICEF (2009).

of people who decide to marry (Tables 4 and 5) – however, continues to be the norm. With the exception of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the scope of change was higher in the decade after 1990 than before; Slovenia, Macedonia and Croatia seem to have been most affected (Table 4).

With age at first marriage rising, less and less people marry altogether (Table 5). Once again, this development is most distinct in Slovenia; it is least dramatic in

Macedonia where marriage remains at a high level. The transformation appears to have slowed down the decline in marriages in Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia and Montenegro; or, to put it differently, the major changes towards fewer marriages took place already before. Finally, with regard to divorce, change was slow over the last four decades with the exception of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro (Table 6).

THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETIES AND VALUES

After surveying some indicators providing a comparative perspective of the scope of changes in fertility and partnership formation in ex-Yugoslav countries, let us now take a brief look at possible causes and *independent variables* for this development. Approximately three positions can be distinguished in the literature: an institutionalist, a materialist, and an idealist one (Reiter, forthcoming 2009). In the following, each one is illustrated with selected indicators.⁷

The Institutional Root cause of Fertility Decline

The global, *institutional* 'root cause' (Frejka, 2008) of demographic changes that Central and Eastern European countries share is the replacement of state socialist economies by market economies and related institutions. According to this interpretation it was the overall societal transformation and the severe economic crisis that profoundly disturbed fertility patterns in these countries.

However obvious and simplistic it may appear, the replacement of the state socialist regimes by market economies and by fledgling democratic institutions of governance is the root cause of the demographic changes and trends during the transition period and beyond. The crux of the matter is that the economic and political infrastructure of contemporary capitalism is being adopted (Frejka, 2008, 160).

The Yugoslav wars (1991–1999) accompanying the socio-economic transformation need to be added to the aggravating circumstances with regard to many ex-Yugoslav countries; their impact is hardly quantifiable in a comparative way.⁸ The individual country's trajectories were very different: while, largely unaffected by the ex-Yugoslav wars, the Slovenian path to EU membership was smooth, most of the other countries went through more than one decade of chaos, violence, and 'nation-building'. The two standard indicators of development, i.e. the GDP and the GINI-coefficient (Tables 7 and 8) are able to underline the heterogeneity of the former Yugoslav countries already in the mid 1990s.

Table 7: Real gross domestic product, PPP\$ per capita.

Tabela 7: Bruto domači proizvod na prebivalca po kupni moči, v USD.

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Slovenia	9.976	12.500	13.200	14.100	14.293	15.977	17.367	17.130	18.540	19.150	20.939	22.273	25.021
Croatia	3.960	3.972		4.895	6.749	7.387	8.091	9.170	10.240	11.080	12.191	13.042	14.309
Bosn./Herz.								5.970		5.967	7.032	7.032	6.801
Serbia													9.468
TFYRM	3.965	4.058	4.163	3.210	4.254	4.651	5.086	6.110	6.470	6.794	6.610	7.200	7.921

Source: WHO (Internet).

Table 8: Distribution of income: Gini coefficient.

Tabela 8: Porazdelitev dohodka: Ginijev količnik.

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Slovenia	0,25	0,26	0,25	0,24	0,24	0,25	0,25	0,24	0,24	0,24		0,24		
Croatia					0,35									
Bosn./Herz.											0,45			
Serbia										0,40	0,39	0,39	0,39	0,37
TFYRM	0,27	0,30	0,31	0,29	0,31	0,31	0,35	0,33	0,33	0,32	0,36	0,39	0,39	0,39

Source: UNICEF (2009).

⁷ The figures are indicative; this is for reasons of space, but also due to lacking indicators that would provide a comparison of these countries over time.

⁸ There is no agreement over war casualties and the discussion is characterised by alternative views (MacDonald, 2003). Estimations are rare. For instance, Leitenberg (2006) estimates 300.000 deaths during the 1991–1996 civil war on the territory of former Yugoslavia involving Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina.

Slovenia, only marginally affected by the Yugoslav wars⁹ and an EU member since 2004, clearly took the lead in terms of development while other countries struggle with both GDP-development and considerable income inequality. Yet explanations or even the isolation of single causal elements on the most general institutional level are difficult. The two other perspectives discussed in the following section are closer to individual choices and behaviour.

Mass Unemployment and the Changing Material Condition

A further, *materialist* cluster in the background of changes in fertility and partnership consists of aspects determining both living conditions and life choices and options. Apart from the two general indicators for development and inequality, the development of the unemployment rate is a good indicator for life chances in work societies that both socialist and post-socialist countries are. And, as Yugoslavia was the only European state socialist economy allowing for (and registering) unemployment (Woodward, 1995) the data go back in to the 1980s. Clearly, the scope of post-state socialist unemployment, and with it the impact on individual lives, is incomparably more problematic (Table 9). Apart from Slovenia, where the youth unemployment problem is comparatively low (but still dramatic enough), youth unemployment rates skyrocketed to a maximum of 74% in Macedonia in 1997. In other words, on average, one to two out of three young people ready and willing to work could not find a job, not even in 2007.

Changes in Value Orientations?

A third, *idealist* perspective on changes in fertility suggests a shift in values and norms towards post-materialism and individualism as being the driving force in the background. As already mentioned, the popular concept of the SDT argues that the most important determinant for fertility changes is value change (Van de Kaa, 1987; Van de Kaa, 2002). This claim overlaps with Inglehart's notion of the "Silent Revolution" in the mid-1960s with value orientations transforming from modern to post-modern ones (Inglehart, 1977; Inglehart 1997). To be precise, this argument does not claim that other determinants, such as economic ones are not important. However, it suggests that people's behaviour is mainly determined by their individual value orientations, which constitute the rather stable normative backbone of behavioural articulations. This section of the paper will take a descriptive look at differences and communalities in the general value climate of the former Yugoslav countries.

We briefly present the value orientations of young people (18–34 years old)¹⁰ in the ex-Yugoslav countries on the basis of the EVS/WVS 1999/00. We calculated the values of the so called two dimensions of cultural variation found by Inglehart and Baker (2000) - known as "traditional vs. secular-rational" and "survival vs. self-expression" - for the individual countries.¹¹ The first value dimension (traditional vs. secular-rational) differentiates between societies in which religion is very important and those in which it is not. Besides, the label "rational" refers to Weber's idea of a comprehensive "rationalization of all spheres of society". A wide range of other orientations is closely linked with this dimen-

Table 9: Youth unemployment rate (15–24).
Tabela 9: Stopnja brezposelnosti mladih (15–24).

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Slovenia	24,0	22,9	18,9	19,2	17,5	18,1	17,9	16,4	15,4	15,2	14,7	15,4	13,4	14,0	8,7
Croatia				26,7	28,5	31,0	39,2	43,1	41,7	34,4	35,8	33,8	32,0	29,0	24,0
Bosn./ Herz.														62,4	58,6
Serbia												48,1	47,7	47,8	43,7
Montenegro													58,1	59,5	38,3
Macedonia				69,5	74,2	70,9	62,9	59,9	56,1	58,4	65,7	64,8	62,6	59,8	57,7

Source: UNICEF (2009).

9 Direct military operations in Slovenia lasted only ten days.

10 We restricted ourselves to the age group of the 18–34-olds in order to meet the target group as well as minimum sampling criteria.

11 These two dimensions have values below or above 0. Values above 0 show, correspondingly, secularized-rational and self-expressive value orientations; values below 0 show traditional and survival orientations. The higher/lower the value, the more accentuated the orientation.

sion.¹² The second value dimension (survival vs. self-expression) reflects the priority shift away from an emphasis on economic and physical security towards subjective well-being, self-expression and quality of life once survival can be taken for granted.¹³

Slovenia and Montenegro seem to have quite secularized-rationalized values systems. Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia, on the other hand, score lower on this dimension reflecting traditional orientation towards religion, family values, parent-child ties and abortion (Figure 1). Regarding the second dimension, only Slovenia shows a trend towards self-expressiveness, while also in Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina especially in Montenegro the emphasis is still on survival. This underlines the above-indicated difference in economic development and material uncertainty in these countries. For Croatia,¹⁴ these two dimensions cannot be calculated due to a lack of data; instead, we calculated only one – existing – indicator from each of

the two dimensions: materialism/postmaterialism index (from "survival vs. self-expression" dimension) and subjective importance of God (from "traditional vs. secular-rational" dimension).¹⁵

Since comprehensive progressive attitudes are a precondition of the fertility development predicted by SDT, only Slovenia should fully qualify for this trend. Even before the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Slovenia was the most developed republic with a per capita GNP of more than one third beyond the Yugoslav average. Partially due to its history – unlike the other former Yugoslav republics, Slovenia (and Croatia) were under Habsburg and not Ottoman rule – and partially due to its economic development and proximity to the West, Slovenia was the most west-oriented of the former Yugoslavian countries (Štiblar, 2007). The other countries were already shown to be marked by more traditional values before the regime change, as an all-Yugoslav survey among young people in the 1980s indicated (see Vrčan, 1986).

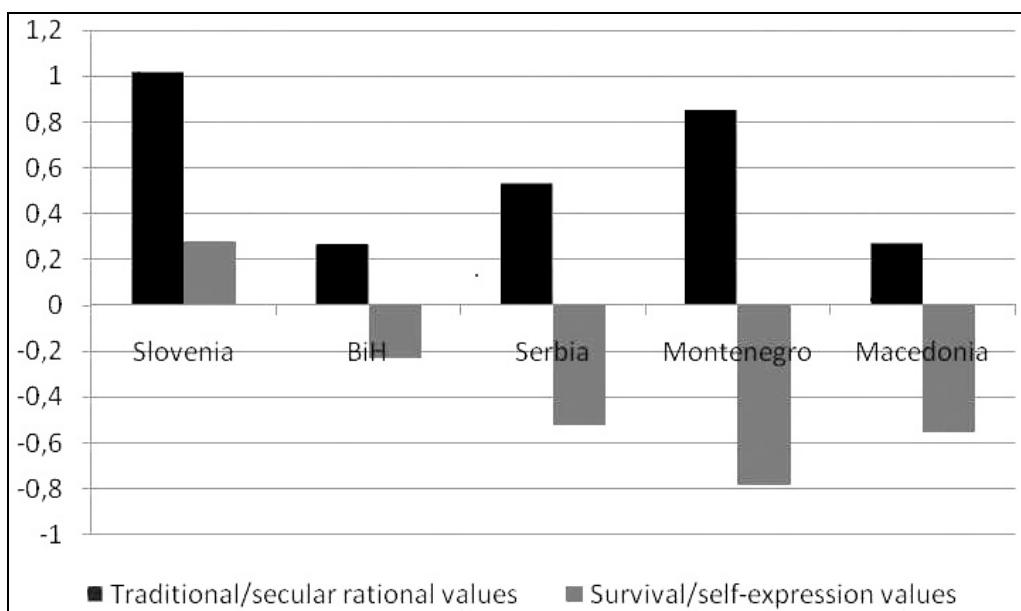


Fig. 1: Two dimensions of cultural variation (EVS/WVS 1999/00).
Sl. 1: Dve dimenzijsi kulturne variacije (EVS/WVS 1999/00).

12 This dimension is measured by the following variables: 1. God is very important in respondent's life; 2. It is more important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith than independence and determination; 3. Abortion is never justifiable; 4. Respondent has strong sense of national pride; 5. Respondent favours more respect for authority.

13 The indicators of this dimension are: 1. Respondent gives priority to economic and physical security over self-expression and quality-of-life (=materialism/postmaterialism index); 2. Respondent describes self as not very happy; 3. Respondent has not signed and would not sign a petition; 4. Homosexuality is never justifiable; 5. You have to be very careful about trusting people.

14 The questions in European Values Study and in World Values Survey partly differ – not the same questions are being asked in the individual countries even under each of these two studies which represents a disadvantage for comparative analyses.

15 In Croatia, the materialism/postmaterialism index shows that the percentage of 'post-materialists' (26,9%) among 18-34-olds is considerable and even higher than the EU15 average (22,1%). However, and similar to most of the other former Yugoslav countries, religion remains relevant also in Croatia: the average rating of the subjective importance of God among 18- to 34-year-olds of 7,0 (on a scale from 1 to 10) is quite high (e.g. in Slovenia this amounts to 4,2 in the same age group).

According to the findings from this youth survey, the Yugoslav youth population was already characterised by large differences and gaps even then. Most importantly, these differences could not be explained by the usual variables such as social status, class, political or religious affiliation, or the social activities of the respondents. Instead, differences largely correlated with national (i. e. Yugoslav republican) affiliation. Slovenian youth turned out to be ideologically, politically, and culturally the most individualistic, open and libertarian and the least traditional (Radin, 1986). Individualist orientations could be found also in Croatia (but not in all cities), and in selected Serbian cities (Belgrade, Novi Sad). The rest of the Yugoslav youth surveyed scored high on the traditionalism and authoritarianism indices. Ule's (1988) interpretation was that these differences resulted from the varying levels and qualities of modernization across the main nationalities (republics) in Yugoslavia.

Unfortunately, there is no additional comparative data on value orientations in these countries on the basis of which we could strengthen the argument of the comprehensive persistence of traditional, non-self-expressive values over time. However, contrary to the findings regarding structural indicators that seem partly to support SDT theory (at least as regards the delay of union formation and childbearing) there seems to be no significant shift in terms of values towards post-materialism (with the exception of Slovenia and partly Croatia).

The descriptive review of available secondary data is able to underline the significance of changes in fertility and family patterns as well as national differences. It is obvious that material and institutional changes were massive, while changes in values and attitudes provide an ambivalent picture. Against this background of ambivalent descriptive findings, is it actually possible to tentatively estimate the influence of various factors on having children or not? The following does exactly that by bringing some of these indicators together in a logistic regression model.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OR VALUES? TENTATIVE ANSWERS TO THE PUZZLE OF FERTILITY DECLINE IN FORMER YUGOSLAV COUNTRIES

Following the theory of the SDT, childbearing behaviour is not sufficiently explained by the socio-economic transformation but also, and essentially, depends on an ideational change continuously operating in the background of the historically 'short' experience of the societal transformation. The model that we wish to test – and that we can test on the basis of available data for the ex-Yugoslav countries – thus links child-

bearing to (a) value orientations and to (b) individual socio-economic indicators. We test whether dramatic changes in childbearing may have their causes (also) in a profound shift in value orientations. In this way we would like to assess the validity of SDT theory in the ex-Yugoslavia. More specifically, and on the basis of the available data, we hypothesise that there is a significant negative effect of post-materialist (i. e. rational-secularized, self-expressive) value orientations on childbearing in ex-Yugoslav countries and that it is higher than that of unfavourable structural factors.

To date, there is only one data set covering all the former Yugoslav countries that could be used to test this hypothesis – already described EVS/WVS 1999/00. For the purpose of secondary analysis fertility, the *dependent variable*, is operationalised by means of a binary variable informing about whether the person has a child or not. As *independent variables* we included two sets of variables. A first set measures socioeconomic and ideational factors in the national samples, namely: level of education, employment (employed, inactive, or unemployed), living with parents (binary proxy for independent housing). A second set measures two dimensions of cultural variation following Inglehart and Baker (2000): shift from survival to self-expression, and from religiosity to secularity-rationality. Correlations between independent variables show no sign of collinearity. Our hypotheses are straight forward. Following SDT theory we expect that the more secularized-rationalized and also the more self-expressive value orientations an individual has, the lower the probability of having a child; and conversely, the more traditional and more survival-oriented and individual is, the higher the probability of having a child. Additionally, if the SDT theory is valid in our case, socio-economic background, here operationalised by means of employment, education and housing should not be the only significant source of variation.¹⁶ Due to the restrictions in the binary dependent variable the relationships were tested in a logistic regression model.

In view of the available data several qualifications have to be made. First of all, we could not make calculations for the individual countries since the numbers of cases (in the 18–34 age period) were not sufficient for such an analysis. For this reason we decided to make calculations for the ex-Yugoslav countries together but without Slovenia and Croatia. Croatia was excluded due to the lack of comparative measurements on the two dimensions of value orientation (see above). The main reason for excluding Slovenia (and partly also Croatia) consists in the remarkably different value orientations of young people in these countries in comparison to the other ex-Yugoslav countries that would have introduced

16 Especially education could also be an indicator of certain values. However, here it is used as structural indicator like in classical social mobility or stratification research.

a considerable bias. Both Slovenia and Croatia have a comparatively higher socio-economic standard and are characterised by a higher degree of post-materialist values; therefore it is more probable that the SDT theory is valid for them. Additionally, the phenomena of fertility and family trends have been analysed more frequently for these two countries, while there has been hardly any research done on the others.¹⁷ Another qualification results from the cross-sectional character of our data. We investigate the interrelationship between the variables at only one point in time – in year 2001 when the WVS was conducted in BiH, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. What is more, we do not have information about the year of birth and cannot distinguish parenthood before the onset of the transformation, and we cannot link this past event to any values at that time. Finally, we have no information about the actual values directly related to children, family etc., since Inglehart and Baker's (2000) two dimensions do not directly include such questions.¹⁸ The long-term development of fertility in

the respective countries indicates that some of the changes started well before the 1990s.

The results of the logistic regression¹⁹ show that independent housing has the biggest influence on childbearing: 18–34-old respondents who do not live with their parents anymore have an 8,9-times higher probability of having a child. Education has the second highest influence on childbearing: the lower the education the higher the probability of having a child. Respondents with low education have 7,0-times higher probability of having a child compared to those with high education; this probability is 3,1-times higher for medium level education. Employment also has a significant influence, but lower in comparison to housing and education. If a person is unemployed, the probability of having a child is 0,5-times lower in comparison to employment status (full time, part time or self-employed). If a person is inactive in the labour market (for example still a student) the probability of having a child is also 0,5-times lower in comparison to those who are employed (Table 10).

Table 10: Loglinear regression: influence of socio-economic and ideational factors on having a child, 18–34-olds, countries into regression analysis – FbiH, RS, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia.

Tabela 10: Loglinearna regresija: vpliv družbeno-ekonomskih in idejnih dejavnikov na odločitev za otroka, stari 18–34 let, države zajete v analizi regresije – FbiH, RS, Srbija, Črna gora, Makedonija.

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Education			17,40	2,00	0,00			
Education(low)	1,94	0,49	15,79	1,00	0,00	6,96	2,67	18,13
Education(middle)	1,13	0,45	6,24	1,00	0,01	3,08	1,27	7,45
Employment			9,01	2,00	0,01			
Employment(unemployed)	-0,81	0,28	8,35	1,00	0,00	0,45	0,26	0,77
Employment(inactive)	-0,66	0,34	3,72	1,00	0,05	0,52	0,26	1,01
Housing(not independent)	2,18	0,25	76,60	1,00	0,00	8,88	5,45	14,48
Ex-Yu countries (without Slo and Cro)			6,26	3,00	0,10			
Ex-Yu countries (without Slo and Cro)(BiH)	0,25	0,35	0,52	1,00	0,47	1,28	0,65	2,53
Ex-Yu countries (without Slo and Cro)(Montenegro)	-0,19	0,42	0,20	1,00	0,65	0,83	0,36	1,88
Ex-Yu countries (without Slo and Cro)(Macedonia)	0,72	0,36	4,04	1,00	0,14	2,05	1,02	4,15
Traditional - rational/secular dimension	-0,17	0,15	1,37	1,00	0,24	0,84	0,63	1,12
Survival - self-expression dimension	-0,13	0,15	0,81	1,00	0,37	0,88	0,66	1,17
Constant	-2,16	0,53	16,58	1,00	0,00	0,12		

Nagelkerke R Square: 0,397; % of correctly classified cases: 80,8 for those not having a child and 73,1 for those having a child

17 This decision is underlined by tentatively including Slovenia into the regression. The analysis shows that Slovenia is significantly different in the context of the respective independent variables from the other ex-Yugoslav countries while there were no statistically significant differences among the other countries indicating their relative homogeneity. The final model demonstrates no statistically significant differences between the remaining countries which justifies the common calculation for these countries as a cluster.

18 Even more, many authors have already been criticizing this approach, e.g. Haller (2002) pinpoints that traditional-secular/rational dimension actually measures only (non-)religiosity, while survival to self-expression measures 'only' civic sense.

19 R-square and the percentages of the correctly predicted cases are satisfactory.

While the influence of socio-economic background indicators on childbearing are significant or highly significant (except for inactivity), none of the value indicators is. Contrary to our expectations and the assumptions of the SDT, neither of the value dimensions has a significant influence on having a child. In other words, non/post-materialist value orientations, which play a prominent role within SDT theorising, are not among the important predictors of childbearing. Instead, the findings indicate that material conditions and socio-economic status are relevant. What are the implications of these findings in addition to the descriptive statistics for a preliminary assessment of the fertility decline in former Yugoslav countries? Our concluding discussion reviews the argument and indicates issues for further in-depth research.

DISCUSSION

Change in fertility and family patterns, both before and after the critical year of 1990 is considerable, even dramatic in some countries of former Yugoslavia; and so is between-country variation. Even without applying advanced statistical methods, the significance of this change in what are indicators of the *dependent* variable in this paper is obvious. Yet some of the decline (in some of the countries) started well before 1990 and is thus indeed probably 'independent' of the post-socialist transformation. Furthermore, there is indication that union and family formation are first of all postponed but without the patterns necessarily pluralizing at the same time. Besides, in terms of average age, first birth and marital union are synchronised (among those women who marry). Also the upward trend in extra-marital births cannot easily be attributed to the transformation experience. For instance, in Slovenia where out-of-wedlock births are common, the development started already in the 1980s.

Altogether the general picture only partly corresponds to the concept of SDT that was used in order to frame the discussion. SDT claims are supported by: (i) low level of total fertility rate, (ii) increasing proportion of women marrying and having their first birth at later age at the birth cohort level. But, patterns of family formation still exhibit uniform patterns, e.g. the levels of out-of-wedlock births, the levels of cohabitations, and the divorce rates are relatively low (with the exception of Slovenia).

However, a preliminary descriptive review of possible institutional, material and ideational causes, all potential *independent* variables, of this development does not arrive at clear priorities for certain interpretations of how changes in fertility and family formation may be intertwined with transformations in society, economy, and the value system. In particular, SDT's claim of the key role of values framing fertility and family changes

does not seem to be verified. With the exception of Slovenia and partly Croatia (where the economic situation is comparatively more favourable than in the other former Yugoslav countries), young people in these countries are (still) traditional and anything but post-materialist. Only few seem to pursue self-realisation and individual autonomy, at least when measured in the conventional way.

In view of the overwhelming economic and institutional changes as well as the ambiguous findings concerning post-socialist values it is difficult to see that the strong emphasis of SDT on value change should materialise in the case of former Yugoslav countries. Instead, it is not obvious from the descriptive review of indicators of trends in two cultural domains that the population in these countries is particularly secular and liberal, or anywhere 'beyond' material concerns. On the contrary, the descriptive findings seem to suggest that some SDT assumptions do not play a role in post-socialist family and fertility patterns in the majority of former Yugoslav countries; with the obvious exception of Slovenia. Furthermore, important structural and context factors that likely played a role in post-socialist fertility and family patterns like, for instance, the experience of war, emigration, and family disruption could not even be considered here.

The descriptive account was supplemented by the systematic analysis of the potential significance of single indicators. This was done by feeding both socio-economic background indicators and values into a logistic regression model with un/realised parenthood as the outcome variable. In view of the ambivalent descriptive findings and especially the considerable changes in reproductive behaviour (especially the changes in age specific birth rates) we still expected values to be somehow relevant predictive categories in the equation, in line with the popular SDT and its strong assumptions. By removing Slovenia and Croatia from the analysis we consciously reduced the chance for this to come out; yet in this way, the findings now seem sufficiently robust for all the other former Yugoslav countries.

Parenthood is shown to be most importantly predicted by the availability of independent housing, even more strongly than by education and employment. This finding underlines the significance of housing in youth transitions in general and in Eastern Europe in particular where housing privatisation policies lead to a substantial housing crisis for young people (Roberts, 2009). It is still not clear in which way causality runs. Do couples/people have children because they have their own homes? Or are they assisted into their own homes by their families because they have children? Further research needs to complement very few studies available (Petrović, 2004 for Serbia). Low education is another indicator for a higher probability to parenthood at this age. The most

striking finding, however, is that the conventional indicators measuring self-expression and secularity/rationality did not show any significant relationship to parenthood. Even if the data set available for this analysis asks for a few qualifications this non-significance comes as a surprise. Possibly, it is the wrong values/orientations to action that are being measured. So the question remains; why do young adults in different countries and individuals in the same countries make different decisions?

On the basis of our findings we might ask: is SDT (a) altogether wrong; (b) wrong regarding post-socialist societies; or (c) simply not elaborate enough to grasp also less 'conventional' features of social change in modern societies such as, for instance, war, (ethnic) violence and its aftermath? Long answers to these questions could be given. A short answer could be: while being an extremely useful umbrella concept for analyzing changes in fertility and family formation SDT remains a contested concept/theory in general and regarding rapidly changing post-socialist European countries in particular. For the latter, "...SDT is too fuzzy as a theory when scrutinised on a finer level" as Sobotka (2008, 213) concludes (see also Frejka et al., 2008). Furthermore, as Sobotka (2008, 212) discusses – on one hand, some countries (e.g. France, USA) are a proof that SDT does not necessarily lead to sub-replacement fertility (what is one of the main theory's features) while on the other hand, low fertility countries might show that SDT is uncompleted (as reflected in persistence (non-pluralization) of family and

partnership behaviours) due to the demographic persistence of the traditional family norms and expectations, the continuation of family policies tailored to support the 'male breadwinner model,' and the persistence of marked gender inequality within the family. Even more, Inglehart and Norris (2002, 5) admit that the material base and level of economic development for post-materialist values to emerge are not yet available; and most countries in the world, among them post-socialist ones, are not yet post-industrial. It seems that first of all the rapidly changing socio-economic context affects family formation decisions by adding to a cocktail of fear and 'biographical uncertainty' (Reiter, 2010) in the region where the rupture in societal development undermines the capacity to plan.

What can be added from the analysis of ex-Yugoslav countries? SDT changes in most of these countries seems to be blocked due to lack of general material well-being, economic and societal growth, existential security and female emancipation – features which are not a suitable basis for development of post-materialist values and individualism expansion (compare Bobić, 2006). But since at least some features of SDT are missing out in most of the countries (sub-replacement fertility in most of the North countries, France and USA, pluralization of family forms in most of the other European countries with lack of values changes in ex-Yugoslav countries) the validity of SDT as the most propulsive concept describing demographic change on general seems to be urgently put into question.

TRANSFORMACIJA IN DEMOGRAFSKE SPREMEMBE V DRŽAVAH NEKDANJE JUGOSLAVIJE – MATERIALISTIČNI, IDEALISTIČNI IN INSTITUCIONALISTIČNI POGLEDI NA REPRODUKTIVNE TRENDE

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POVZETEK

Nizka rodnost in prelaganje rojevanja so zelo razširjeni fenomeni v Evropi, še posebej pa v jugovzhodnih post-socialističnih evropskih državah. Članek obravnava dejavnike, ki vplivajo na ustvarjanje družine in na rodnostne vzorce v državah bivše SFR Jugoslavije v obdobju tranzicije. V ta namen uporabljava večplastni pristop – dostopne statistične podatke in podatke iz raziskav World Values Survey (WVS, Svetovna raziskava vrednot) in European Values Survey (EVS, Evropska raziskava vrednot) 1999/00. Članek izhaja iz koncepta 'druge demografske tranzicije'. Konkretno, naslavlja spremembe v reproduktivnem obnašanju in ustvarjanju družine in partnerstev. To je dopolnjeno

z deskriptivnim pregledom relevantnih institucionalnih, materialnih in vrednotnih sprememb: (a) institucionalnim kolapsom in družbeno-ekonomsko transformacijo, (b) materialnim poslabšanjem življenjskih možnosti predvsem zaradi množične brezposelnosti, (c) vrednotnih sprememb v relevantnih vrednotnih orientacijah. Poleg tega sva izvedla logistično regresijo s podatki EVS/WVS 1999/00, s čimer sva ocenila relativni vpliv družbeno-ekonomskih značilnosti (npr. stopnja izobrazbe, dohodek, stanovanjski status), in vrednotnih orientacij na odlašanje z rojevanjem v bivših jugoslovanskih državah.

Deskriptivni del kaže, da družinske in rodnostne spremembe v analiziranih državah le delno ustrezajo konceptu druge demografske tranzicije. Postavke tega koncepta podpira nizka stopnja celotne rodnosti in naraščajoča starost pri prvi poroki in prvem rojstvu na kohortni ravni. Ampak vzorci ustvarjanja družine, z izjemo Slovenije in delno Hrvaške (kjer je ekonomska situacija v primerjavi z drugimi analiziranimi državami ugodnejša), še vedno kažejo uniformne trende; in sicer glede: stopnja izvenzakonskih rojstev, stopnja kohabitacije in ločitvena stopnja so relativno nizke. Analiza je v večini držav poudarila razkorak med spremenjenimi (odloženimi, ne pa pluraliziranimi) vzorci ustvarjanja družine in rojevanja po eni strani ter še vedno tradicionalnimi (sploh ne-postmaterialističnimi) vrednotnimi orientacijami po drugi strani. Logistična analiza ni potrdila osrednje postavke koncepta druge demografske tranzicije, da imajo vrednote osrednjo vlogo pri družinskih in rodnostnih spremembah.

Ključne besede: Balkan, (nekdanja) Jugoslavije, drugi demografski prehod, starševstvo, rodnost

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THE SIGNIFICANCE AND MEANING OF FAMILY TRANSITIONS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE. THE CASE OF SERBIA IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to explore the significance and meaning given to family transitions: independence from the family of origin, partner relationships, marriage, and parenthood, during the transition to adulthood made by young people in Serbia. After discussing the theoretical issues related to family transitions within a life-course and individualization thesis perspectives, we perform our exploration by interpreting both quantitative and qualitative data related to the practice and normative models of transition to adulthood. We further discuss and explore the centrality of family transitions on a comparative level within the Balkan region. There is a contradiction within family formation trends between their demographic and ideational and relational levels in the region. There is also a crucial difference between the significance of family transitions (which is a common feature) and its diversified meaning. We conclude that various social contexts, the structural and cultural factors that influence family formation call for an alternative conceptualization of young people's transitions to adulthood.

Key words: Family transitions, young people, Serbia, the Balkans, independence, normative models, transition to parenthood

L'IMPORTANZA E IL SIGNIFICATO DI TRANSIZIONI FAMILIARI PER I GIOVANI: IL CASO DI SERBIA IN PROSPETTIVA COMPARATIVA

SINTESI

La relazione si propone di investigare l'importanza e il significato attribuiti alle transizioni familiari – indipendenza dalla famiglia di origine, relazioni tra partner, matrimonio e il diventare genitori – nell'ambito del passaggio all'età adulta dei giovani di Serbia. Dopo il trattamento delle questioni teoriche relative alle transizioni familiari che rientrano nella prospettiva del corso di vita e della tesi dell'individualizzazione, l'investigazione continua con l'interpretazione dei dati quantitativi e qualitativi relativi ai modelli pratici e normativi di passaggio all'età adulta. Nella parte della disamina si esplora la centralità delle transizioni familiari a livello comparativo nella regione balcanica. Esiste una contraddizione nell'ambito delle tendenze riguardanti le formazioni familiari tra i loro livelli demografici, d'ideazione e relazionali nella regione. Si verifica anche una differenza cruciale tra l'importanza delle transizioni familiari, come caratteristica comune, e il loro significato, che è diversificato. Si conclude che i vari contesti sociali, nonché i fattori strutturali e culturali che influenzano la formazione di famiglie, richiedono una concettualizzazione alternativa del passaggio dei giovani all'età adulta.

Parole chiave: transizioni familiari, giovani, Serbia, i Balcani, indipendenza, modelli normativi, passaggio alla maternità e paternità

INTRODUCTION

By their demographic features, family formation patterns in Serbia resemble the trends in Western countries: a decline in the number of marriages (decrease in nuptiality rate from 0.82 in 1980. to 0.68 in 2000.), and in the birthrate (average number – fertility rate -1.4), postponement of marriage (average age at first marriage: 26.3 for women, 29.6 for men – in 2007), and postponement of having children (average age at first child-birth 26.2 for women – in 2007), a rise in the number of non-marital births (from 13.5% in 1991. to 20.2% in 2002.). On the other hand, these trends are not accompanied by the diversification and pluralisation of family forms indicated by a continuing low level of cohabitation¹ and divorce (divorce rate 0.8). The other features of Second Demographic Transition (SDT) are also lacking: the transformation of gender roles and transformation of values. The transformation of gender roles within the family domain (division of domestic work, decision-making, partnership, parenthood) is rather slow (Bobić, 2006; Babović, 2006; Tomanović, Ignjatović, 2006a). The transformation of values and value orientations among young people is not generally taking the trend towards post-materialist values (Pavlović, 2009). These contradictory trends in family formation are common for all the post-socialist countries in the Balkan region² and they cause the validity of the Second Demographic Transition theory to come under question (Bobić, 2006).

It is our aim in this paper to explore the significance and meaning given to family transitions: independence from the family of origin, partner relationships, marriage, and parenthood, within transition to adulthood by young people in Serbia. We intend to interpret both quantitative and qualitative data related to the practice and normative models of the transition to adulthood. The interpretation of patterns and significance of family transitions will be carried out by exploring them on a comparative regional level, and by looking for an explanation of structural and cultural features that influence those trends.

The evidence comes from two sources. The first is the multidimensional survey on the transitions of young people carried out on the representative national sample

for Serbia (without Kosovo) in June 2003 (Tomanović, Ignjatović, 2006a). The research design was based on a quota sample of 3180 young people between 17 and 35 years of age. Quotas were set for age, gender and employment status (students in secondary schools, university students, employed and unemployed). Bearing in mind the social context and its profound impact on young people's lives, our research team decided to extend the sample of young people to 35 years of age.³ Interviews based on a complex multidimensional questionnaire were used as a method of data collection. The second source consists of evidence coming from 20 case studies from the third wave of the longitudinal qualitative study with children and their families in Belgrade (Tomanović, 2004).⁴

We start by drafting the analytical framework currently used to explain family transitions within the transition to adulthood and the debates associated with them. Special reference will be given to normative models of adulthood and their relevance for interpreting transitions to adulthood. Then, we move on to explore the significance and meaning of family transitions among young people in Serbia. First, the quantitative data indicating the centrality of family transitions both on a normative and practical level will be explored. Second, we will explore the significance of family transitions on the qualitative data on normative models of adulthood given by young people. We will then discuss and attempt to provide an explanatory framework for the centrality of family in transitions to adulthood on a comparative – regional level.

FAMILY TRANSITION IN TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD

Transition to adulthood is a vague concept, usually operationalized by using markers that indicate changes in the most important domains after the adolescence phase: family, household, education, and employment status. Although there is a growing interest in many academic disciplines for issues of life course and notably transition to adulthood, it is a highly debated concept today. The reason for this is related to current tendencies in the post-adolescent life phase, especially with regards to markers of adulthood. There are indications that life

- 1 In general population – 1.4% according to national survey survey from 2003 (Bobic, 2006). Independent single life is neither practiced nor valued by young people in Serbia, while cohabitation is highly accepted (by 78% of respondents) as legitimate practice, but it is considerably less practiced (by only 3%, including those who live together in their parents home, and it is mainly considered as "an introduction to marriage" (Tomanović, Ignjatović, 2006a, 280).
- 2 See comparative data given by Kuhar and Reiter in this volume, and data on Bulgaria in Kovacheva and Manolova (2009), and data on Slovenia in Ule, Kuhar (2008).
- 3 While the UN recommends that the concept of "youth" is used for persons under 30 in transitional societies.
- 4 The first wave was carried out when children were 4 to 7, through structured interviews with parents in 100 (working class and middle class) families and 12 case studies in 1993/1994. The second wave – through case studies in 21 families was in 2000 (children 11 to 14). The third wave – through case studies in 20 families was in 2007 (children 17 to 21).

course has become more flexible and markers of adult hood seem to have become dispersed and reversible: partner relationships are not necessarily succeeded by marriage, there are a variety of quasi-family living arrangements, the reversibility of employment/ unemployment status etc. There is a body of empirical work that has documented a number of changes that profoundly influence the lives of young people and their transition to adulthood, including a change of values, as well as changing patterns of employment, education, family formation and gender identities (Walther, Stauber, Pohl, 2009).

Current tendencies in the transition to adulthood have been discussed from different theoretical positions. The first paradigm is developed within the life course discourse – *heterogenization of life course*. This model has first been applied to the former welfare states from the 1980s that has succeeded the period of standard patterns of entering adulthood that had dominated in western countries until the 1970s. The paradigm has been recently applied to explain tendencies in developing countries and post-communist societies (Fussel, Gauthier, Evans, 2007, 391). The hypothesis states that the process of heterogenization of life trajectories has been diffusely spread from developed countries to developing countries, resulting in a converging process of de-standardization or heterogenization of life course.

The second position is basically a sociological perspective, though it goes in line with the previously mentioned hypothesis of heterogenization. It is the *individualization thesis*, which stresses three main aspects of the individualization process: detraditionalization,⁵ de-standardization ("choice biography" replaces "normal", or standard biography⁶), and self reflexivity.⁷ De-standardized, individualized and detraditionalized life courses of young people posed a challenge to sociology to capture this turn (Wyn, Dwyer, 1999; Chisholm et al., 1990; Du Bois Reymond, 1998; Furlong, Cartmel, 1997; EGRIS, 2001; Brannen et al., 2002; Thomson et al., 2004). In order to respond to the increased complexity and ambiguity of youth transitions, the concepts of "post-adolescence" (Du Bois Reymond, 1998; Galland, 2001) and "young adults" (Jones, Wallace 1992; Jones, 1995; Kugelberg, 2000; EGRIS, 2001) have been introduced. There is also a modified concept of individuali-

zation theory, the *structured individualization thesis*, which focuses on institutions and structure in transition to adulthood (Roberts et al., 1994; Brannen et al., 2002, 33). The authors emphasize that personal biography is determined by personal choice but also by social constraints. Contrary to Beck's paradigm, theoreticians of structured individualization define personal biography as social biography that is shaped mostly by education, social status, gender and other factors (Tomanović, Ignjatović, 2006a, 271). Nevertheless, the general concept of individualization of life course and transition has not been abandoned.

In each of these two perspectives, research evidence has shown that family transitions still represent important markers along the life course, notably in the phase of becoming an adult.⁸ Family transitions are one of the key indicators of transition to adulthood and it incorporates the transformation in the family status of a young person. Family transitions are interdependent with other aspects of transition, notably residential status and employment.

The heterogenization theory has been tested in six developing African and South-American countries, where the institutional changes, especially the increasing number of children in schooling similar to that of the western trend in the last decades, were expected to be a factor that would induce change in life course (Grant, Furstenberg, 2006, 426).⁹ On the contrary, the results indicate that heterogeneity has not increased as expected in the cohorts studied. Moreover, patterns of family transitions (marriage, parenthood, and establishing the household) have remained a key generator of diversity among countries in spite of an expected global convergence of life course towards heterogenization and de-standardization. Studies conveyed in developed and developing countries indicate that marriage and parenthood patterns are still mainly determined by socio-cultural factors and value orientations. Their conclusion that *family transition is still country-specific regardless of similar trends in demographic indicators such as decreased fertility rate, increased age of childbirth and increasing cohabitation living arrangements that precede or replace formal marital status*, is particularly relevant to post-socialist countries in the Balkan region, notably Serbia.

5 One of the main consequences of processes of detraditionalization is that structural factors (class, gender, ethnicity, family background etc.) cease to be determinants for the individual in pursuing the late modernity imperative of "living life of one's own" (Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, 26).

6 Consequently, life becomes a "planned project" (Beck-Gernsheim, 2002), while earlier standard life-course sequences cannot be taken for granted anymore, and the individual's life becomes less predictable.

7 Inevitably a "life of one's own is a reflexive life" (Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, 26) – individual biographies become "self-reflexive" and "self-determined", and self becomes a "do-it-yourself" project (Beck, 1992; Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Beck-Gernsheim, 2002).

8 For the relevance and significance of family transition for young people in Europe, see also Walther, Stauber, Pohl, 2009.

9 The thesis on de-standardization of life course has also been re-examined and criticized by exploring qualitative data on different cohorts in Germany (Bruckner, Mayer, 2005).

There are a number of studies that implement the individualization thesis on normative models of adulthood. They focus on the normative aspects of the transition to adulthood, such as constructions of youth and adulthood, aspirations for future life, orientations and values, giving them relevance as indicators of different life trajectories.

For instance, in their longitudinal qualitative study of transition to adulthood carried out in five sites in the UK, Thomson and Holland and their associates wanted to take account of young people's construction of their own versions of adulthood (Thomson, Holland, 2002; Thomson, Holland, 2004; Thomson et al., 2004). They found out that "...although many of the markers of adulthood are fragmented and contested, parenthood and an 'independent' home appear to be at the centre of most young people's understandings of adulthood" (Thomson, Holland, 2004, 22).¹⁰ There was also little evidence of the detraditionalized models of adulthood. Analysis of the individual interviews and particularly the extracts based on the so called "lifeline" methodological tool¹¹ revealed the most striking normative pattern that emerged in the area of personal lives and relationships. Namely, almost all of the young people in their study expected to be married or in a steady live-in relationship and with children by the age of 35, most expecting marriage (Thomson, Holland, 2002). At the same time, this very common normative model of settling down was expected to be reached in different ways, which are classed and gendered.

They also found structural differences among young people in their definition of adult identities. Where they are economically dependent on parents (associated with prolonged education, either vocational or higher), they tend to associate their identities with youth lifestyles,¹² consumption and social life. Where young people go straight from school to work, they tend to invest into the more traditional aspects of adult identity, such as increasing responsibilities. They found tensions between an *individualized model of adulthood* in which young people stress their feelings of maturity and autonomy and a *socialized (relational) model of adulthood* in which young people stress responsibilities of care for others (Thomson, Holland, 2004, 23).

These findings correspond to the concepts of synchronized and unsynchronized youth introduced by

Mirjana Ule in her comparative analysis of young people in Slovenia.¹³ The first one is related to the traditional type of synchronized and coordinated attainment of economic independence, permanent employment and family formation, while the other type is marked by a temporarily less synchronized and substantially less coordinated attainment of "adult social roles" (Ule, 1986, 102). On the normative level, these patterns of transition to adulthood are related to two different concepts of youth. Young people experiencing the synchronized pattern of youth transition incline towards an *adult-centred concept of youth*: they are oriented towards becoming adults and taking over the roles related to adulthood. On the other hand, young people experiencing the unsynchronized pattern of youth transition incline towards a *youth-centred concept of youth*: they are oriented to maintaining the youth status as long as possible and postponing and dismissing taking over the roles related to adulthood. Her research findings documented that biological (the end of puberty) and traditional (e.g. marriage) markers of adulthood lose their significance while being replaced by economic independence as a marker of greater importance (Ule, 1986, 106).

Ilišin and Radin (2002) came to similar conclusions when they detected some trends towards unsynchronized youth in their study that compared two surveys (from 1986 and 1999) on young people in Croatia. Nevertheless, they also detected polarization between adult-centred and youth-centred concepts among young people in Croatia unlike young people from other countries (e.g. Slovenia) who incline towards a youth-centred concept of youth (Ilišin, Radin, 2002, 32 ff). In combination with a detected acceptance of paternalism and relative pessimism regarding the future, these findings led the authors to the conclusion that "...Croatian society is still marked by traditional attitudes – including particularly evident patriarchalism and paternalistic relations towards young people – and considerable modernization is yet to follow" (Ilišin, Radin, 2002, 44).

Before returning to the comparative regional level, we would like to explore the significance and meaning of family transitions in the case of young people in Serbia by analyzing quantitative and qualitative data from available sources.

10 The significance of parenthood as an uncontroversial and irreversible marker of adulthood is documented in the survey among young people in Sweden (Westberg, 2004).

11 "Lifeline" is a methodological tool designed to grasp young people's aspirations, expectations and plans for the future. Respondents are asked to predict their situations on a number of discrete elements (e.g. housing, education, work, relationships) in certain time (e.g. in three years time or when they are at certain age (Thomson, Holland, 2004, 17).

12 In Brannen and Nilsen terms "the model of deferment" or "extended present" (2002, 520).

13 Galland also refers to desynchronization of path to adulthood in his study of young people in France (Galland, 2001).

CENTRALITY OF FAMILY TRANSITION IN TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD IN SERBIA

The comprehensive survey on young people's transitions in Serbia from 2003, has documented that gaining independence from parents is a fairly slow process compared to the northern European model of transition (Tomanovic, Ignjatovic, 2006a; Tomanovic, Ignjatovic, 2006b). Financial and residential status are still determined by family resources. The survey confirmed that most young people live in their parental home until their early 30s, and most of them were completely or partly dependent on family financial assistance. These indicators correspond to macro-level factors, like unemployment (almost half of young people under 24 were unemployed).

At the same time, the dominant strategy for most young people is postponement (delaying) of key life events: finishing education, employment, leaving the parental household, marriage and childbirth – postponing transition to adulthood.¹⁴

Obstacles in gaining autonomy are internalized in the sense that young people undervalue its importance (by "making virtue of necessity"). Thus, in the older age groups (25–35), 16% of respondents state that autonomy is not "that important" at the moment. It is not surprising that one third of young people attach autonomy to prior fulfilment of certain conditions, and most of them relate it to some structural constraints. In the middle age group (25–30), only one sixth of respondents consider themselves completely independent, since most of them are financially dependent on their parents and live in the parental home. It is surprising that just over a half of older respondents (31–35) consider themselves completely independent – even though they are financially independent, 40% of them do not have place to live on their own (Tomanovic, Ignjatovic, 2006b, 64).

We find it interesting that only 64% of married and 31% of divorced young people consider themselves completely independent from their parents. On the one hand, this indicates that if the basic condition for gaining independence – one's own housing – is not achieved, a young person will not have a feeling of autonomy from their family of origin. On the other hand, it points to the presence of strong and durable ties between two types of families: networks of help and support that characterize the cultural circle of southeast Europe and prevent young people from ever feeling fully autonomous from their parents (Tomanovic, Ignjatovic, 2006b, 64).

Correspondingly, the findings from some studies in western countries (Thomson, Holland, 2002), see the normative model stressing family transitions ("settling down") as the crucial aspect of transition to adulthood is very strong among young people in Serbia. Nevertheless, "settling down" is not seen as the end of a personal trajectory of independent lifestyle based on a combination of education, work and leisure, but rather as a prerequisite of the transition to adulthood. Young people perceive family transition as the most reliable indicator of entering adulthood. More specifically, traditional markers of family transition are considered to be one of the necessary preconditions for independence (and consequently adulthood) – both on normative and practical levels (see Table 1. from Tomanovic, Ignjatovic, 2006b, 62).

The findings indicate an extremely traditional pattern of formation of the family of orientation,¹⁵ which is marked by merged and inseparable categories of partnership and parenthood. Furthermore, there is no discrepancy between the normative and practical level in transition to adulthood among young people in Serbia (see Figures 1 to 3 below). *Getting married* (marriage is a traditional substitute for partnership which is not recognized as a relationship *per se*) and *becoming a parent*

Table 1: Preconditions for gaining independence from parents by age (%).¹⁶

Tabela 1: Predpogoji za osamosvajanje od staršev po starosti (%).

	leaving country	getting a job	own apartment	high income	finishing education	marriage/ cohabitation	TOTAL
17–24	3.9	16.6	12.4	30.5	26.8	9.8	100
25–30	3.2	17.9	14.5	32.2	17.0	15.4	100
31–35	3.6	14.4	24.7	35.5	3.1	18.7	100

$\chi^2 = 225.856$, C=0.260, p=0.000

14 See S. Tomanovic and S. Ignjatovic (2006a) on pace of gaining independence : young people in Serbia become independent much later than their counterparts in Western and Northern Europe, for cultural, social and psychological reasons.

15 Unlike the common Parsonian terminology of family of orientation and family of procreation, we have adopted different terminology: family of origin to denote parental family, and family of orientation to denote the family formed by young persons (Tomanovic, Ignjatovic, 2006a; Tomanovic, Ignjatovic, 2006b).

16 Refers to the whole sample.

are key manifestations of adulthood.¹⁷ All other dimensions of transition, such as educational and career transformation, are usually perceived as prerequisites for transition in family life, which is seen as the central point of transition in general. Therefore, family formation could be considered as a kind of a "strategy" in the transition to adulthood. This pattern is opposite to the European trend, where independence from family of origin does not immediately imply starting one's own family.

With this predominantly *socialized (relational) model of adulthood* (Thomson, Holland, 2004) and the congruent prevailing *adult-centred concept of youth*, young people in Serbia more closely resemble their counter-

parts in Croatia (Ilišin, Radin, 2002) than in Slovenia (Ule, 1986) and countries in the West.

As evident from the figures below, there is no discrepancy between the normative and practical level of transition to adulthood among young people in Serbia.¹⁸

As evident from Figure 1 and Figure 2, there is a high level of synchronization and condensation in the time of the key life events (milestones of transition to adulthood), which indicates a highly non-individualized path – life trajectory. The order of events is almost the same for different categories of respondents, but the milestone timings (measured by median age) are slightly different for women and men (Tomanovic, Ignjatovic, 2006a, 276).

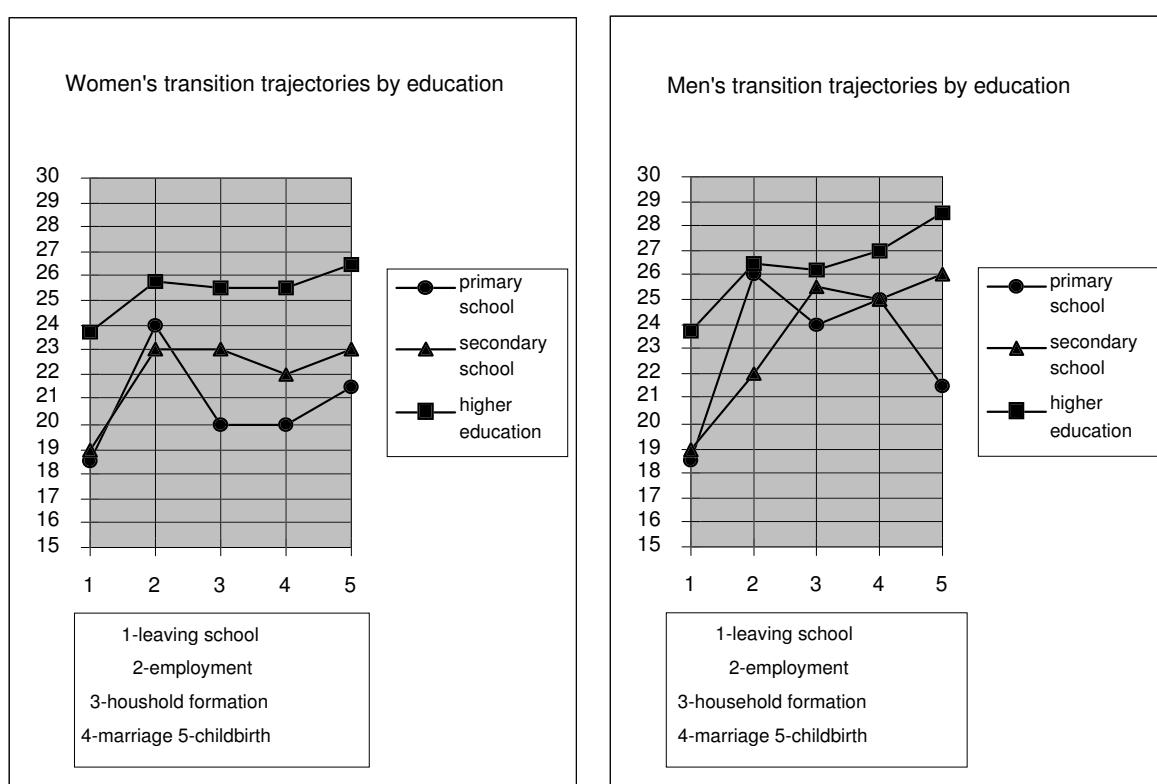


Fig. 1 and 2: Transition trajectories by gender and education.
Sl. 1 in 2: Krivulje prehodov po spolu in izobrazbi.

17 According to Kovacheva and Manolova (2009) this is not the case in contemporary Bulgaria.

18 The data is based on median ages for those young people who have accomplished the mentioned key life events. Since the inactive youth population (high school and university students) could not be expected to experience most of the events (e.g. employment) we excluded this sub-sample from the analysis. The analysis is based on employed and unemployed young people regardless of age and the results were broken down by education level and gender as the most discriminative variables. As far as employment is concerned, this category has been defined as "the first permanent job", rather than formal employment, because of prevalence of informal work in Serbia.

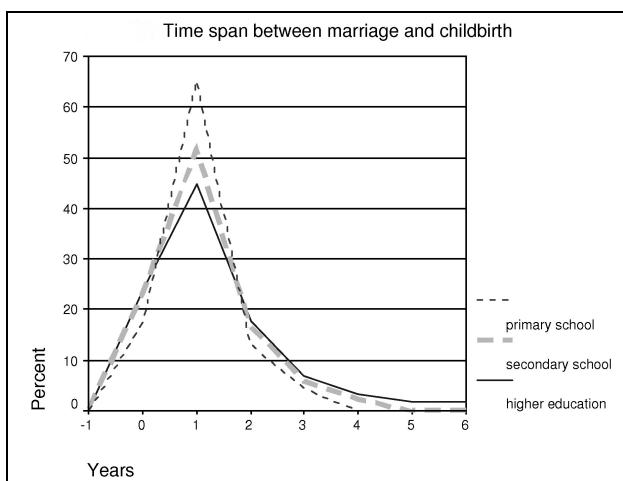


Fig. 3: Time span between marriage and childbirth by education.

Sl. 3: Časovni presledek med sklenitvijo zakonske zveze in rojstvom otroka po izobrazbi.

As evident from the Figure 3,¹⁹ birth practice shows significant time proximity (synchronization) between marriage and childbirth. The most common option is having a child after one year of marriage (between 42% and 63% of young parents, depending on level of education). The next option is childbirth within the first year of marriage. It is followed by a two-year span, while all the other options are significantly less frequent. There are no significant differences according to the respondent's educational level.

Both normative aspects and indicators of practice of family formation confirm that family transitions are central for young people in Serbia.

FAMILY TRANSITIONS WITHIN NORMATIVE MODELS OF ADULTHOOD OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN SERBIA

Taking into account the findings from the case studies of young people aged 17 to 21 diversifies the picture of normative transitions to adulthood and relates it to social differentiation. The qualitative analysis of young people's perceptions of adulthood and aspirations for their future,²⁰ revealed several normative patterns of youth and adulthood that we have named: "standard biography – relational", "standard biography – individualized", "post-adolescent", and "non-standard – individualized" (Table 2).

Considering the structural constraints to young people's individualization stemming from the particular social context in Serbia (Tomanovic, Ignjatovic, 2006a; Tomanovic, Ignjatovic, 2006b), the classification is not based on a conceptual framework of individualization as detraditionalized self-reflexive choice and shaping of one's own lifestyle and biography, but rather operationally as an orientation towards the gaining of an independence and autonomy that stresses maturity (Thomson et al., 2004).

The pattern of growing up that we have named *standard biography* is characterized by an *adult-centred* concept of youth – that is conceptualized as a transitory phase in becoming an adult with an aim of assuming the rights and obligations of adults. Transition to adulthood is a clear path with a gradual and timely taking over the adult roles – finishing school, getting a job, gaining material security, marriage and children before age of 35. This pattern is predominant among the young men and women interviewed. Respondents who are oriented towards this pattern, stress two traditional pillars of adulthood: family formation and material independence. Determined by which of the aspirations they stress, they

Table 2: Patterns of transitions to adulthood.

Tabela 2: Vzorci prehodov v odraslost.

Model	Concept of youth	Biography	Focus
Standard- relational	Adult-centered	standard	Family formation
Standard- individualized	Adult-centered	standard	Independence; Education; Profession
Post-adolescent	Youth-centered	standard (postponed)	Leisure
Non-standard individualized	Youth-centered	non-standard	Self-realization; Post-materialist

19 Based on sub-sample of parents among the young people.

20 Based mainly on analysis of their projections and aspirations for the futures from the "lifelines", but also on their biographies as a whole.

establish the distinction between *relational* (stressing family formation) and *individualized* model (stressing material independence) within the pattern of *standard biography*. Since both young women and men are oriented towards both models, there is no gender differentiation.²¹ The models are socially differentiated – more young people from working class families are oriented towards *relational*, while young people from professional families are oriented towards – *individualized standard biography*.

Notably, although girls from working class families incline towards the formation of family as the focus in their future (*relational model*), they also stress the importance of work and financial independence, as Branka (female,19) did in her interview:

B: At 30, it seems that I will live somewhere with a man. I suppose I'll get married by 30 ... Then I'll live with my husband in the city. Education – no, I will work. I will continue with the job I have started. I don't know, but I will work, I will never just sit there without working and so on. And then – the family – one child by then. Since I like children very much, and I wouldn't want to have child at 35, I can't do that ...

B: At 35, well then – classic mom. But I will work, in any case. I will be a housewife, making dinner and all that ... But I will work as much as I can. I will take care of the children, of course, but I don't want to depend on my husband. I don't know what kind of husband I'll have. I want to have something of my own, that I can rely on myself. Since I do not know what I can expect in life (emphasis added by ST).

Among the respondents – *individualized standard biography* is related to the orientation towards education or profession, which makes social differentiation more distinctive.

In those terms, Stefan's (male,19) vision of his future is an example of a highly determined trajectory, set up by continuing his father's profession and job:

S: At 25, I will probably live in that apartment I've mentioned that I could get in two years. At 25 – education – let me see ... I should finish university by then, if I'm on time... Concerning partner relations and family – at 25, I would probably live with a girlfriend. Job – an architect. I wouldn't look for a job, since, as I said, I have one at my father's firm.

S: At 30, that's already my life. I would buy something of my own, something bigger. Since I suppose I will form a family. I would buy a bigger apartment for my family. Education – I have finished my degree at the Faculty of Civil Engineering. Partner relations – I should

be married. Probably. Work – I will do same job as my father, except I will be a father then.

S: At 35, well ... that depends on how life goes and on the financial situation. Where I would live – that depends ... I would probably buy a house, if I have the financial means. Education – that's finished. I would have the family and children of 4 or 5. Work – I would continue and it depends how I would get on (emphasis added by ST).²²

Young people that support *post-adolescent* pattern of adulthood incline towards *youth-centered* concept of youth: they are oriented to maintaining the youth status as long as possible and postponing and dismissing assuming the roles related to adulthood, they dislike idea of growing up and undermine the importance of adulthood (EGRIS, 2001, 103). Although the elements of the *post-adolescent* pattern of adulthood could be found in several case studies, it is the most explicit in the interview with Jovan (male, 20):

My current motto, more or less, is to ... well I don't know, I wouldn't like to sound silly, but to have as much fun as possible. Every period in life has its phase. When you are a baby – you are a baby. When you are small – you are small. And you need lots of things in that period. When you start school – it's a new phase. Secondary school is another phase. Well, I don't know ... I think that people who are 16 to 20, or to 25-26, or even more if you have opportunity – they should have as much fun as possible, to have as many positive insights in the world, lots of girlfriends, to meet many people, to socialize ... to go to many events. Simply – eventful life. And when you get all that together – you get a lot of experience and information. Then I'll be able to estimate when is the time to settle down – to decide on important issues.

I: And you think it will be around age of 30?

J: Well, yes, that is the most probable. It is the age when the most people start to ask themselves. That is my motto too. Because, as I said, simply every period in life has its phase. And simply, because of that I would not bother asking myself – when is this going to be and when is that ... I will simply let life roll and what "the wind brings to me" (emphasis added by ST).

Features of *non-standard – individualized* pattern of adulthood are self-development, self-fulfilment in material aspect – income, and post-material aspect – travelling, fun, etc., as well as not so clear-cut projections into future, that leave space for open options. Nevena's (female,19) projection of her future is the clearest example of that pattern of transition to adulthood:

21 Furthermore, sexes are not proportional within the case studies sample, due to the fact that 4 girls from the original sample do not live in Belgrade anymore. Since there are 13 young men and 7 young women in the sample now, we could not make any conclusions on gender differences.

22 Housing is a focal point of Stefan's vision of the future, which is congruent with his professional orientation to become an architect.

At 25, I will live alone or with a friend in my own apartment, maybe abroad if I am on some kind of post-graduate studies or the like. So, I will graduate with a degree in Economy and I hope to master at least two foreign languages besides that. At 25, I will not have a boyfriend, maybe some kind of casual relationship. And that's it – I will work on improving, specialization.

... Well, at 30, I will probably have a boyfriend, maybe a husband, certainly a long term relationship (...)

... At 35, first husband or second – we will see. I will work in a foreign or an international major company, where you must travel, where it is all dynamic. I wouldn't like to spend time here in Serbia so much. Where I would be, that's an open question. Maybe my husband could be a foreigner, not necessarily a Serbian, never say never. And, of course, I forgot children – I will probably have one or two children. I hope at 35 to have, to have provided myself more than my parents have provided me. To provide for my children more than my parents have provided for me now. I just love money. It is my current line of thinking – how to earn money. But not for its own sake, but more as means to accomplish some other goals. Travelling is in first place. That is something I would like – to be able to go for a holiday without thinking, to travel whenever I like. That is in first place. To afford a car without a bank loan. Just not to think about money so much (emphasis added by ST).

It is evident that her biography is oriented mainly towards herself (see the emphasized) and less to others (family, partner, children). On the other hand, her doubts and uncertainties reveal the elements of post-adolescent attitude towards youth and adulthood:

Living abroad is significant, but preferably that everything is ready, already done for me, so that I don't put much effort in it. Well, I think I already have everything I need here, but I want more. And why would I want to go from an easy living somewhere where I should suffer if there is no need for that? On the other hand, I would like to leave ... So, I am somewhat torn apart by that for now (...).

I: Were you thinking about living together with someone in the future?

N: No.

I: Why?

N: Well, I don't know, maybe because I do not have someone right now. But first of all, I think I am young, so let me live my life as much as I can.. I am in that phase now, that I would live as much as possible till 28, not to be inhibited by anything. I don't like children so much right now. I guess I am not mature enough in that aspect. But, one day – yes to all of that. (emphasis added by ST).

Among the others, there are two conclusions from the case studies that are relevant for the topic of our paper and significant in explaining the place of family formation within the transition to adulthood among young people in Serbia.

First, the accounts show that family formation is highly valued. It has a significant place in young people's plans for the future, whether it is the central point of transition to adulthood as in *relational standard biography*, or it is at the end of the personal trajectory – "settling down" in their thirties, as in other normative models of adulthood. Second, the accounts show reliance on family resources in planning the future: help and support from parents is expected. Accordingly, the described patterns of growing up are socially diversified related to the resources (capitals) possessed and emphasized by their families and by young person him/herself. They are, therefore, indicators of social differentiation, and could be related to issues of social exclusion and reproduction of social inequality.

DISCUSSION

Contradiction within the trends of family formation is common to all post-socialist countries in the Balkans. There is a discrepancy between demographic trends in family formation that resemble those from Second Demographic Transition (postponement of marriage and childbirth, fewer marriages and children, etc.), on one hand, and still a high value placed on family and parenthood as a norm, on the other hand. These trends are not accompanied by the change towards post-materialist values²³ and the reconstruction of gender roles in partnership in most of the countries in the region. In some of the countries, family formation trends are not accompanied by pluralization and diversification of family forms (cohabitation, divorce, voluntary childless couples, etc.). Although these changes are sometimes interpreted as individualization in young people's behaviour and life styles (e.g. in Bulgaria, Kovacheva, Manolova, 2009), we argue for a more cautious and profound approach.

It seems that family formation is still a very important feature in the transition to adulthood in post-socialist countries in the Balkans. We would like to argue that it calls for an alternative conception of the transition to adulthood, especially family transitions. We will try to do that by providing an explanatory framework for the centrality of family transitions through comparing similarities and differences between countries in the Balkan region.

23 See Kuhar and Reiter in this volume.

Serbia belongs to the Mediterranean family-centered countries, where the family plays an essential role with regards to young people whose transition to adulthood is very slow (Galland, 2001; Galland, 2003; Tomanovic, Ignjatovic, 2006a). According to Maria Iacovou's typology of three models of family formation, i.e. Nordic, Southern, and Northern, Serbia clearly belongs to the southern European model, where young people remain in the parental home for longer time and leave it mainly for family formation – by getting married (Iacovou, 1998, 2002). On the other hand, Slovenia is difficult to categorize according to the typology, since young people live in the parental home till their late twenties, but do not leave it for immediate marriage or parenthood (Ule, Kuhar, 2008, 159).

There are also special kinds of intergenerational connections and solidarity within and between families in southern Europe, but also in central and eastern European countries (Wallace, Kovatcheva, 1998; Brannen et al., 2002). There is a strong moral obligation for parents to support their children throughout their lives in central and eastern Europe (Wallace, Kovatcheva, 1998, 147). The support consists of financial help during education, providing housing, help in starting an independent household and help in childcare. Intergenerational ties thus remain strong throughout the individual's life-course, extend beyond both types of families (family of origin and family of orientation) and are based on a strong sense of reciprocity. These are collectivistic familistic cultures,²⁴ where patriarchal distribution of authority has been replaced with paternalistic parental attitudes and educational styles. The familism was prominent within authoritarian nationalist ideologies in Serbia and Croatia during the 1990s – the Family was considered to be one of the key pillars for the new State after the breakdown of federal Yugoslavia.²⁵

It is evident from our analysis above, that young people in Serbia place great value on family life and parenthood. The situation is similar in other countries in the region: in Croatia (Ilišin, Radin, 2002; Tomić-Koludrović, Leburić, 2001), in Slovenia (Ule, Kuhar, 2008), and in Bulgaria (Kovacheva, Manolova, 2009). For instance researchers in Slovenia concluded, through qualitative analysis of focus groups interviews, that family lifestyles are identified by young people as being desirable and the family has a significant role in their plans for the future. At the same time, according to public

opinion surveys in Slovenia, there is a great implosion towards family life as compared with that from the 80s, together with the high value given to different aspects of family life (Ule, Kuhar, 2008, 156). Studies in Bulgaria also provided evidence on the high significance of family formation and parenthood, since young people in Bulgaria perceive parenthood as "a deep personal need of complete self-realization", and they also express "a feeling of moral and emotional discomfort that they could not have as many children as they want to" (Kovacheva, Manolova, 2009, 10). The difference lies in the meaning of family formation, since, unlike Serbia, in Bulgaria and in Slovenia – family formation is not the main mechanism of transition to adulthood, although "heteronormative notions of "settling down" are so deeply rooted..." (Ule, Kuhar, 2008, 166).

The double transition: transition to adulthood in transitional societies is putting young people at various risks common to all the countries in the region: high unemployment, a precarious labour market, scarce housing, the collapse in social security systems that leaves them with no institutional "safety net", etc. (Kovacheva, 2001; Walther, Stauber, Pohl, 2009).

The above described kind of family significance was recognized by socialist system policies, which oriented most rights and privileges towards the family (e.g. housing policy) rather than towards individuals. This brings socialist and, to certain extent, post-socialist systems close to the type described by Esping-Andersen (1990) as *Mediterranean/sub-protective type of welfare state*. Nevertheless, in the post-socialist period, the security basis provided by the socialist system was destroyed, and families became even more important as providers of resources (material and non-material).

The significant factor that shaped the family transition of young people is the general re-traditionalization process in the family domain in Serbia during the 1990s. One of the indicators of the process is the blocked transformation of family structure, which is indicated by a still significant share of extended family households in the overall number of households (Tomanovic, 2008). The extended family households are considered to be one of the family coping strategies in the context of social and economic crisis (notably housing problem, and lack of financial resources). Of course, it is debatable whether the effects of such changes in family life are persistent and long-lasting or if it was only a temporary

24 One type of collectivism – "brotherhood and unity" was replaced by another "national identity" collectivism: "An analysis of traditionalist value orientations showed a strong inclination of the Serbian population towards collectivism, authoritarianism and patriarchal views on the gender based division of labor, both in the periods of late socialism and post-socialist transformation. The shift towards acceptance of values stemming from modernity appeared to be very slow, which makes the already hard and painful process of transformation more troublesome and uncertain." (Pešić, 2006, 305).

25 Nevertheless, the pro-familist and pro-natalist pleas from the authorities and the churches did not succeed in persuading women to give more births, since natality is low and declining in both countries.

regression due to rationalization and not retraditionalization. However, these conditions must have influenced the professional and family strategies of young people who were going through the transition to adulthood during the 1990s and beginning of the 2000s.

There is also a high level of documented dependence on family resources with a proclamation for autonomy but an acceptance of paternalism. For example, in Croatia pragmatic reliance on family resources, with the prolonged protective role of parents, is very similar to Serbia – young people live in the parental home, the only source of income comes from parents (Tomić-Koludrović, Leburić, 2001, 15).²⁶ Family resources are of the most significance in providing housing (in Serbia: Petrović, 2004; Tomanovic, Ignjatovic, 2006a). Family is also the most significant provider of social capital for young people (Serbia: Tomanovic, 2008; Bulgaria: Kovacheva, 2004), particularly in their transition from education to work, but also as a resource of support for parenting (Serbia: Tomanovic, 2004; Slovenia: Ule, Kuhar, 2008). This leaves young people "... critically dependent, both materially and emotionally (and much more so than in the previous system), on family support, especially in their transition to adulthood." (Ule, Kuhar, 2008, 155).

The emotional dependence has been evidenced in Serbia, but also in Croatia as conformist relations with parents, and life orientations towards present rather than planning the future (Tomić-Koludrović, Leburić, 2001, 15). On the other hand, researchers in Bulgaria have detected the cultural shift from paternalistic (and pre-modern) to liberal (modern and post-modern) inter-generational relationships within the family (Kovacheva, Mitev, 2004; quoted in Kovacheva, Manolova, 2009).

It is reasonable to conclude that a high level of dependence on family resources could not be associated with individualization, since it is opposed to detraditionalization and limits young person's chances for making choices and developing an independent lifestyle. Furthermore, the high dependency on family resources capital and their uneven distribution is related to stratification differences. Besides limiting a young person's chances for individualization, it also reproduces social inequality.

This "domestication of youth" (Ule, 2009), seems to be the common feature in all post-socialist countries in the Balkan region. It could be related to "anti-modern" processes in some transitional societies, which should first reach and then "overcome industrial modern state" (Tomić-Koludrović, Leburić, 2001, 9). While the high *significance* of family transition is a common feature in the countries in the Balkan region, its *meaning* is diversified depending on whether it is considered to be the main path in entering adulthood or its final stage. According to Kovacheva (2001), one particular feature of youth transitions in post-socialist countries (and particularly in the Balkans) is that life conditions either leap from pre-modern constellations into post-modern fragmented ones, or are a mixture of both. Taking into consideration that "flexibilisation" of youth transitions in those countries brings the potential for pluralization and individualization of life-styles, rather than their true individualized diversification, we argue for an alternative conceptualization of youth transitions that would take into account specific social context and cultural pattern features.

26 The situation in Slovenia differs in terms that young people who stay in parental home for prolonged period of time earn themselves, which makes that they are not completely financially dependent on their parents.

SMISELNOST IN POMEN DRUŽINSKIH PREHODOV ZA MLADE. PRIMER SRBIJE V PRIMERJALNI PERSPEKTIVI

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POVZETEK

V prispevku se osredotočamo na smiselnost in pomen, ki se pripisuje družinskim prehodom: osamosvojitvi od primarne družine, partnerskim odnosom, sklenitvi zakonske zveze in starševstvu v prehodu v odraslost mladih v Srbiji. Po razpravi o teoretičnih vprašanjih, povezanih z družinskimi prehodi tekom življenja in vidikih teze o individualizaciji se posvetimo razlagi tako kvantitativnih kot kvalitativnih podatkov povezanih s prakso ter normativnim modelom prehoda v odraslost med mladimi v Srbiji. Pri obravnavi središčnega položaja družinskih prehodov na normativni in praktični ravni uporabljamo kvantitativne podatke, ki so rezultat raziskave iz leta 2003, opravljene na nacionalnem reprezentativnem vzorcu 3180 mladih od 17 do 35 let. Podatki kažejo na veliko smiselnost in poseben pomen, ki jo ima oblikovanje družine pri prehodu v odraslost. Kvalitativni podatki, pridobljeni v 20 študijah primera iz tretjega vala vzdolžne kvalitativne študije, predmet katere so bili otroci in njihove družine v Beogradu in ki se je izvajala med letoma 1993 in 2000, dokazujejo smiselnost družinskih prehodov v normativnih modelih odraslosti mladih. V razpravi raziskujemo središčni položaj družinskih prehodov na primerljivi ravni znotraj balkanskega prostora. V trendih oblikovanja družin obstaja protislovje med njihovimi demografskimi in idejnimi ter relacijskimi ravnimi v tem prostoru. Obstaja tudi bistvena razlika med smiselnostjo družinskih prehodov, ki je skupna značilnost, in njihovim pomenom, ki je raznolik. Sklepamo, da različni družbeni konteksti, strukturni in kulturni dejavniki, ki vplivajo na oblikovanje družine, zahtevajo alternativno konceptualizacijo prehoda mladih v odraslost.

Ključne besede: družinski prehodi, mladi, Srbija, Balkan, neodvisnost, normativni modeli, prehod v starševstvo

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A SOCIOLOGICAL PORTRAIT OF CONTEMPORARY CROATIAN YOUTH

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the results of three pieces of empirical research conducted in 1986, 1999 and 2004 respectively, on a representative sample of youth in Croatia and a control sample of those above 30 in the latest research. One aim of the data review is to obtain insights into the basic contours of the sociological profile of contemporary Croatian youth and changes that occurred in the observed period, detecting possible intergenerational differences. The data comparison showed the limited dynamics of the changes in the young population and the relative proximity of the attitudes of the young and the older population in Croatia.

Key words: Croatia, youth, social status, problems, values, political participation, leisure, interests, socialization

RITRATTO SOCIOLOGICO DELL'ATTUALE GIOVENTÙ CROATA

SINTESI

Il contributo presenta i risultati di tre ricerche empiriche condotte negli anni 1986, 1999 e 2004 su un campione rappresentativo dei giovani in Croazia e, nell'ultima, anche su un campione di controllo composto dalla popolazione maggiore di 30 anni. Uno degli scopi dell'analisi dei dati è stato ottenere una conoscenza dei lineamenti del profilo sociologico dell'attuale gioventù croata, nonché dei cambiamenti verificatisi nel periodo esaminato, rilevando le possibili differenze intergenerazionali. Il confronto dei dati ha dimostrato una modesta dinamica di cambiamenti nella popolazione giovanile e una relativa affinità tra gli atteggiamenti dei giovani e quelli della popolazione più adulta in Croazia.

Parole chiave: Croazia, giovani, condizione sociale, problemi, valori, partecipazione politica, tempo libero, interessi, socializzazione

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Scientific research into the young population was conducted in Croatia in the late 1950's, while systematic study began in the 1970's. The focal point of this research is the Institute for Social Research, with more than 40 scientific projects conducted over almost five decades of continued observation of the phenomena of youth. The thematic focuses of these projects are the various issues relevant for the study of youth, which provide sociologically founded insights into the characteristics of Croatian youth.

This paper is based on three pieces of research conducted over the last two decades to obtain a sociological portrait of the young generation in Croatia. These studies are: *The Status, Consciousness and Behaviour of the Croatian Young Generation* (N=1.250), *The Value System and Social Changes Amongst Youth* (N=1.700) and *Youth and European Integration Processes* (N=2.000) and a control group of people older than 30 (N=1.000).¹

These studies were conducted on a representative sample of young people from the whole of Croatia, where four basic semi-professional groups (high school students, university students, unemployed and employed) were represented proportionally and in three cohorts (ages 15–19, 20–24 and 25–29). All three studies used the same instrument, which enabled longitudinal monitoring of certain issues and phenomena. This discovery of the dynamics of changes in the young population, accompanied by the introduction of the control sample provided the basis for discovering the specificities of the contemporary younger population. For this reason, the following review of the data presented will be dominated by comparative data on youth in different periods, accompanied by a comparison of the young and the older groups in 2004. Before systematization of the data review we shall briefly elaborate the conceptualisation of the research used, that is to explain the specificity of the Croatian social context and the theoretical approach to young people.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF GROWING UP IN CROATIA

The mid 1980's in Croatia was a period of late, well elaborated socialism that differed from other socialistic regimes by systems of self-government and social-owned property. The undisputed leader and political arbiter Josip Broz Tito had been dead for five years and the strength of the ideological dogmas had clearly waned – especially among youth (Santrić, 1989). Also, warnings

were heard regarding the disintegration of the federative community of Yugoslavia (in which Croatia, after Slovenia, was the most economically developed republic) together with an economic crisis. In 1990 Croatia left behind the disintegrating socialist system and the former state and became one of many transition countries.

The first decade in Croatia was more turbulent than in the rest of the post-socialist countries. Alongside the problems which all transition countries faced in a more or less successful manner, Croatia experienced armed conflicts that lasted for several years. A war waged on its own territory unavoidably left long-lasting economic and social consequences. At the same time changes related to the foundation of the new social and political system occurred, especially affecting the political and economic system. The new political system was normatively founded on liberal-democratic values, and the economy on capitalistic postulates. In principle, this means the acceptance of political pluralism, the rule of law, tolerance, respect of human and minority rights, freedom of the press, the inviolability of private property, development of entrepreneurship and a market oriented economy.

At the beginning of the 1990's there was obvious euphoria among Croatian citizens, stimulated by the state's independence, national affirmation and abolition of the totalitarian political system, which altogether eased some of the problems that occurred right from the very beginning of the transition. In other words, despite the proposed normative and institutional-political framework, the real processes in Croatia were not conducted in accordance with the proclaimed principles. This was a reason for establishing of the ethnically homogenous state with predomination of the concept of national integration and renewal of the traditional values. The political monopoly of one single party (positioned at the right political spectre), whose style of ruling included elements of authoritarianism and clientelism lasted for a decade. The public media were acted more in the service of the ruling party than in the name of the ordinary citizens, human and minority rights were often violated without corresponding sanctions (Kasapović, 2001; Katunarić, 1995; Lalović, 2000; Zakošek, 2002). The deficient democratisation of Croatian society, accompanied by the involvement of the Croatian Army in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, contributed to the international political isolation of Croatia. At the same time, in the midst of the war state-owned property began to be transformed, followed by privatisation, and the situation made wide-scale abuse possible. The conversion of property and the restructuring of the economy resulted in the mass destruction of businesses, loss of jobs,

1 The integral results of these studies were presented in four papers: *Fragments of Youth, Youth and Transition in Croatia, Croatian Youth and European Integration and Youth: Problem or Resource?*

a fall in living standards over a broad social strata and a pronounced deepening of social differences. These changes also resulted in a fall in the quality of life and the loss of social security which people had known for many generations as they had been brought up under socialism. The end of the war and the experience of life in new circumstances enabled the people's dissatisfaction with the manner and dynamics of social transformation to emerge. This was intensified by the fact that citizens had significant expectations for a rapid improvement on an individual and social level. Instead, Croatia lost its comparative advantages relatively rapidly from the beginning of the transition period and ended up at the bottom in terms of success in the transition countries.

The second decade of transition began with a one-time-basis change of government, and the third peaceful change of government occurred at the end of 2003. This marked Croatia's entrance into a period of democratic consolidation, but there were also political changes, such as the democratisation of society, liberalisation of media space (with an increase in the critical power of the media), with greater protection of human and minority rights. These trends began with the political takeover by the left coalition at the beginning of 2000, but after less than four years the political party that led the country in the first decade of transition, took over leadership again. The reformed ruling party made a couple of important symbolic gestures to build up democratic norms and standards. Still, some trends have been very persistent: the judiciary has not become more efficient, and political actors have not adopted democratic standards of functioning to a sufficient extent. Also, the economic development of Croatia has not improved, propulsive entrepreneurial activity has not been realised, competitiveness has not been raised, the negative consequences of privatisation have not been repaired and state debts and the sale of potentially valuable economic resources have continued. Most citizens are still dissatisfied since their standard of living has not improved and the unemployment rate has not decreased.

The young are one of the population segments most evidently and rapidly affected by these processes and changes. The reasons for this are multiple and partially related to the specificity of the transition from childhood to adulthood, and partially to the specificity of the transition from a totalitarian to a democratic system.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF RESEARCH INTO YOUTH IN CROATIA

A relatively low age is the universal common characteristic of youth, although researchers are not uni-

mous in their definition of the boundaries of youth. When it comes to Croatia, analysis has shown that it is sociologically justified to consider the population from 15 to 30 years as young, or youth, since the oldest cohort (25 to 29 years) is more similar to the population younger than 25 than to the population older than 30 (Ilišin, Mendeš, Potočnik, 2003, 40).² However, besides the fact that different age definitions of youth may produce methodological and cognitive difficulties, there is also a problem of youth as a temporary characteristic. H. Bradley (1997) deals with this, saying that age is an important source of personal identity and an unreliable basis for collective (group) identity (since age is inevitably temporary), which makes articulation of common interests, problems and needs difficult. The same author points out the fact that age is "a neglected dimension of inequality" (Bradley, 1997, 148), where we can find a specific type of stratification – the most powerful being in the middle age group. This means that the younger and the older cohorts are in a worse position than the middle cohort (Turner, 1989; Županov, 1996).

A comparison of the entire social status of youth with the status of older people indicates their marginal social position (Ilišin, 1999). More specifically, contemporary young people are marked by a slower uptake of permanent social roles: from professional and family to the public roles. This forced or wilfully chosen prolongation of the status of youth consequently limits the possibilities of expressing the innovative and creative potential of youth, and at the same time becomes a suitable basis for the appearance and persistence of various problems of and with young people.

At the same time, young people may be considered as both a social resource and a social problem (Griffin, 1993; Roche, Tucker, 1997; Schizzerotto, Gasperoni, 2001). A resource approach to youth implies that youth is observed both as a potential source of innovation and as the representatives of a desirable future and bearers of the dominant social values transferred from generation to generation. Thus, the young are a vital social asset and should be provided with the optimal social conditions for development. In this context, the young are regarded as both a future social power and an important present social resource. In other words, the social importance of the young emerges from a potential that must be activated while they are young, without postponement. Besides that, the permanent decrease in the demographic share of youth in developed countries suggests that the young should be (if not now, then certainly in the future) treated as a relatively scarce resource. A problem approach to the youth (i.e. the source of the problems or the group with the problems) means that

2 Related to this, it should be mentioned that Croatia is one of the group of countries with unfavourable demographic trends which also causes the reduction and ageing of the population. The proportion of young people in the total population decreased from 27.7% in 1953 to 20.6% in 2001.

youth are observed as a population in a sensitive period of development. The young are also susceptible to various forms of deviant behaviour, and are regarded as a population that is not integrated into society in a satisfactory manner and a group that has to be protected by society. This viewpoint is often related to the negative public image of youth and to society's distrust of youth. The consequences are the marginal social status of youth and the paternalistic relationship between society and youth.

However, independently from a theoretical approach, a common aim of all contemporary societies is the adequate social integration of youth, provided that the corresponding conditions exist (Furlong, Guidikova, 2001). In practical terms this means that the development of their existing capacities has to be stimulated, especially in unstable periods marked with rapid changes, since "...as always, aim of youth aim is to create history, the present and the future, and society's duty is to provide youth with adequate foundations for the fulfilment of this duty" (Youniss et al., 2002, 121).

For many reasons, contemporary society recognizes the young as a vulnerable segment of the population, as changes occurring in the contemporary world almost always and everywhere affect young people most. A basic reason for this is the fact that the most young people stand on the dividing line between the protected world of childhood and the competitive world of adults – who expect adequate social integration and that young people will take on a permanent social role. However, this integration – both today and in the second half of the 20th century – is a complex process in which the young often distance themselves from society, seeing it as insufficiently friendly due to their vulnerability and specific life experiences (Furlong, Cartmel, 1997). The phenomenon, called prolonged youth, (Brown, Larson, Saraswathi, 2002; Cavalli, Galland, 1995; Griffin, 1993; Roche, Tucker, 1997; Ule 1988) is characterised by the increasing length of institutionalised education, uncertain employability (especially in secure and well-paid jobs), difficulty reaching socio-economic independence, prolongation of dependence on the family of origin and insufficient inclusion in the processes of social (political) decision-making. Prolonged youth logically results in slow social integration and persistence of the young's dependence on society, i.e. older people.

At the same time, the contemporary world is changing rapidly, which makes it both a risky place for growing up and an environment in which the way youth is conceived as a transition period to adulthood are in constant change (Du Bois-Reymond, 1998; Furlong, Cartmel, 1997; Ingelhart, 1997; Kipke, 1999; Mortimer, Larson, 2002; Pais, 2000; Walter, 2006; Wyn, White, 1997). Globalisation has a particularly powerful contribution to the far reaching consequences, as do the rapid development of information-communication technology,

economic changes, increased migration, which includes an increase in the risks and pressure for modernization and reduces and transforms previous forms of social reproduction (Larson, 2002; Ruddick, 2003; Youniss et al., 2002). Modernization processes in the contemporary world contribute to the weakening of traditional relationships and forms of value and the transfer of behavioural patterns. As a result, the young are forced to face up to an increasingly uncertain and difficult search for their identity and individual strategies of social integration (Bradley, 1997; Ingelhart, 1997; Miles, 2000; Ule et al., 2000; Wyn, Dwyer, 1999).

The risks faced by youth are further extended and deepened in transition countries – both in comparison to the young from more developed countries and from earlier generations of youth from socialist societies. Growing up in this unique socio-historical period is marked by a double transition: firstly – young people are undergoing the unique transition period from youth to adulthood, and secondly – this process is taking place in society which is undergoing a transformation itself. Their socialization takes place at a time when the institutions, processes and norms that used to direct transition to the world of adults have either vanished or undergone a profound transformation. Although it is generally believed that the young are the "natural winners of the transition" (Young People in Changing Societies, 2000, 12), as they are more flexible and better equipped to accept the changes brought in by social transformation – analytical insights have shown that youth in transition countries are more exposed to new and greater risks than to new and better perspectives. There is also evidence that poverty has deepened and social differences have widened with the decrease in state and social support for social reproduction and promotion; competition on the labour market is becoming more fierce, with permanently high youth unemployment rates; social insecurity is increasing, with an increase in criminal offences and various forms of deviant behaviour; health care is more and more unattainable; competition and the pressure to obtain as high an education as possible is increasing, with decreasing educational opportunities for the young from socially deprived strata; former social values have been devalued, which has led to a decrease in the importance of intergenerational transmission; the installation and interiorization of new values have slowed and young people are adrift in an individual search for identity, integrity and abilities in choosing their life aspirations (Kovatcheva, 2001; Roberts, 2003; Tomusk, 2000; Ule et al., 2000; Wallace, Kovatcheva, 1998).

Experience and research into the social status and problems of the young in transition countries, according to K. Roberts (2003, 484), call for the reaffirmation of the traditional (conventional) youth paradigm in sociological science that researches the relationship between their

social background, orientation and aims. Transition societies have showed that life chances for the young are not primarily individually created. In other words, individual life choices occur in an existing social structure and they are limited by the availability of the resources needed (Cote, 2002). An insight into the structural restrictions, first of all into the socio-economic and socio-class dimension, is a necessary foundation for an analysis of the cultural dimension of young people's lives – such as values, leisure, consumer behaviour, sub-cultural patterns and life styles (Miles, 1998; Roberts, 2003; Wyn, Dwyer, 1999; Wyn, White, 1997). Shortly, major social changes in all post-socialist societies have clearly shown that the accomplishments of the youth and their future social status are dominantly conditioned by their starting positions, which are, in turn, the consequence of the given socio-economic and socio-structural sets. Contemporary generations of young people are less able than previous ones to make use of various channels of social promotion. The reasons lie in inadequate social support, which is the reason for the increasing importance of family resources, i.e. socio-class modelled possibilities and limitations.

Alongside this we should add that the circumstances in the transition countries, including Croatia, do not stimulate intergenerational integration. Simply, new competitive conditions, and economic and social changes motivate the choice of individual strategies for occupying the best possible social positions. In principle, this destroys inter-group solidarity and the possibilities of articulation of generational interests and needs.

PROBLEMS AND POTENTIALS OF CROATIAN YOUTH

Young People's Social Status and Problems

Firstly, it should be said that most young respondents in Croatia believe that youth lasts until the age of 29, whereas we can differentiate youth-centred and adult-centred youth. Youth-centred orientation is marked by young people's aspiration to remain in that status for as long as possible, the accentuation of socio-economic independence as the most important criteria for adulthood, accentuation of the advantages of youth because of their flexibility and innovative potential, and the wish to move the upper boundary of youth beyond the age of 30. On the other hand, adult-centered youth do not believe that they differ in any way from older people, they are more prone to accept the paternalistic relationship of society towards young people, and they accept the traditional criteria of the adulthood (i.e. marriage) to a greater extent.

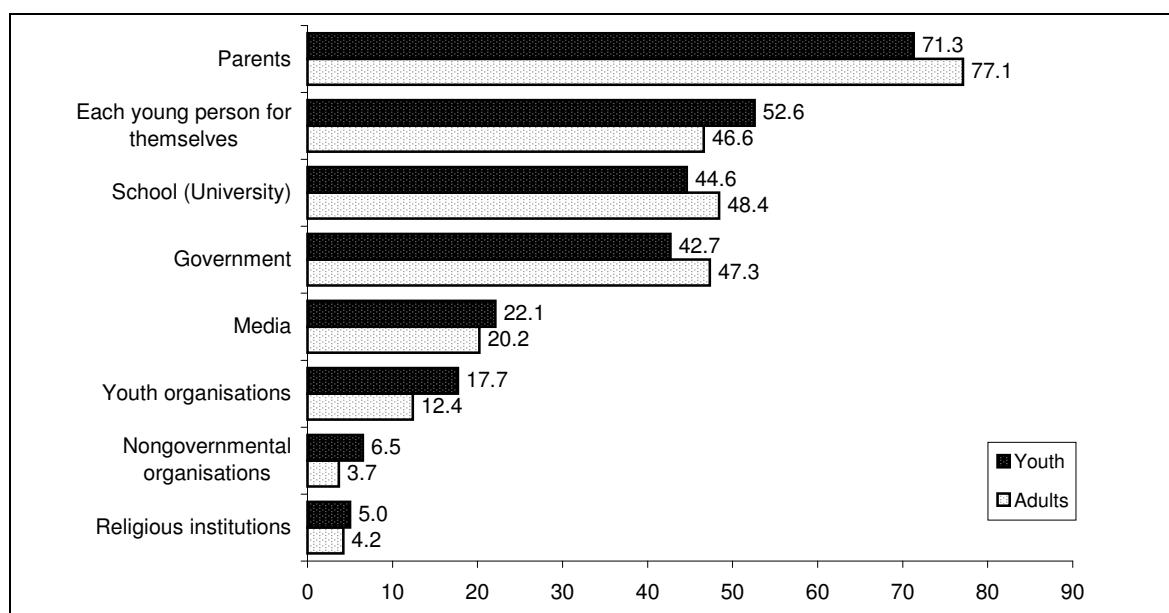
The research data have shown that some tendencies are closely related to the stages of growing up. It was detected that the oldest youth cohort is focused on youth who have finished formal education and succeeded in

gaining employment. Related to this, it was found that the most evident trend of relatively long time spent studying at university and the tendency to be unemployed equally affects all youth older than 20. The results also showed that youth, especially men, are inclined to postpone marriage. This life step is especially related to the provision of private housing, which was managed by only a few respondents (15%). Most of them are not married (85%) and live with their parents (75%), first of all due to their financial inability to leave the parental home (76%) and rent or buy their own housing space. Shortly, the inability to resolve their accommodation problem contributes to a great extent to the postponement of taking on permanent social roles (such as starting a family), and, generally, to the slow socio-economic independence.

Young Croatian people are mostly affected by socio-economic problems, which concretely means that two fifths of them emphasize their low standard of living, the lack of prospects in life and unemployment. It is indicative that unemployment is no longer seen as an isolated and exclusively generational problem (as it was during the socialist period). Here young people see unemployment as a problem with complex causes and long-lasting negative implications for both the young and society as a whole. It is interesting that despite the ever-present "moral panic" only one fifth of the young mentions alcoholism and drug-abuse as major generational problems. Still, these problems exist since the research data show that in the period from 1986 to 2004 the number of those who frequently or occasionally consume alcohol has increased from the already high 75% to 85%, and for "soft" drugs this number has risen from 17% to 35%.

The data obtained indicate that the young have become aware of the exceptionally high social stratification that encompassed Croatian society during its transformation to capitalist society. Evidence for this are the 62% of youth who think that the provision of equal chances for education and employment would contribute to a more efficient solution to the problems of the young. It is evident that most young people have already faced difficulties regarding educational resources and the tough competition on the labour market, which have made them sensitive to the inequality of opportunities. Besides that, 47% of them believe that the young's participation in decision making on all levels would help find a better solutions to generational problems. They are followed by those who regard that more strict punishment of drug dealers (41%) and modernizing secondary and higher education (37%) would help in solving these problems.

Migration to foreign countries is listed as one of the strategies for overcoming the current restrictions on the prospects of young people. From 1986 to 2004 the number of those who do not want to move abroad decreased from 33% to 22%, while the number of those who would leave the country forever doubled (from



Graph 1: Ranking of the most important factors for solving the problems of youth – the young and older groups – 2004 (%).

Graf 1: Razvrstitev najpomembnejših dejavnikov pri reševanju problemov mladih – skupini starejših in mlajših – 2004 (%).

13% to 26%), and a stable two fifths of them would like to live abroad for a long time.

It is indicative to look at the attitudes of the young towards those considered to be the most important in the resolution of their problems (Graph 1).

The results presented in Graph 1 show that the young mostly believe in individual efforts in solving their problems, while they most frequently rely upon their family and their own efforts. Still, they are aware that the government has to create a legal and social framework to enable individual efforts to have results. They also expect society's help in the area of education since they know that the adequate education or training for a job is a prerequisite for employment and assurance of making a living and social promotion.

Educational accomplishments are obviously important to the young and the statistical data on the educational structure (Graph 2) show that each new generation is more educated than the previous one (where secondary education has expanded to the greatest extent).³

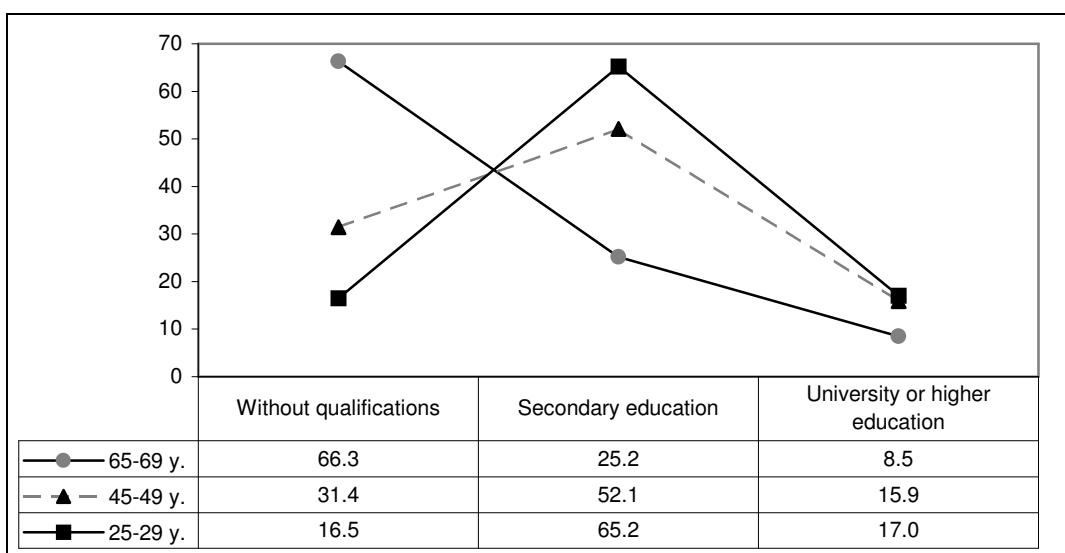
The research data show that youth in Croatia predominantly see education as a means of individual development (58%), and for acquiring the capacities which are prerequisite for the satisfactory resolution of basic existential problems – such as obtaining a desirable job

(45%) and socio-economic independence (43%) – after completing their education. The importance of education as a means of social promotion – obtaining a better material standard (40%) and prestigious social status (27%) – is secondary, while the young regard the socialization role of school as the most important (19%).

Although important changes occurred in the structure of the unemployed in Croatia from the 1980's to the 2000's – first of all with regards to a decrease in the younger cohorts – youth unemployment rates still indicate unemployment as one of the most evident problems of the younger generation. In other words, the youth unemployment rate for almost two decades has encompassed one third of the young active population, who are additionally affected by more frequent employment in poorly paid temporary jobs and by work on the "black market" which was reported by two fifths of youth. The young are chronically dissatisfied with their position in the labour market, and they state that the results of the war (36%), insufficient economic development (29%) and badly managed privatisation (28%) are the actual reasons for their unemployment.

Good general education (55%), communication skills (48%), knowledge of foreign languages (36%) and educational qualifications (35%) are most important for

³ Another important tendency is an increase in the educational accomplishments of women, which has resulted in the fact that women from the generations after 1965 have on average become more highly educated than the men. In 2001 in a 25–29 cohort 20.4% of women and 13.6% of men had university education (Ilišin, Mendeš, Potočnik, 2003, 64).



Graph 2: Accomplished educational degrees in terms of age, according to the Croatian Census in 2001.

Graf 2: Dosežena stopnja izobrazbe glede na starost po hrvaškem Popisu prebivalstva 2001.

successful employment. Only one fourth regard IT skills as important, which is consistent with the number of young people who do not use computers (principally since they do not own a computer).

There are not many statistically significant differences between the younger and the older cohorts in the presented data, but, they are very indicative. Thus, we can expect most of the older cohort to be married (90%), to own their housing space (80%), and not to use computers in three fifths of cases. However, the results showed that the older cohort consistently demonstrate a certain level of distrust towards the young, and give greater support to repressive measures in dealing with problems with young people and less support to the foundation of institutions and funds for various youth initiatives than the youth do. In accordance to this, the older are more prone to address the responsibility of solving young people's problems through the parents and less directly with the young, which is an indicator of the persistence of the paternalistic relationship of society with youth.

Values of the Youth

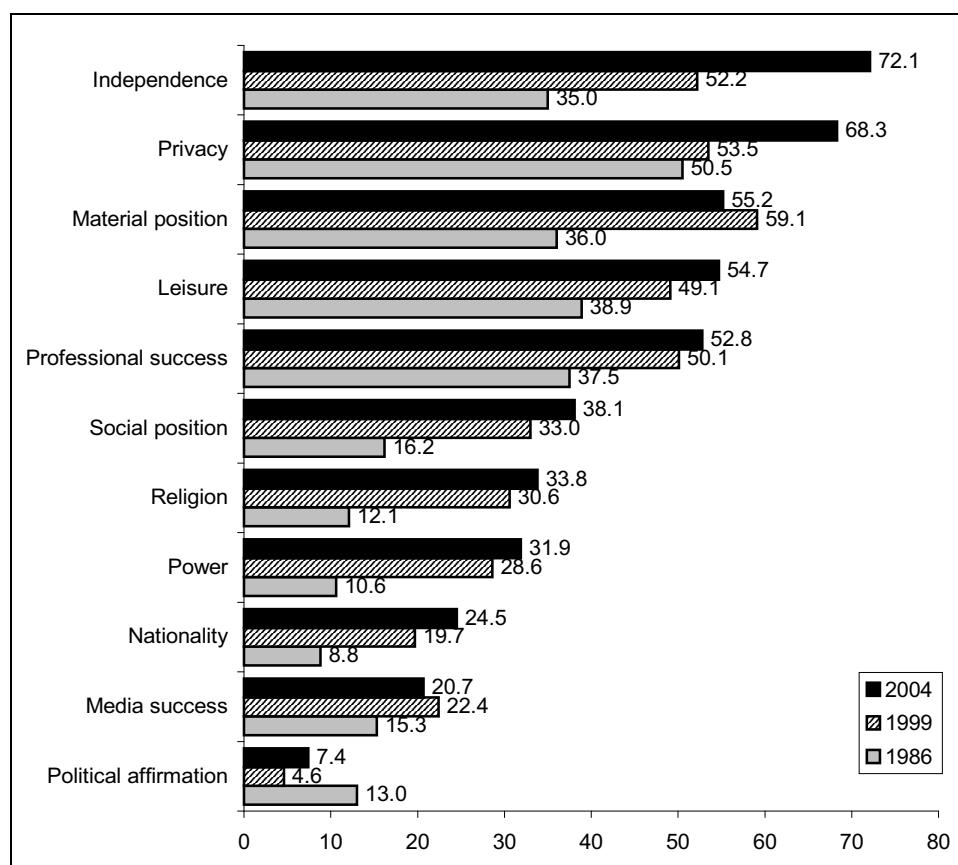
Both changes in hierarchy and the value structure accompanied the social changes in Croatia, with all observed values represented more heavily in the transition period than in the middle of the 1980's (Graph 3).

As we can see from the graph, the young largely accept both individual and family values, characterized by privacy. On the other hand, the aims that mark life in a community i.e. sociability, are ranked lower. This ten-

dency toward withdrawal into the world of individuality characterizes at least the last two decades and there are many reasons for this. We have to emphasize that withdrawal from life in the community in a traditional sense relates to a deficit of goals that could provide minimal programming for the life of the young and their emancipation, i.e. the entrance into the world of adulthood. It is clear that two thirds of the young people polled do not consider high social status as desirable, while politics is almost not at all regarded as a desirable goal, which indicates the constant alienation of the young from the sphere of decision making.

Graph 3 shows that the value of religion among young people increased threefold from 1986 to 2004, and accordance with this youth religiosity also increased – from 30% to 73%, while the number of non-religious decreased from 48% to 11%. Something similar happened with the value of nationality, and with its increase the national affiliation of youth also increased.⁴ Research into youth from 2004 showed that the attitudes of moderate national identification increased (53% in 2004 and 26% in 1986), those who mark openness to the world are at the constant level of two fifths, while ethnocentric statements are last in the given hierarchy (although their acceptance doubled during the observed period). The questions regarding the ethnic distance (1999 and 2004) from certain nations showed that the distance increased towards all nations, including Croats, over five years. However the last in this ranking are constantly the nations of the former Yugoslav federation and the Russians, while the middle of the ladder is occupied by some central

⁴ Croatia is almost not multi-confessional (since almost 90% of citizens identify themselves as Catholics), the reasons for this lie in its national homogeneity. Concretely, the proportion of Croats in the total population increased from 78% (1991) to 92% (2001).



Graph 3: A comparison of value rankings in 1986, 1999 and 2004 (%)
Graf 3: Primerjava lestvice vrednot v 1986, 1999 in 2004 (%)

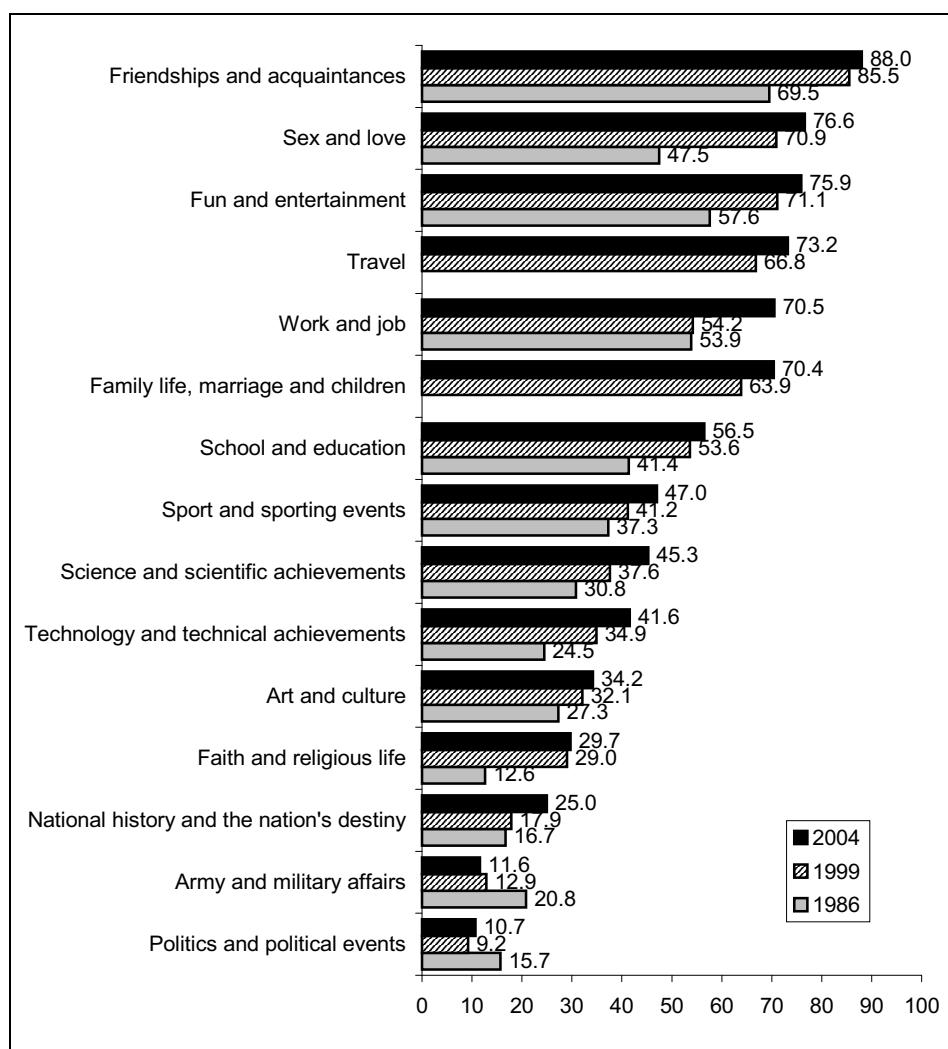
European nations (Czechs and Hungarians) with something more than average values. The best rankings belong to Croats, citizens of the European west and south-west and Americans (the same is true for older respondents).

The relative importance of religion and nationality is partially confirmed by the data on the social distances of youth from 1999. It was found that around two fifths of youth regard national and confessional identification as important in marriage, and around one fifth consider them to be important for friendship. Still, in both relationships, moral virtues, intelligence and an understanding of life (91% to 52%) are far more important to youth, while they rank political beliefs and social background as least important.

The data on the estimation of the factors important for social upgrading also indicate the value system of the young, which at the same time reflects the hidden values of Croatian society. In this sense, significant changes happened from 1999 to 2004. Specifically, in the first survey the first five positions were occupied by individual capacities (84%), effort and good job performance (76%), luck (75%), and higher education and honesty (each 68%). Five years later family relationships and acquaintances were in first place (an increase from 66% to 82%),

followed by luck and higher education (81% each), work effort and individual capacities (79–78%). At the same time, political aptitude, activities in political parties and obedience to superiors (approximately 40%) were last, but in 1999 the least important was bribing persons in influential positions (32%) (it rose by 20% after five years), and national identification decreased in 2004 (46%) – becoming a relatively unimportant characteristic.

It is interesting that the older respondents' highest rankings are given to the value of privacy (described as a peaceful family life), which is highly ranked by four fifths of the respondents, while individual identity and material position are both equally accepted by older and younger groups. Leisure activities and professional success are accepted by less than half of the older group, who accept the government, media success and social position one third less than the youth. At the same time, those from the older group accept religion to a greater extent (more than half of the older group), nationality and political confirmation – which are however still in their case at the bottom of the rankings. Thus, it is obvious that traditional values are far more significant for the older group than for the younger. The greater traditionalism of the older group is also confirmed by their greater religiosity, more ex-



Graph 4: A comparative outline of the hierarchy of major interests in 1986, 1999 and 2004 (%).

Graf 4: Primerjalni pregled razvrstitev glavnih interesov v 1986, 1999 in 2004 (%).

pressed attitudes on the ladder of national affiliations and show greater ethnic distinction. The older express more tolerance than youths higher education, corruptive behaviour, political aptitude and activity, and obedience to superiors for social advancement, while they seldom state lucky circumstances and their own abilities. These differences indicate the influence of life experience, i.e. the fact that the older group had more frequently been affected by the ugly side of acquiring a desirable social status.

Political Values and Participation by Youth

All research consistently shows that the youth perceive the phenomena of politics as marginal. Thus, it is

not unexpected that they first of all estimate the influence of the young as satisfactory among friends and family (90%), somehow less (approximately 60%) at work and in the educational environment, and very weak (14%) in the local community and national politics. In accordance with this, three quarters of them believe that the young are not sufficiently represented in Croatian political life, and slightly fewer believe that the political representation of young people in government (especially in parliament) should be enforced by law.⁵

Social, and especially, political, youth activism are at low levels, where there is a noticeable tendency for it to decrease in general (Graph 4).

5 The statistical data on political representation of youth in governmental bodies substantiate these attitudes and although youth in Croatia count for approximately 22% of electorate there are only 6% young people in local government, and only 1.5% in the Sabor - National Parliament (Ilišin, 2006).

The data presented are supplemented by the fact that 85% of the young are ready to vote at the elections, 68% are ready to sign a petition, but only one fifth are ready to take part in the work of political parties or organise a strike, while only 7% would give money to a political party. The young believe that they could be motivated to take an active part in society through various activities – from inclusion in the decision making process (88%) to their inclusion in the work of political parties (60%), but only 15% think that lowering the age for voting (which is currently at 18 at the moment) could have a positive impact. As the social actors who could motivate young people to social activism, the young recognize friends and family in first place (33%), the educational system (20%), television and non-governmental youth organisations, while only 6% of youth think animation by political parties could be efficient.

Despite their weak political participation, young people have firm political attitudes and values that are mostly consistent with the democratic system. For instance, they accept all 11 values of the Croatian Constitution to a great extent (59% to 91%), where even the tendency of this acceptance to increase was noted – with only support to the democratic and multi-party system weakening slightly. The democratic potential of youth is visible from their high understanding of the democratic principles and rules, although they lean towards a harmonized understanding of politics. This is reflected in the increase of acceptance of the statements (in a period 1999–2004) that conflicts among different interest groups cause harm to the state (from 58% to 70%), that the role of the opposition is to support and not to criticize the government (from 35% to 45%), and that citizens do not have the right to strike if it endangers public order (from 32% to 43%).

Young people's trust in political institutions is low: 9% do not trust political parties, around one fifth the government, parliament and the judiciary. On the other hand 54% trust the Church, followed by television, radio and the President of the Republic (Stjepan Mesić) with 45–42%. But, despite this (dis)trust in these institutions, when it comes to the perception of the political actors who could contribute to overcoming Croatia's difficulties, church dignitaries are at the very bottom with only 2%. In this case, most of the young rely upon experts and the intelligentsia (51%), the younger generation (40%), political parties (37%) and entrepreneurs and managers (33%).

The major social problems in transition in Croatia are, according to the young, unemployment (59%), economic problems (49%), corruption (28%) and crime in privatisation (25%). Corruption is principally noticed in the judiciary (55%), the police (49%), and the health system and state governance (each 45%). The war and its consequences (62%), the immorality of the new entrepreneurs, crime and the bad politics of the ruling

party (HDZ) from 1990 to 2000 (each 42%) are seen by youth as the causes of the current economic and social problems in Croatian society. More than 80% of youth observe social inequalities based on wealth, employment and education, while one third accentuates political and national inequalities and one fifth see inequality in the case of religion.

Young people's ranking of political values significantly indicates their perception of political reality. According to their opinion, the most important aim of the Croatian Government should be to reduce unemployment (91%), followed by combating crime and corruption (86%), economic development and growth (81%) and assurance of social justice and security for everyone (76%). Croatia's membership of the EU is a political priority for 42% of youth, and this result reflects the oscillation in Croatian citizens' desire for European integration (which was the most important political goal in 1990). Regarding the difficulties that Croatia is facing on its way to join a united Europe, the respondents equally address the problems of both Croatia and the EU, with an increasing number (from 1999 to 2004) of the young emphasizing the responsibility of the EU and a decreasing number placing the responsibility on Croatia. It is especially important to say that the young expect significantly more positive than negative consequences from Croatia joining the EU. However, the data show that over those five years there was a slight decrease in optimism and an increase in negative expectations. The most positive expectations were registered on an individual and socio-cultural level, whilst optimism regarding socio-economic development decreased. Moreover, due to Croatia's socio-economic unpreparedness almost two thirds of youth expect negative consequences. Different social groups were seen as potential losers of integration (farmers, pensioners, workers, the unemployed), potential winners of integration (inhabitants of the capital city and some regions, youth and all Croatian citizens) and certain winners of the integration. The following were evaluated as excellently prepared to join the EU: experts, persons who speak foreign languages, the political elite, managers and major companies (60–70%).

Political participation is a field of research marked by significant intergenerational differences. Specifically, youth differ from the older group by their less frequent participation in political affairs; they express a weak interest in politics and less trust in government institutions, and somewhat lower acceptance of the values of the democratic system. On the other hand, the young are, at least on a verbal level, more prone to taking part in various civil activities and a significantly greater number believes that their generation is a generation of social changes. The lack of deeper intergenerational ambivalence indicates that, despite the radical changes that occurred with the break up of the old and the foundation of a new political system, the mechanism of transmis-

sion of political values from the older to the younger generation still functions to a great extent, even given the democratic deficit that persists in the political consciousness of the older generation. Thus, we can suppose that parents are still one of the most important agents in the socialization of young people.

Youth Leisure and Socialization

Models of leisure are one of the most relevant areas in youth research – both in terms of quantity and their potential socialization function in everyday life. Interests are closely related to leisure time (as a form of terminal value) and to a large extent they correspond with the activities and content of leisure time.

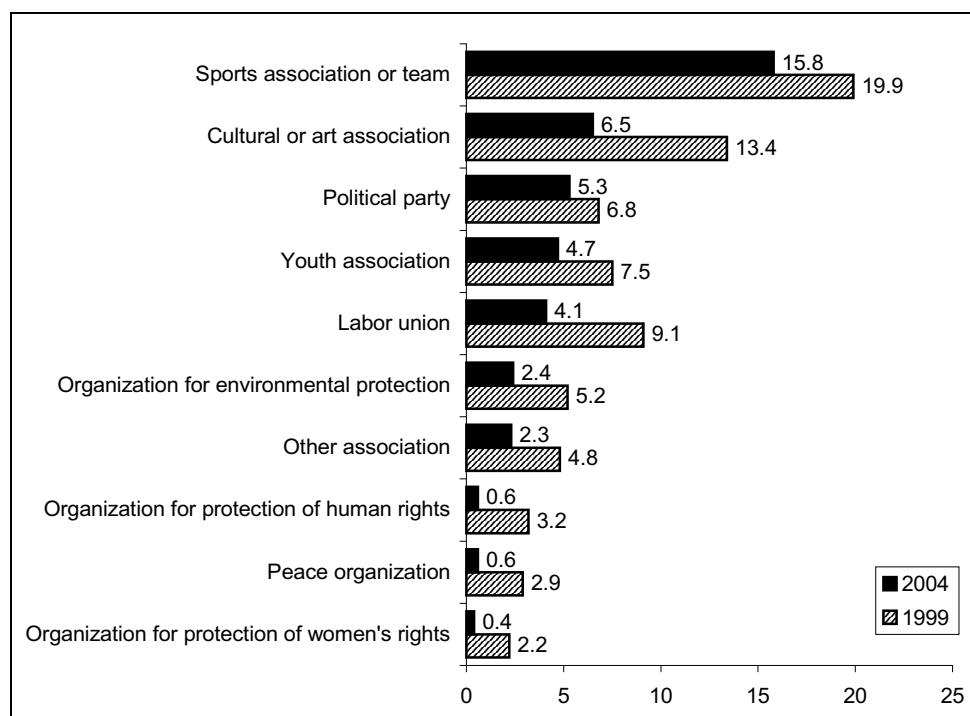
Graph 5 shows changes that have occurred in this segment in terms of interests over almost two decades.

As we can see, youth are always primarily interested in the phenomena and processes that make up the private sphere of life, while interests in the public sphere are weaker. It is interesting to note that interest in all the observed phenomena increased from 1986 to 2004 apart from the army and politics (which, again, shows their distance from the political arena).

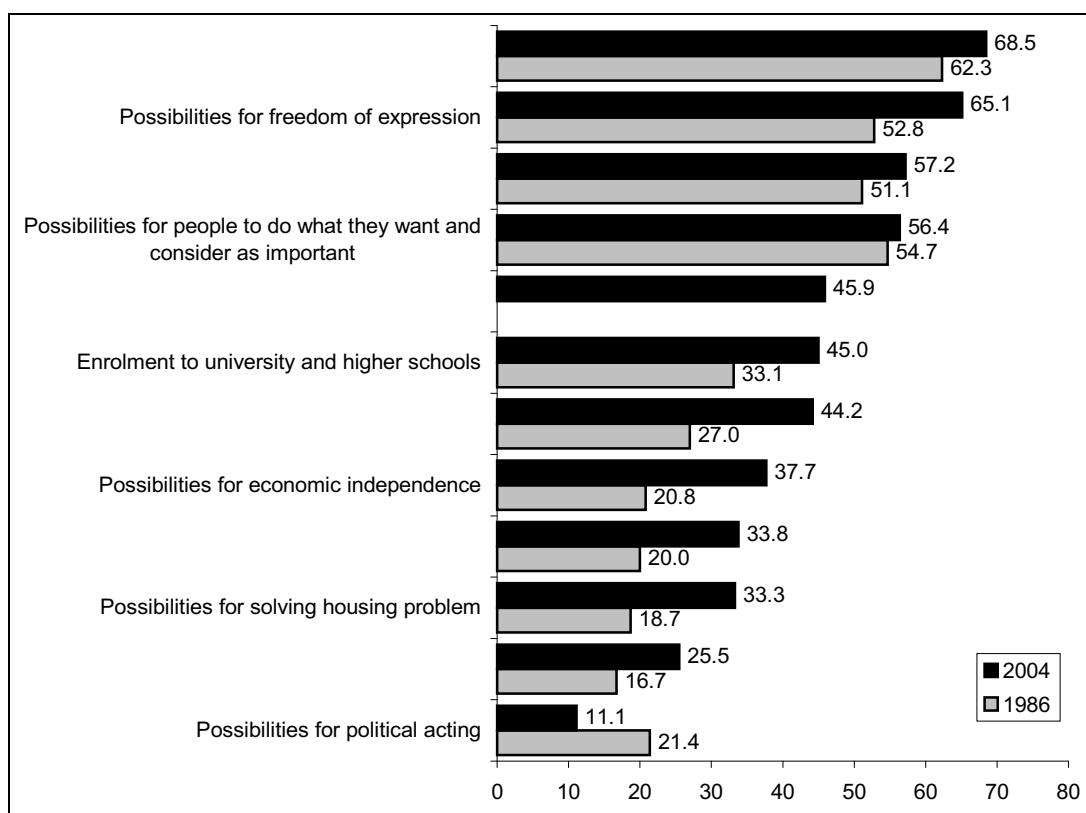
The data on the representation of various topics in communication with their friends and parents also indicate the interests of youth. 78% to 61% of youth frequently talk to their friends about going out and leisure, another friends and acquaintances, music, movies and

books, sex and love, and problems at school or work, while only one fifth discuss politics and society. The content of the communication with parents is completely different: most frequently they talk about the future, financial problems and family relationships (50%), and least frequently about sex and love (7%). These data mostly correspond with the young people's belief that family (90%) and friends (84%), followed by school (69%), books (58%), the religious community (52%) and television (50%) have the strongest impact on their socialization.

According to the research data, youth on average have 3–4 hours of free time during a day. Patterns of leisure have proved to have quite a stable structure, where in each new piece of research the number of those taking part in most of the observed activities is rising. Most youth (83–51%) frequently spend their time with friends, watching TV and videos, listening to the radio and rock music and going out to coffee bars. One third frequently read books, go on trips or have hobbies, and one fifth go to the cinema or do some form of sport. Less than one tenth listens to classical music or goes to the theatre or exhibitions, and only each fiftieth respondent takes part in humanitarian, voluntary or political work. Thus, the young in Croatia are first of all occupied with activities providing fun and entertainment, while the potentially educational content (that contributes to personal development) remains in the background when it comes to the way young people use their free time. At the same



Graph 5: A comparative outline of participation in organizations and associations in 1999 and 2004.
Graf 5: Primerjalni pregled sodelovanja v organizacijah in združenjih v 1999 in 2004.



Graph 6: Youth (dis)satisfaction with various social circumstances in 1986 and 2004 (%).
Graf 6: Nezadovoljstvo mladih z različnimi družbenimi okoliščinami v 1986 in 2004 (%).

time, the stability of life styles and interest orientations indicate the constant and unilateral influence of some civilization and socio-cultural elements of modern society. For these reasons, in each of the past four decades, each new generation has formed new patterns of everyday life that resembles those of the previous generations.

Comparison of the young and the older generation in terms of their leisure activities indicated important generational differences. The youth more frequently take part in almost all the observed activities, similar to the more pronounced inclusion of youth in almost all areas of interest (except family life, politics, religion and their nation). This makes leisure the area in which generational differences are most evident, and this makes it the scene of the significant influence of life cycles and situational circumstances that are significantly different for the young and for the older generation.

The Young Look with Satisfaction to the Future!?

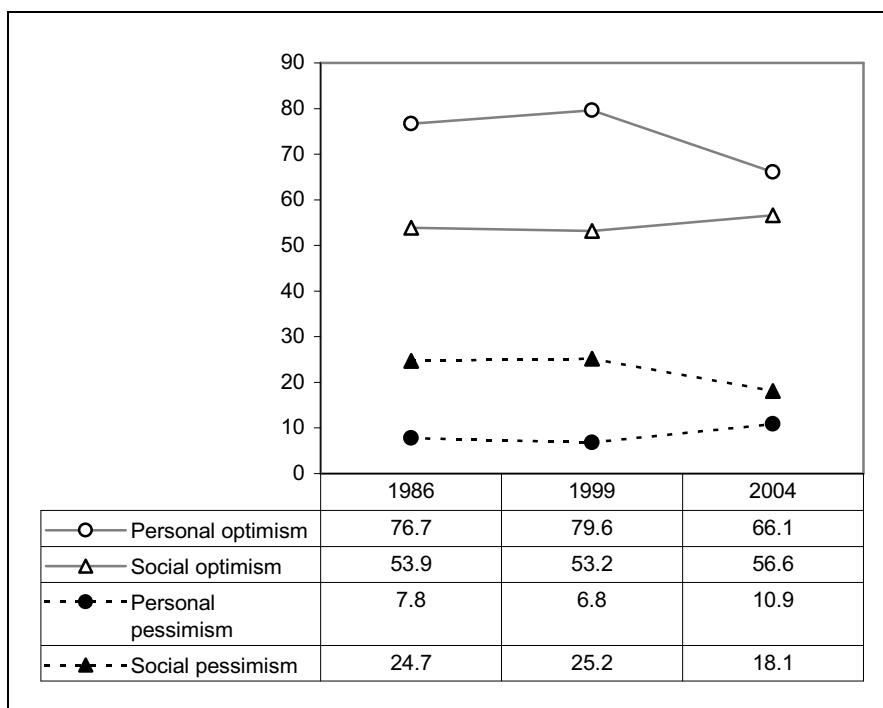
Although the research data point to a series of painful points in the everyday lives of young people, two thirds of them are on average satisfied with their lives, less than one third are apathetic, and only 8% are dis-

satisfied. Even more intriguing is the fact that contemporary youth shows higher satisfaction with various areas of their life than youth at the time of late socialism (Graph 6).

An increase in dissatisfaction was only registered regarding the possibilities of acting in the political arena, which is logically related to the decrease in young people's interest in politics. Here we can raise the question whether the impossibility of adequate political involvement decreases interest in politics or young people's disinterest prevents them recognising optimal ways of political involvement.

The observed increase in young people's satisfaction is not accompanied by an equal increase in optimism, that is the respondents' estimation whether their personal future and the future of society will be better in the future (Graph 7).

The relationship to the future indicates the persistence of the discrepancy between the strong optimism of young people with regards to their personal future and their half-optimism for society's future. Still, more recent results showed that since this discrepancy is decreasing, young people have become more aware of the interconnections between their personal fate and that of society.



Graph 7: Personal and social optimism / pessimism of youth in 1986, 1999 and 2004 (%).
Graf 7: Osebni in družbeni optimizem / pesimizem mladih v 1986, 1999 in 2004 (%).

The optimism of young people is related to their greater expectations that positive changes will occur in Croatia in the next decade. In this context they especially expect the strengthening of the multicultural nature of Croatian society (68%), the role of the Croatian Parliament in the political life of the country (65%), political pluralism and the non-governmental sector (each 63%), as well as more rational management of the state budget (62%). On this basis we can say that Croatian youth perceive Croatia in the near future as a modern, open, pluralistic and well-founded democratic society. If this is true, the slight increase of optimism in regard to society they live in is logical.

Although some convergence of personal and social optimism takes place in the new generations, it remains a fact that personal optimism principally relates to life cycles. Thus, it was to be expected the older generation expressed lower levels of satisfaction with their personal lives and a lower level of personal optimism – the young are still more lively and they have more years ahead of them, making numerous changes possible, including those for the better.

FINAL REMARKS

Between 1986, 1999 and 2004 there were many radical and long-lasting political and social changes. These changes affected the younger generation to a great extent, although some patterns of consciousness and be-

haviour typical for modern societies remained stable. The results of research into young people given here in detail were therefore aimed at making it possible to outline their social profile, including a dynamic component.

The data presented should be accompanied by information on the trend of differentiation among young people, which was observed in all three pieces of research used here (Ilišin, 2007; Ilišin, Radin, 2002; Ilišin, Radin, 2007; Radin, 1988) – which have not been presented due to a lack of space. From the results it follows that the young are not a homogeneous social group. In other words, a comparison of different sub-groups of youth indicates their heterogeneity in relation to their maturity and readiness to enter the world of adulthood (linked primarily to their socio-professional status and educational accomplishments) and the type of socialization which is conditioned by social background, gender, urbanisation and the development of their region. These socio-structural and socio-cultural characteristics clearly discriminate against youth and to a great extent affect the shaping of their consciousness and patterns of behaviour. In other words, conditions of growing up and accomplished social (lack of)competitiveness are to a great extent related to their preferred life aspirations, how these are accomplished and preparation for adult life – including how they spend their leisure time.

The recorded differences between the young do not only point to their non-homogeneity when it comes to the observed phenomena, but also to deepening of social

differences and their long-lasting repercussions. Unequal availability of resources as education, housing and employment stimulate dissatisfaction amongst young people with the existing social conditions and (im)possibilities and strengthen their awareness of the importance of equality of opportunities for education and employment. It is very clear to them that the unequal availability of social resources during their early youth will create an unequal social status in adulthood. If we observe these tendencies in the light of the increasing importance of family relations for a good start in the lives of young people, and their lack of social integration and generational public involvement, we can conclude that the prospects in life for most Croatian youth are very uncertain.

The individualism of young people is evident on all levels – from life strategies and orientation to interpersonal relations. When it comes to the accomplishment of life aspirations the young principally rely on themselves and family relationships, i.e. to accomplish educational, professional, housing, family and other needs they expect help more from their parents than from the social community. This causes the process of young people's passivity to spread from the socio-political area to almost all areas of their everyday life.

The existing individualisation in life orientation is not only a result of disadvantaged social conditions, but also by processes of modernization which affect a major portion of contemporary Croatian youth. In this, Croatian young people are more similar to youth in other transition countries, but also to those from more developed European societies. However, as a form of re-traditionalisation also took place in Croatia, its effect is manifested through the clear and strong traditionalistic orientation of a significant segment of contemporary Croatian youth. As a result, we can say that young Croats are polarized into those with a modern or traditional orientation, and this is also valid for the older population. However, the young differ from the older generation principally by the fact that they are more deeply affected by the process of modernization.

Young people's political culture in many aspects testifies to the fact that they are approaching desirable democratic standards – especially in terms of acceptance of basic liberal-democratic values and readiness in principle for social engagement – but, their social power and social capital remain on rather low levels. Here, the young are aware of their social and political marginalisation and they recognize a whole spectre of measures that could help them gain a certain level of power and become active citizens. This is desirable in a democratic society but in Croatia the young still use the channels of social and political promotion to a lesser extent than what is available to them.

The research data showed that, in contrast to the Croatian political elite, both young and older citizens do not consider Croatia joining the EU to be the most important political goal. People's political priorities of the citizens are very different and their support for the project of European integration is decreasing. Thus, it is realistic to expect this trend will be continued if some problematic processes in the EU persist, as well as the problems between the EU and Croatia, and the adverse economic and social processes in Croatia. The pro-European orientation of young people could be endangered due to prolonged waiting, because this orientation is also based on their expectation that their generation will be one of the certain winners when Croatia joins the EU.

A comparison of the results of the research showed that intergenerational differences do not indicate a generational gap but they are still indicative. Young people's social status is more unfavourable and their inclusion in social and political processes is weaker than those of the older generation. But, the young proved to be more liberal, tolerant and flexible, showing more trust in the potential of their own generation. However, the integral research data show that the young are very similar to the older generation, apart from in terms of social status (including their participation in political life) and some specific "reservations of the young" such as leisure and sub-cultural patterns of behaviour. As a result of this, we can say that despite the distorted media/public picture of youth as a maladjusted and problematic social group, the process of socialization is flowing without major social disturbances. Having in mind the requirements of the new age and their social environment, the question arises whether the young are actually too similar to the older generation if we want them to bring the desired changes to the life of society and routine behavioural patterns.

Although the research used here encompassed a very wide spectre of problems, their results do not allow for simple statements about a recognisable and specific generation of Croatian youth. On the contrary, the existing differences, situated in a real social context, lead to the hypothesis that the fragmentation of youth and society's neglect of their interests will persist to such an extent that the developmental crisis of the entire Croatian society will continue. This situation consequently does not lead to the recognition, articulation and promotion of universal generational interests, and leads even less to the construction of one generation or a generational unit within the youth of Croatia today, which could appear on the cultural, social or political scene as relevant social factors. However, as we can learn from historical experience, surprises are always possible.

SOCIOLOŠKI PORTET DANAŠNJE HRVAŠKE MLADINE

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POVZETEK

V članku so prikazani rezultati treh empiričnih raziskav, ki so bile opravljene na reprezentativnih vzorcih mladih na Hrvaškem leta 1986, 1999 in 2004, in na kontrolnem vzorcu starejših pri zadnjem vprašalniku. Cilj pregleda raziskovalnih rezultatov je uvid v osnovne poteze družbenega profila sodobne hrvaške mladine in v razlike, ki so nastale v opazovanem času, ter detektiranje eventualnih medgeneracijskih razlik. Raziskovalni rezultati so pokazali, da mladi na Hrvaškem niso homogena družbena skupina in da se med seboj razlikujejo glede na oblikovano stopnjo zrelosti in pripravljenosti za vstop v svet dela in odraslih in da so notranje razslojeni skladno s hrvaško družbo. Diferenciacija med mladimi je pokazala na poglabljanje socialnih socialnih razlik in na neenak dostop do nujnih resarov (kot so izobraževanje, zaposlitev in stanovanje), kar povzroča nezadovoljstvo in povečuje njihovo zavest o pomembnosti enakih možnosti v izobraževanju in zaposlovanju. V tem kontekstu še zlasti izstopa pomembnost družinskih virov za boljši življenjski začetek mladih in za njihovo optimalno družbeno reintegracijo. V skladu s tem zaupajo mladi na Hrvaškem v uresničitev svojih življenjskih ambicij predvsem vase in v družino, znatno manj pa v pomoč družbene skupnosti.

Politična kultura hrvaške mladine je blizu zaželenim demokratičnim standardom – še posebej s stališča sprejemanja liberalno-demokratičnih vrednot in načelne pripravljenosti na nekatere oblike družbenega angažmaja – vendar sta njena moč in socialni kapital na nizki stopnji. Čeprav se mladi zavedajo svoje družbene in politične marginalizirane, hkrati zelo malo uporabljajo kanale socialne in politične promocije, ki so jim na voljo. Sprejem Hrvaške v EU nimajo za najvažnejši politični cilj, čeprav so močno proevropsko orientirani in pričakujejo, da bo prav mlada generacija eden od zanesljivih podpornikov pridruževanja Hrvaške Evropski uniji.

Primerjanje rezultatov mladih in starejših je pokazala, da na Hrvaškem ne moremo govoriti o medgeneracijskem razkolu, čeprav obstajajo indikativne medgeneracijske razlike. Družbeni status in politična participacija mladih sta na nižji stopnji, njihove oblike preživljanja prostega časa pa so raznovrstnejše in so se pokazale liberalnejše, tolerantnejše, modernejše in fleksibilnejše v primerjavi s starejšimi. Relativno velika podobnost mladih in starejših v večini raziskanih dimenzij sugerira sklep, da se socializacija novih generacij v tranzicijski Hrvaški odvija brez večjih družbenih pretresov. Čeprav so uporabljena raziskovanja zaobjela širok diapazon problemov, dobljeni rezultati ne dopuščajo trditve o enopomensko prepoznavni in specifični generaciji hrvaške mladine. Nasprotno, obstoječe razlike, umeščene v realni družbeni kontekst, ki je označen s popolno odstranitvijo mladih z javnega prizorišča, prej navajajo na hipotezo, da se bo fragmentiranje mladih in družbeno zapostavljanje njihovih problemov nadaljevalo v meri, v kakršni se bo nadaljevala tudi razvojna kriza hrvaške družbe.

Ključne besede: Hrvaška, mladina, družbeni položaj, problemi, vrednote, politično udejstvovanje, prosti čas, interesi, socializacija

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Fragments on Young People in Slovenia: The End of Utopias in the Era of Transitions

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ABSTRACT

In the article we are analyzing changes and transformations of the relationship between youth and society that have occurred during the transitional period in the recent two decades in Slovenia. Our thesis is that the position of youth has changed from being a symbolic representative of a societal change in times of socialism to an ordinary age group in contemporary times, which has no particular or significant societal importance or even, that youth has been reduced to a marginal group. We are asserting that young people, who used to be a privileged societal group in the socialistic period, are now the "weakest link" of the transitional period in Slovenia. We will verify this thesis on the basis of a comparison of data obtained by the following researches: "The Situation, Consciousness and Behaviour of the Young Generation in Yugoslavia" carried out in 1986 (Aleksić, Vrcan, 1986) and researches of youth in Slovenia carried out in the past two decades (Ule, Miheljak, 1995; Ule et al., 1996; Ule et al., 2000; Miheljak, 2002; Ule et al., 2008).

Key words: youth, Slovenia, Eastern Europe, transition, societal/political change, value and life orientations

FRAMMENTI SUI GIOVANI IN SLOVENIA: FINE DELLE UTOPIE AI TEMPI DELLA TRANSIZIONE

SINTESI

Nell'articolo si analizzano i cambiamenti e le trasformazioni nel rapporto tra società e mondo giovanile avvenuti negli ultimi due decenni di transizione in Slovenia. Siamo convinti che la posizione dei giovani è mutata. Nella società socialista i giovani personificavano simbolicamente i cambiamenti nella società, mentre oggi sono ridotti a mera rappresentanza di una fascia d'età senza particolare o chiaro ruolo sociale, se non addirittura considerati gruppo marginale. Nell'articolo si afferma che i giovani, all'epoca del socialismo gruppo sociale privilegiato, sono oggi l' "anello più debole" del processo di transizione in atto in Slovenia. L'esattezza di questa tesi viene verificata con la comparazione di dati raccolti nel corso delle seguenti ricerche: "Posizione, coscienza e modelli comportamentali della giovane generazione in Jugoslavia" realizzata nel 1986 (Aleksic, Vrcan, 1986) e delle ricerche sui giovani in Slovenia realizzate negli ultimi due decenni (Ule, Miheljak, 1995; Ule e altri, 1996; Ule e altri, 2000; Miheljak, 2002; Ule e altri, 2008).

Parole chiave: giovani, Slovenia, Europa Orientale, transizione, cambiamenti politico/sociali, valori, indirizzi nella vita

INTRODUCTION

In this article we analyze the changes and transformations of the relationship between youth and society that have occurred during the transitional period in the past two decades in Slovenia. We assert that young people, who used to be a privileged societal group during the socialist period, are now the "weakest link" of the transitional period in Slovenia. We will verify this theory on the basis of a comparison of data obtained by research done on the representative samples of young people in Slovenia in the last two decades (Ule, Miheljak, 1995; Ule et al., 1996; Ule et al., 2000; Miheljak, 2002; Ule et al., 2008) with the study entitled "The Situation, Consciousness and Behaviour of the Young Generation in Yugoslavia" (Aleksić, Vrcan, 1986). From these we derive a theory that postsocialist transition has rendered empty the fundamental ideological concept through which youth was linked to the idea of modernization, i.e. the concept of progress. The hypothetical inherent link between youth and progress has been replaced by another, equally hypothetical inherent link, between youth and the individualization of life.

During the past fifty years youth studies have proven themselves to be a good indicator of the relevance of new societal trends. It is not only the case that the social, cultural and political processes of attaining independence of youth in the twentieth century is a direct consequence of political modernization, but it is also its mirror. While science offers theoretical proof of the changes in the social order, it has definitively been youth who have provided empirical proof of these changes in the past decades (Parsons, 1963; Mannheim, 1952; Coleman, 1961; Musgrave, 1964). Creators of social elites, public opinion or mass culture, have all carefully observed the undertakings of youth in the search for the legitimization of their ideas or to try to make young people enthusiastic about these ideas. They have searched for signs of future changes among youths and have regarded them as initiators and originators of these changes (Habermas, 1994; Keniston, 1971, 1972).

Youth movements in the second half of the twentieth century were founded on ideological progress, regardless of how strong their criticism of the very ideology was. We can witness this in the strong relation of socio-critical consciousness and utopian societal projects that were the products and outcomes of these movements. The ideal of growth and progress was one of the underlying conceptual links in the ideological structures of modernization, especially in the period of industrial modernization and significant revolutionary twists in the twentieth century. Therefore, ideas of youth were associated with ideas of progress in such a manner that the following equation seemed obvious: to be young means to strive for progress. This symbolic role of youth has

been exhausted in the past two decades. At the very least, in Slovenia we can assert that young people who once were the privileged societal group in the socialist period are now the "weakest link" of the transition.

TIMES OF SOCIALIST YOUTH

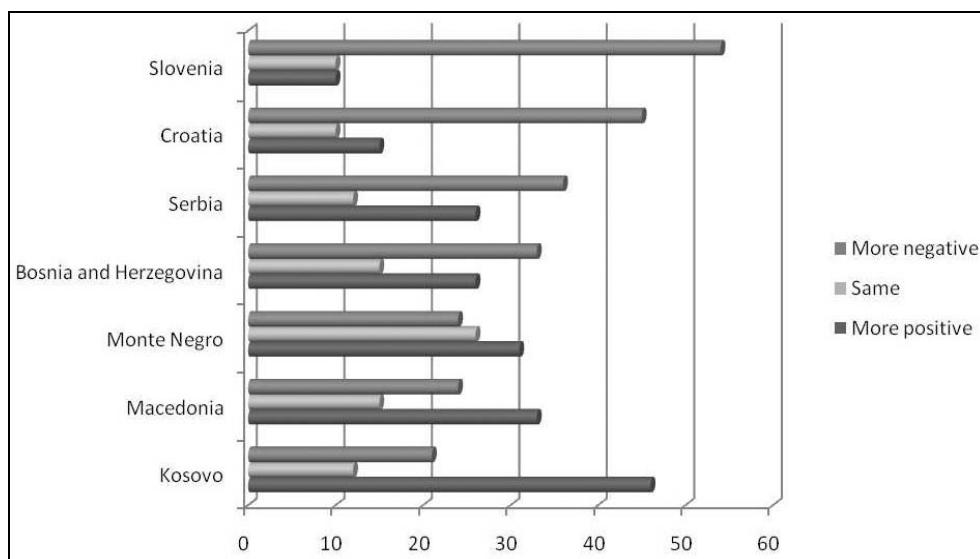
The story of youth in Slovenia was part of the common frame of Yugoslavia until the nineties. Yugoslavia was writing a story, which was meant to be socialist but nevertheless different from other real-socialist stories (Ule, Rener, 1998). This diversity can be seen in a relative openness to the world and in a greater autonomy of the individual within the system. The role of youth in post-war Yugoslav society was clearly integrative. Young people were motivated to identify with the system by the argument that it is precisely through their intensive cooperation in the rebuilding of the socialist society that they would create a better future for themselves. Since Yugoslav society was very rapidly developing economically and young people were participating in this swift advancement (regarding the possibilities of education, employment, and an improved material standard), the great majority of youths identified themselves with the social system, its values and aims (Ule, 1988). The political public was fascinated by young people who were compared with the negative image and perception of the young in the West. This is why the image of the young people in this period was clearly and undoubtedly positive.

This process was under a particular pressure from ideological and political structures that had taken control of all spheres of work and the behaviour of youths. In their speeches, politicians emphasized the importance of learning, studying and collective work. The positive effects of sports, military education and discipline in general were honoured, as opposed to the bourgeois influence, which was thought to promote a lack of ideas, aimlessness, and political passivity. A typically patronizing style of speech and writing about youth fit perfectly into the ideological treatment of young people and into a goal of a social and ideological homogenization of the youth. In this "environment of perfection" there were few incidences of deviance among young people.

However, from the sixties onward, the speeches of politicians as well as texts and comments in media began to appear that warned against the various "non-socialist", "bourgeois" habits of some young people. Students were particularly suspicious as they had always been the most resistant to the seduction of the authorities and of ideologies. This is why political speeches often deal with university students separately from the other parts of the younger generations, especially from the exemplary working class youth. The authorities reacted with warnings to the general public that students were becoming alienated from society and from the Communist party, that they were beginning to accept

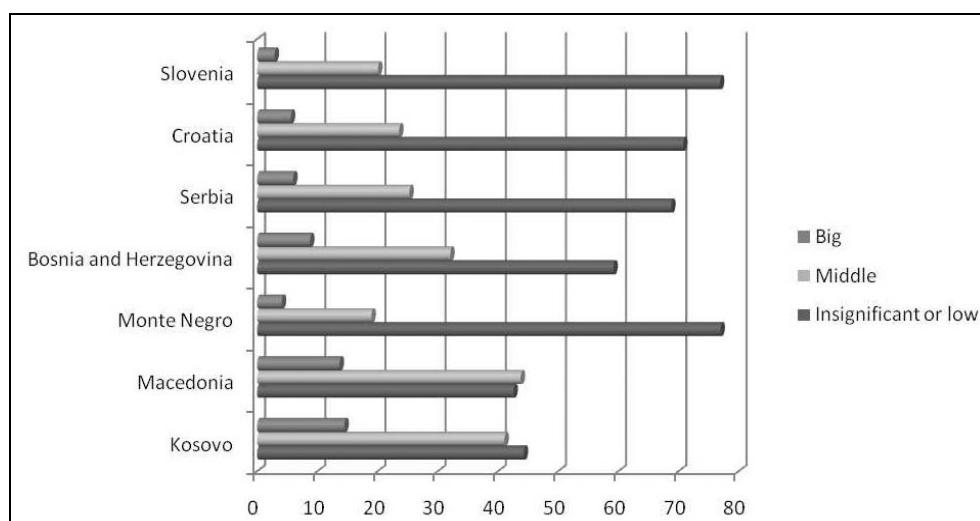
negative influences from the West, and that criminal immorality was surfacing among them. For the first time, young people became a source of worry in Yugoslavia. Conflict between youths (university students) and society had intensified by the end of the sixties, and culminated in the student movements. These movements appeared at approximately the same time as in other parts of the world and were the first mass expression of the crisis of Yugoslav socialist society. Students demanded greater

liberalization of the system, freedom of speech and of the media and a greater decentralization of economic and political power. Student movements had mainly taken place in bigger urban centres such as Beograd, Zagreb, and Ljubljana. For the first time these movements had warned about the differences between the ideological image of youth and their real lives, about the differences between urban centers and rural areas, and especially about the differences between republics in Yugoslavia.



Graph 1: Attitude of youth towards Communist Party with regard to republican citizenship (in %) (Aleksić, Vrcan, 1986, 198).

Graf 1: Odnos mladih do Komunistične partije glede na republiško državljanstvo (v %) (Aleksić, Vrcan, 1986, 198).



Graph 2: Perception of influence of youth on societal changes with regard to republican citizenship (in %) (Aleksić, Vrcan, 1986, 208).

Graf 2: Zaznavanje vpliva mladih na družbene spremembe glede na republiško državljanstvo (v %) (Aleksić, Vrcan, 1986, 208).

How very different young people were within the territory of the former Yugoslavia was aptly demonstrated in an extensive survey on the youth carried out in 1986¹ with a sample of 6849 young people (Aleksić, Vrcan, 1986). The results of the survey revealed significant differences among Yugoslav youth that did not originate in social differences, as we had expected, but which were linked primarily to the republic affiliation of the respondents. The more advantageous the economic situation in a republic (GDP per capita, employment rate, education rate) was, the more critical young people were towards the system and its institutions.

We can discern a clear parallel: the stronger the political ideological pressure in a republic was, the more young people identified themselves with the system.

Research showed not only differences in positions towards the system, but also differences in value and cultural orientations across Yugoslav republics and provinces. A factor analysis of value orientations on the scales of individualism, collectivism and traditionalism demonstrated that in Slovenia and Croatia the prevailing values were those of individualism, while in Montenegro, Kosovo, Serbia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina the prevailing values were those of collectivism and traditionalism (Aleksić, Vrcan, 1986, 72). For example, traditionalism can be presented by the following statement: "In every moment I am prepared to defend the honour of my family, even with force". The percentage of youth who agreed with this statement according to citizenship was: 67% in Montenegro, 61% in Serbia, 40% in Croatia and 30% in Slovenia. Even more obvious were differences in the next statement: "A woman has to be a virgin when she marries, since it has been like this for centuries and also because this guarantees that she will dedicate all her love to her husband". The percentage of youth that agreed with this statement was: 74% in Kosovo, 35% in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 33% in Serbia and 19% in Slovenia. However, there were no statistically significant differences with regards to social affinity, gender or other demographic characteristics.

Results of the Yugoslav survey of youth sounded an alarm and pointed out that many differences and contradictions existed within the social and political system of Yugoslavia. While we had young people in less developed areas of Yugoslavia and out of major urban centres who still trusted the traditional patterns of development rather blindly on the one side, in Slovenia and in developed urban centres of Yugoslavia, we found an already developing model of reflexive modernization that is based on civil society and new social movements

(Ule, 1987; Vrcan, 1988; Pavlović, 1988; Kreft, 1988). This study drew attention to how these differences were generated in the young generation in how they had actually indicated the later collapse of the system. Without question, in Slovenia it was youth who were the instigators of societal changes and also a most distinctive representative of these changes. Perhaps this role was even more significant for the break with the communist one-party system than the actual political power of young people.

TRANSFORMATION OF YOUTH AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN SLOVENIA IN TIMES OF TRANSITION

In Slovenia, after the political twist in the nineties, which was considerably less dramatic than compared to other republics in Yugoslavia, a new social-economic system was quickly established which was characterized by a neoliberal economy and a weakened welfare state. We now have two ideological perspectives that are simultaneously in conflict and complement each other in an effort to ideologically homogenize the public sphere during the transition period: the perspective of neoliberalism and the perspective of neoconservatism. Both are founded on the domination of capital and political power and on the exclusion of all more socially vulnerable groups such as workers, women, youth, migrants. This system does not require particular symbolic representation for its own legitimacy nor social movements that would represent the political will of the people. And above all, there is no such need which would require these ideologies to express themselves through young people. Instead, ideologies have now acquired other representatives, such as: capital, profit, national homogenization, religion, and family.

When attempting to describe the younger generation during times of transition, researchers now find themselves in a predicament. The younger generation again appears to be undefined socially, culturally and in terms of lifestyle; youth subcultures seem to replay old tunes or else opt for regression. This position has been indirectly reinforced by every-day lay discourse regarding young people that tends to generalize their particular problems. It seems that all that generational and cultural modernization has left behind is consumer emancipation and an autonomous position of individuals on the uncounted markets of consumer styles, fashion, images and the shaping of the body. Young people in Slovenia are now confronted with a competitive educational system, a demanding and restrictive labour market as well

1 In 1986 we carried out an all Yugoslav youth survey named "*The Situation, Consciousness and Behaviour of the Young Generation in Yugoslavia*" (N = 6840 quest.). The idea originated from the top of the Yugoslav youth organisation. The research team was constituted from the researchers from the whole Yugoslavia; the head of research team was Professor Srdjan Vrcan from University of Zagreb, Croatia. The study was also supported by some leading (more liberal) politicians in the Yugoslav political leadership. Without their support, this study would have not been possible.

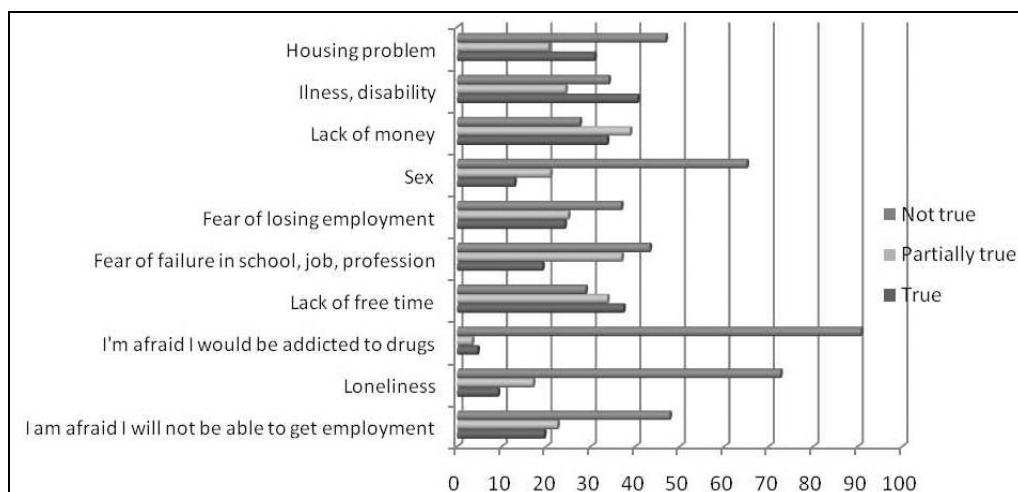
as a prolonged period of dependence on their parents. The risky transition to adulthood compels them to search for flexible strategies that are able to lead them to their (uncertain) goals through the maze of the education system, work, entertainment, family, and peer relations (Ule et al., 2000; Ule, 2008).

Problems of youth in the post-transition times

Youth studies in Slovenia from the nineties on have shown that the scope and weight of the problems young people are facing is increasing, as are the risks associated with attempts to solve these problems.² If young people who participated in the study done in 1986 were still exposing problems related to civil rights and liberties, such as "moral crises and lack of ideals" (16% of respondents thought this was very important), "insufficient societal concern for youth" (14% of respondents strongly agree), "lack of freedom of speech and thought" (11% of respondents strongly agree); young people in the earliest studies in the nineties started to expose predominately social-economical problems. For example, for 72% of respondents in the study of middle-school youth in 1993, the biggest problem they face is fear of unemployment (Ule, Miheljak, 1995).

A 2008 study on the social-economic situation of students in Slovenia³ also showed similar trends, since 69,4% respondents stated they expect to face problems when entering the job market. Another fact is also indicative; gender comparison shows that female students expect significantly more problems than male students. One third more female students expect to experience problems connected with employment because they are educated for a profession for which there is no (or not enough) demand. Also, almost twice as many female students think, that it will be more difficult to find employment due to the crisis. Moreover, half more female students believe it will be more difficult to find employment because they have no proper acquaintances. On the other hand, almost twice as many male students believe they will easily find employment since their profession is in demand; also, more male students believe they have proper connections and acquaintances.

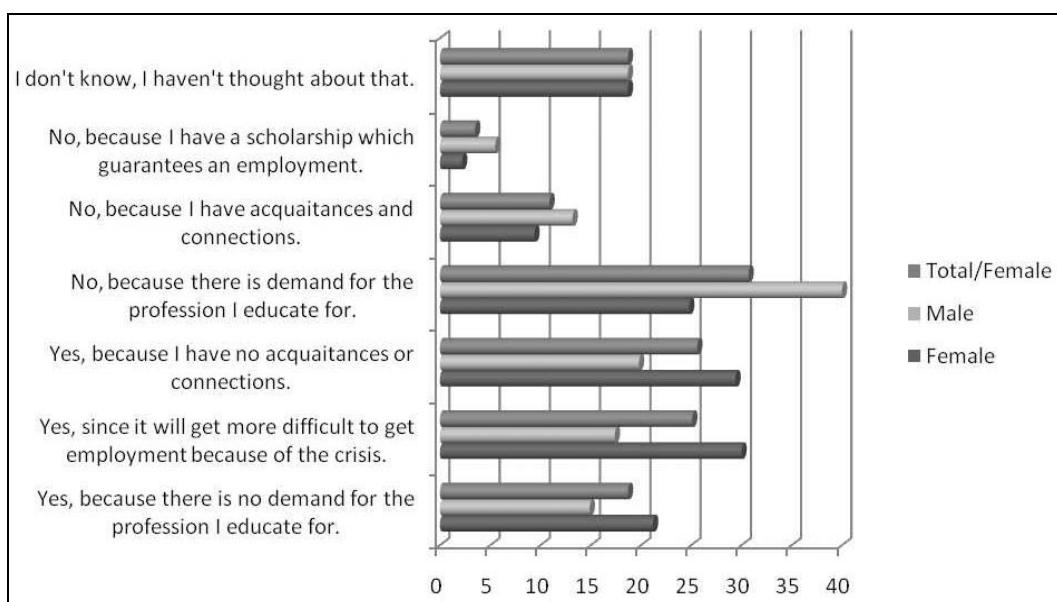
Likewise, female students are more worried than male students in all situations under the question: "What are your worries for the future?" And again, they are most concerned with being unemployed (Ule, Tivadar, Rajšp, Kuredija, 2008). All these results indicate how the economic situation of young people in the post-transition period is worsening and how subtle pressures on them are increasing.



Graph 3: Main problems of youth (Ule, Kuhar, 2002).
Graf 3: Glavni problemi mladih (Ule, Kuhar, 2002).

2 Studies on youth have been systematically carried out by the Centre for Social Psychology at the Faculty of Social Sciences since 1993. The first major empirical research study on young people in Slovenia was conducted in 1993. The survey which included secondary school students (the sample included 2354 pupils) (Ule, Miheljak, 1995) followed with the next empirical research program conducted in 1995, which included 1829 students from universities in Slovenia (Ule et al., 1996). In 1998 we conducted a study on the population of fifteen-year-olds (the sample included 1687 elementary school pupils) (Ule et al., 2000). In 2000 we surveyed a sample of 1800 young people between the ages of 15 and 29 (Miheljak, 2002).

3 Research "Socialno-ekonomski položaj študentov" (Social-economical status of students) was carried out by Centre for Social Psychology in 2008 on the sample of 3006 students from all four Universities in Slovenia.



Graph 4: Do you estimate that you will have problems with employment in your profession (with regard to gender, in %)? (Ule, Tivadar, Rajšp, Kurdija, 2008)

Graf 4: Ali ocenjujete, da boste imeli težave z zaposlovanjem v svojem poklicu (glede na spol, v %)? (Ule, Tivadar, Rajšp, Kurdija, 2008)

The register of problems in the last twenty years has considerably changed (Ilišin, Radin, 2007; Tomanović, Ignjatović, 2006; Kovatcheva, 2001; Roberts, 2003). The fundamental controversies that young people in Slovenia have to resolve is the contrast between an increasing range of options for the individual managing and planning of their lives on the one hand, and the lesser degree of predictability and control of life-courses on the other. Social and economic status continue to determine life courses, but their influence is less visible and less direct because collective traditions have been weakening and individualistic strategies are becoming dominant (Miheljak, 2002; Ule, 2008; France, 2007; Clark, 2008). On the other hand, the individual is compelled to take steps to avoid shouldering the burden of consequences.

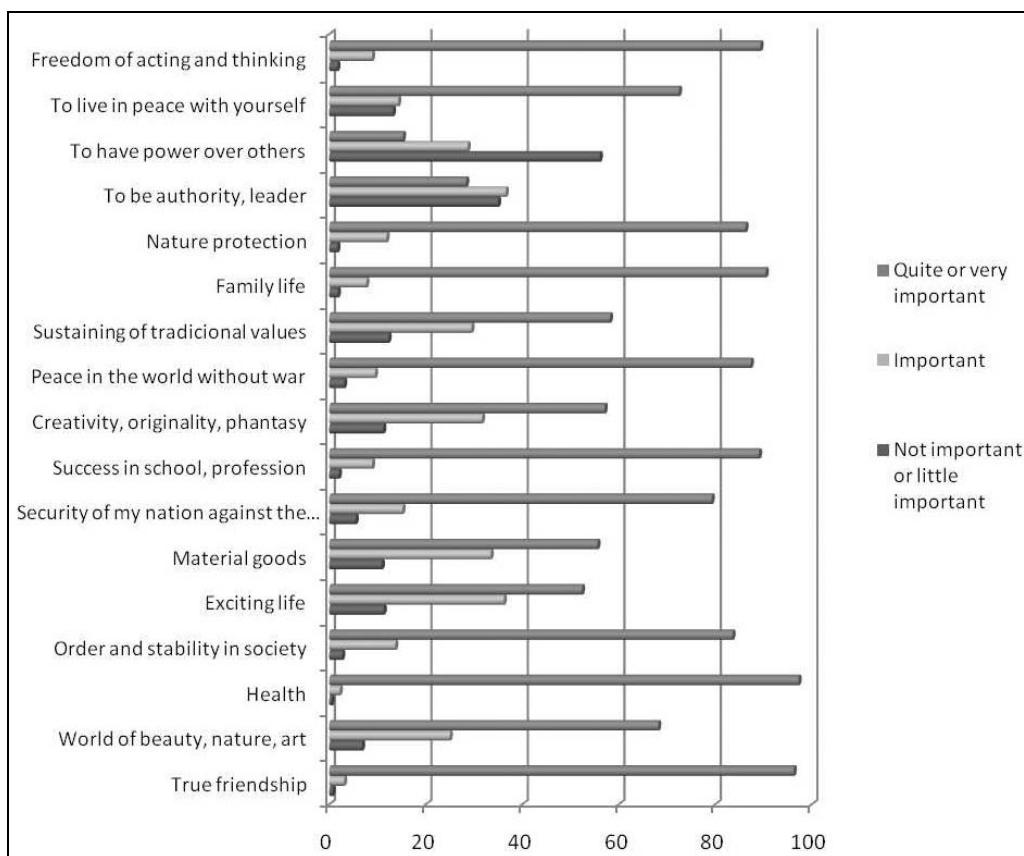
These difficulties additionally increase the social and psychological vulnerability of young people. They also escalate difficulties and accumulate unresolved problems that tend to feed one another. As a rule, the structural characteristics of social vulnerability (for example a disadvantaged starting position) become intertwined with cultural and interactive aspects (Du Bois-Raymond, Chisholm, 2006; Chisholm, 1995). Due to the mostly structural sources of problems and difficulties encountered by youth, young people often experience these difficulties as an irresolvable vicious circle and sometimes try to resolve them by means of various unreflective shortcuts (e.g. consumerism, addictions and escapism into the pop-culture youth lifestyles). These

shortcuts seem to drive problems out of their minds, while in fact they are only deepening them.

Transformations of life and value orientations of youth

Changes in social status and positions provoke different reactions among young people; among these adaptations we can also clearly observe changes of life and value orientations. The results of various youth studies done in Slovenia after 1990 show that for young people, the shaping of everyday life and value systems has been a part of their daily search for a balance amid their personal wishes and expectations on the one hand, and social demands and options on the other (Ule, Rener, 1998). However, the balance between expectations and demand and individuals' competences or capacities for action is conditional and exposed to a great many risks. For many, the conventional signs of success (e.g. income, career, status) fall short of their hunger for a "fulfilling life" and an increasing need to "find their own way" and to freely shape their personality.

Overview of the value orientations is indicating that the most important values for young people in Slovenia are expressive values; such as true friendship, family life, world peace, freedom to act and think, environmental protection, the world of beauty and art. Less important are material-career values; material goods, money, power, and influence. It is very interesting that values which we typically assign to youth are also less



Graph 5: How important are for you the following things? (Miheljak, 2002)
Graf 5: Kako pomembne so za vas naslednje stvari? (Miheljak, 2002)

important, for example an exciting life, creativity, originality and imagination.

Findings of the studies on youth in Slovenia have indicated the following four patterns of value changes:

- *change of values related to work*; accepting and appropriating career, competitive, individualized patterns of relation towards employment and work;

- *change of family values*; focus moving to privacy and intimacy of private life, prolonging of the time spent living with the family of origin, postponing parenthood, differentiation of family formations;

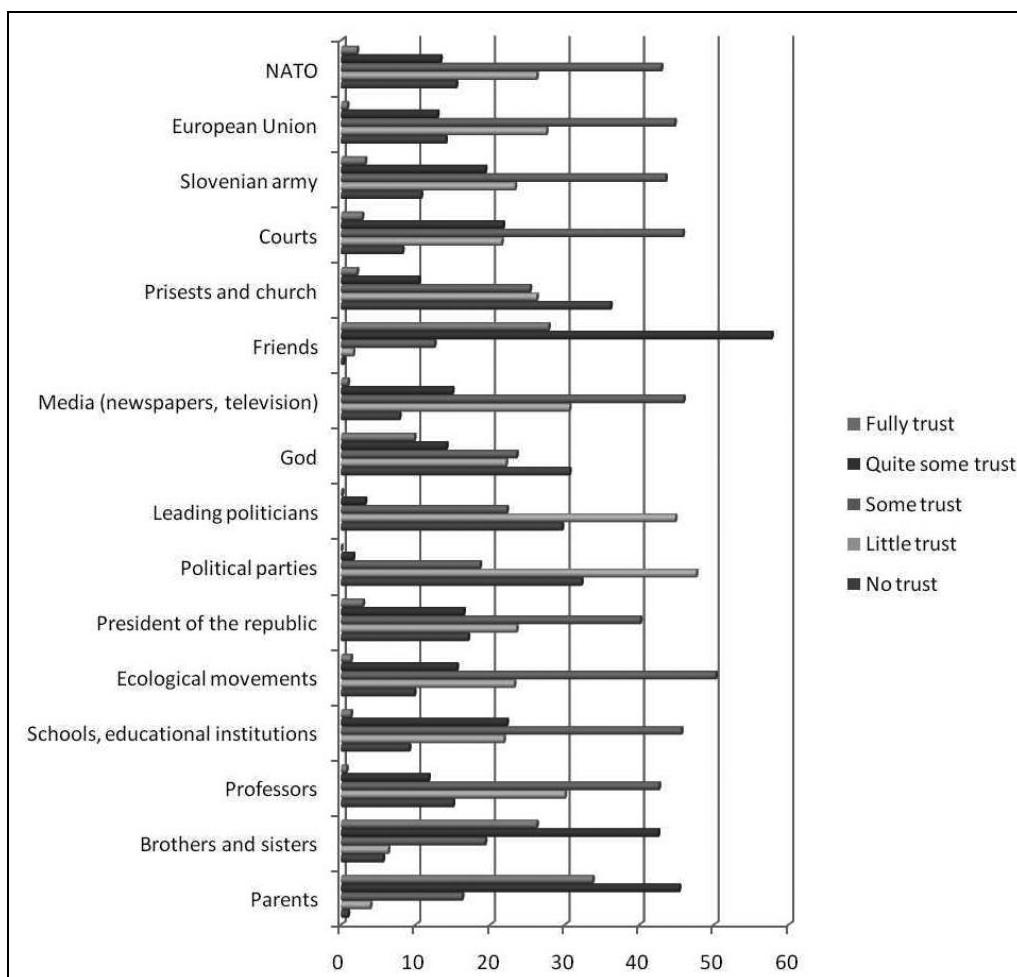
- *individualization of choices and life courses*, self-representation, forming and nursing one's image, body shape;

- *quick appropriating of consumer values*, mediated through mass media, the rapid formation of youth consumer culture.

Some researchers have denoted a change in value orientations of Eastern European youth as a westernization of life and value orientations of youth (Watts, 1994; Chisholm, 1995). This is supposed to be only the introduction to the westernization of everyday life of all age groups and generations. Youth are believed to be the

quickest to appropriate consumer values and to master information culture. With regards to the fact that western values were already available to youth from Slovenia and also other areas of ex-Yugoslavia prior to the transition, it would be inappropriate to understand and these changes as "westernization".

Young people incessantly face new contradictions; due to these, attaining independence and personal growth are becoming more difficult than ever. It is true that young people are liberating themselves of traditional ties and dependencies, but they are becoming more and more dependent on the pressures of other social institutions upon which they have very little or no influence. These institutions are mostly the labour market, the education system, systems of social care in protection, systems of social security and health (Beck, 1997; France, 2007). Older generations can still acquire power for adjusting to the new societal trends from "socialization reserves" of the past, and combine traditional and new patterns of individualization. Young people on the other hand, will have to spend their entire lives in these new conditions of modern society.



Graph 6: In what manner do you trust the following (in %)? (Miheljak, 2002)
Graf 6: Do kake mere zaupate naslednjim stvarem (v %)? (Miheljak, 2002)

This is evident also from the responses of young people to the question who and to what extent do they trust. Trust in institutions has been measured in all studies carried out on youth in the nineties in Slovenia. All of them disclosed the same thing: young people display low levels of trust in the political institutions and subjects and show a distinct tendency towards turning to privacy and private life.

The analysis of the fundamental dimensions of life and value orientations in the years after 1990 indicates some important changes. The most conspicuous of these changes is the shifting of young people's attention to everyday life and privacy, and their return to the family. This occurrence could be called the domestification of youth, and it has a twofold significance: one is the return of young people from the public sphere to the private, and the other is the obstruction of the critical and alternative tendencies of young people under the auspices of the "home."

The late 1960s and 1970s witnessed the "break-through" of new, socially highly significant value and life orientations and a value shift among young people in Slovenia. The values of youth cultures and subcultures (for example, sexual liberation, individual freedom of speech, thought, action, life-style) became a part of the public consciousness. Even though this took on the form of a conflict between adults and post-adolescent youth, what was happening then had more to do with the breaking of the last taboos and limitations that represented obstacles for all generations in their departure from the old values of traditional industrialism. In the 1980s a further shift occurred within the value system, namely a shift from the global value systems produced by different ideologies to particular, seemingly fragmentary and concrete values among which the higher sensibility of interpersonal relationships and the quality of everyday life prevailed.

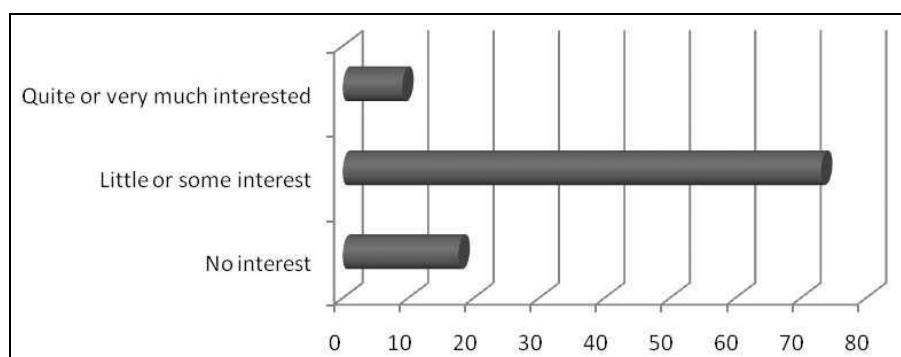
In last two decades we have also observed an increase in the significance of "socially desirable/conformist" values (health, order and stability, family life). Research results therefore show that when working on their life projects, young people are not particularly innovative. On the contrary, they are defensive and, rather than opting for experiments or innovation, they tend to settle for the simulation of various stereotypes of normality, despite the fact that their starting positions differ (Beck, Beck-Gernsheim, 1994). We have also observed that young people desire to present themselves as entirely ordinary, and normal. This rhetoric of normality enables them to constitute an apparently clear position; however, it does not enable youth to discursively articulate their own position. We are talking more about a kind of simulation of normality. This simulation is a sort of armour for young people. In contemporary times, when what is considered normal and ordinary has been completely turned on its head and there is nothing firm and binding, we see another question raised. This is a question of a norm of normality, about which structures and which discourses are dictating this norm (Beck, Giddens, Lasch, 1994). A well known "diagnosis" of a post modern condition, according to which there are increasing life possibilities and individual freedoms, and young people are their own architects or "identity managers", is therefore valid only under those frames of possibilities that are set by social and political structures.

Political profile of young people

To the new circumstances of contemporary society most young people respond with increased effort and a continued search for opportunities and investigation of risks; and not with protests or by showing a rejection of existing society. The extensive resistance of young people to the intrusions of society into their individual lives is manifested in their negative or passive attitude towards politics.

Research on young people's positions towards politics has not shown any significant differences between the sexes; while on the other hand, studies that have included the whole population constantly indicate a higher interest for politics in males. In the study "SJM 2000" in Slovenia, which coincided with the study done by Mladina 2000, 59,2% of females responded they have little or no interest in politics, while only 44% of males responded accordingly. 10% of the male population has a very high interest in politics, while only 3% of female population in the study done by SJM 2000 and only 1,2% of youth in the study done by Mladina 2000 (Miheljak, 2002) indicate a very high interest in politics. We could say that young people have a similar attitude towards politics as women in the general population. Therefore both, youth and women, are significantly more excluded from definitions of political roles and positions. In addition, the public of Slovene political sphere is during this time of transition even more in the hands of the adult male population than was the case during socialist times. We witness similar phenomena in other comparable Eastern European countries (Gille, Krüger, 2000; Sauer, 1995). With this in mind we cannot interpret the lower political interest of youth and women as a particular deficit of young people or women, but we have to perceive it as a deficit of a general political culture and politics in the post-transitional period.

Already by the eighties, studies on Yugoslav youth indicated a sceptical attitude towards the general public and this was especially true for Slovenia. At that time, a sceptical attitude was accompanied by a readiness to engage in informal, alternative forms of political action, civil initiatives, etc. Contrary to this attitude, in the transition period, young people have turned away from any kind of politics as a collective activity. They have simply been trying to stay "out of it." It is interesting that a paper written on German youth, entitled "Jugend 2006" also finds that youth minorities of the radical left and right still exist, but are marked more than with ideology, with ex-



Graph 7: How would you evaluate your interest in politics? (Miheljak, 2002)
Graf 7: Kako bi ovrednotili svoje zanimanje za politiko? (Miheljak, 2002)



*Fig. 1: Student protests against tuition fees (photo: Bogomir Mihevc).
Sl. 1: Študentski protesti proti šolnинам (foto: Bogomir Mihevc).*

pression of positive or negative emotions, prejudices and with the tendency of young people to belong to "powerful" groups which know how to withstand institutions of state (Hurrelman, Matthias, 2006). Thomas Gensicke remarks: "Otherwise youth is interested in politics mostly only as much as can be reached by a click-on-computer" (2006, 139). It is in this manner, Gensicke believes, we have to understand the sympathies expressed by a considerable portion of youths with the antiglobalization movements. Namely, taking part in these movements is an exceptional opportunity for connecting with young people around the world with the help of the internet.

Young people are diverting themselves from traditional political activity. Political parties only rarely attract new members. Contemporary civil-societal initiatives and movements are facing similar problems. Some researchers explain this trend by pointing out the effects of the particular media and internet culture in which young people are growing up (France, 2007; Mizen, 2004). This, however, is hardly a sufficient explanation for such a change. And yet, young people show an interest in at least some topics, such as social justice, environmental care, and the problems of marginalized groups. At the same time, politicians are dependent and

count on the votes of older generations, and this leads to an even deeper rupture between young people and formal politics. Nonetheless, this kind of attitude in young people is in itself very politically significant; young people are resisting the nonsense and obligations which adults often exhaust themselves with without any critical evaluation of their commitments.

DECONSTRUCTION OF YOUTH IN THE POST-TRANSITION PERIOD

Processes in the last two decades have seemingly ultimately diverted young people from the "grand themes" that formed the foundations of the social movements in the eighties, such as human rights, social justice, gender equality, the autonomy of civil society as opposed to the state; although it is also true that these topics generally disappeared from the public discourse. Neoconservatism and neoliberalism are destroying institutions that are based on solidarity and not on a clear and strict logic of profit; and hence they are destroying the "support network" of youth cultures and social movements as well. It seems that the young generations in Slovenia in the last two decades have forfeited utopian ideals – or perhaps

we should say that they are not willing to look for them anymore. This also means that social criticism and protests no longer take the form of generational or age-determined social movements, but of a dispersed, fragmented socio-political scene in which young people play the roles of extras rather than being active subjects who know how to clearly formulate their demands and wishes. Young people as a social group did not melt away in a trans-generational, trans-ideological and plural society of many differences as initially appeared to be the case. Instead, they transformed themselves into an age group without its own distinctive features. Consequently, the majority of society takes notice of young people only when it feels threatened by them or when it recognizes them as potential consumers.

The theory concerning the deconstruction/disappearance of youth as an intermediate or transitional stage was first introduced towards the eighties. The change of youth was brought about by the structural reorganization of socialization, which eliminated the need for a unique intermediate stage between childhood and adulthood (Walther, 2006). Viewed from the perspective of the eighties, the deconstruction of youth appeared as a process of young people's liberation from social infantilization, and as an emancipation process of youth as opposed to the adult world. And for this reason the theory about the deconstruction of youth sounded very optimistic, which is why many theoreticians and researchers on youth developed it (Trotha, 1982; Zinnecker, 1987). The same was true for Slovenia, where we discovered that the inferior status of youth as a generational group was being aborted and that young people were becoming initiators and subjects of new social movements that were no longer segmented by age (Ule, 1988, 126).

Today, the same theory about the deconstruction of youth no longer sounds so optimistic. It displays itself as acceptance of the prolonging of the social childhood of youth, as placing young people into particular "ghettos", where they are pushed into prolonged education with no clear and definite strategies and perspectives for the future (Coté, 2007). In Slovenia we are dealing with an ever "thinner" segment of young people who are literally from birth accompanied by a mix of worries for the future and every kind of investment from their parents. Differences among young people are increasing; class, gender, ethical differences. Particular ways in which the redistribution of property has occurred in the past two decades has also considerably increased differences in the starting positions of young people who are becoming ever more dependent on family capital, support and familial social networks.

However, not solely demographic trends that are responsible for the reduced share and value of young people in comparison to other population groups (Blossfeld et al., 2005). Another important factor in the social exclusion of youth is the narrowing of the "space for

youth," which has become limited to the spheres of privacy and leisure time. The private world of young people along with the help and support of their parents offers them shelter and a place of withdrawal from the pressures of the increasingly complicated and unclear everyday world of adults. However, it was precisely young people, who have most obviously and faster than any other societal group replaced their interest in social justice, gender equality, autonomy of civil society, human rights, democratic public opinion to conspicuously private conceptions of the social world that is characterized by social anomie and the loss of collective/ historical memory. This tendency is in accordance with similar changes in youths in late-modern societies, with individualization of youth, increased emphasis of everyday pragmatism and disinterest in any of the ideological "big stories".

CONCLUSION

The position of young people in Slovenia has completely changed in the past two decades. The postsocialist transition has rendered empty the fundamental ideological concept through which youth was linked with the idea of modernization, i.e. the concept of progress. The hypothetical inherent link between youth and progress has been replaced with another, equally hypothetical inherent link, between youth and the individualization of life, which initiates young people into the new privacy of the globalized consumer society. Today, due to this change in inherent links, the deconstruction of youth displays itself as a particular historic trap, which ultimately returns young people back to the place where their social historical emancipation originated, namely, to the world of privacy, family, parents. The breakdown of the link between modernization, emancipation and social progress at this stage of post-transitional development, points to the intrinsic limitations of a modernization process that is propelled by neoliberalism.

The passage from socialism to neoliberalism has revived social differences, such as class, gender, and ethnic differences. For a minority of young people these changes have opened such possibilities for a success, career, and material standards that were simply unimaginable before. In this way a limited number of young people from privileged class have access to promising educational degrees, successful careers, and good employment. But on the other hand, more and more young people are facing increasingly uncertain and unpredictable working conditions with short-term employment, a prolonged economic dependency on their families of origin, practical institutionalizing of lower incomes. Prolonged economic dependence has also another price: young people have to face various conflicts with their parents, which are originating precisely and only because of these prolonged cohabitations. And in these cohabitations,



Fig. 2: Student protests against tuition fees (photo: Bogomir Mihevc).
Sl. 2: Študentski protesti proti šolnинам (foto: Bogomir Mihevc).

parents are prevailing since they have more economic and political power. If we also take into consideration that after they finish their education, young people rarely find employment suitable to their qualifications and that they are usually sentenced to earning the lowest wages in the beginning, then we can also see that the price of youth in Slovenia has become exceedingly high. The low price of work done by young people is rewarding employers, not the young. Employers definitively profit since they have access to a low-paid workforce with the most up-to-date education. In this way, young people are marginalized in the labour market, excluded from the essential flow of adult society and consequently deprived of the origins of power.

This is the framework in which the social and political reconstruction of youth has taken place. The autonomy of young people has been considerably reduced after the process of narrowing of the welfare state has transferred the majority of costs for social reproduction of youth from the state back to the family. Without economic or political representatives, young people have few rights, privileges and accordingly, a lower social status. They perceive the social world as being unclear and unpredictable. New information technology and media offer ele-

ments of multiculturalism and global internationalism; they incessantly inform young people of new cultures and lifestyles. All this results in a widening of young people's world and liberates them of traditional conservative cultural ties and patterns, but on the other hand this same world is particularizing and individualizing their common problems and offers only substitutes and not solutions to real life dilemmas and problems. Youth itself is defined exactly by the ability to rise above psycho-physical process of growing up and in that way becomes socially, culturally, and politically significant social group. If there is no future for those members of society who are still growing up, or if roads to those futures are closed or inaccessible, then we can no longer speak about "youth" in the true sense of the word. It is interesting that policy makers are not disturbed by the lack of young people in public life. What is more, today's adult society is, due to its developmental irresponsibility, literally and with no hesitations, parasiting on the future. The irresponsibility of contemporary society for the future goes directly hand in hand with society's indifference towards young people and regardless of the cult of youth that is otherwise reigning in the contemporary mass culture.

FRAGMENTI O MLADIH V SLOVENIJI: KONEC UTOPIJ V TRANZICIJSKEM ČASU

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POVZETEK

Medtem ko znanost ponuja teoretične dokaze, so mladi priskrbeli empiričen dokaz družbenih sprememb, ki so potekale v zadnjih desetletjih. Na tem mestu uporabljamo koncept mladih, zasnovan kot skonstruiran pojav v družbi, torej kot družbeno-zgodovinska skupina s skupno zgodovinsko izkušnjo in ne kot starostna skupina.

V času socializma je bil ideal rasti in napredka ena od temeljnih konceptualnih povezav, posebej znotraj ideooloških struktur med mladimi. Na tak način so ideologije napredka in radikalnih družbenih sprememb predstavljale ključni dejavnik družbene konstrukcije mladih v socializmu; homogenizirale so mlade v virtualnem utelešenju družbene prihodnosti. Tovrstno umeščanje mladih je bilo še posebej značilno za socialistične sisteme Vzhodne Evrope po drugi svetovni vojni.

V prispevku analiziramo, kako se je položaj mladih v Sloveniji spremenil v zadnjih dveh desetletjih. Naša teza je, da je post-socialistična tranzicija izpraznila temeljni ideoološki koncept, preko katerega so bili mladi povezani z idejo modernizacije, tj. s konceptom napredka. Novi sistem za lastno legitimacijo ne potrebuje posebne simbolne reprezentacije ali družbenih gibanj, ki bi predstavljala politično voljo ljudi. Predvsem pa ne obstaja potreba, ki bi zahtevala izražanje ideologij preko mladih. Ideologije so dobine kvečjemu druge predstavnike, kot so: kapital, dobiček, homogenizacija naroda, religija in družina.

Torej je hipotetični inherentni vezni člen med mladimi in napredkom nadomestil drug, prav tako hipotetični, inherentni vezni člen med mladimi in individualizacijo življenja. Ta vezni člen uvaja mlade v novo zasebnost globalizirane potrošniške družbe. Avtonomija mladih se je znatno zmanjšala skozi proces krčenja socialne države, ki je večji del stroškov družbene reprodukcije mladih prenesel z države nazaj na družino. Mladi so na trgu dela marginalizirani, izključeni iz ključnih tokov družbe odraslih in posledično prikrajšani za vire moči. Brez predstavnikov v gospodarstvu in politiki imajo mladi le malo pravic in prednosti, ter v skladu s tem tudi nižji družbeni položaj. Mladi nimajo več ključnega glasu in niso pomembni predstavniki družbe, ampak zgolj navadna starostna skupina brez posebne ali jasno določene vloge v družbi.

Ključne besede: mladi, Slovenija, Vzhodna Evropa, tranzicija, družbene/politične spremembe, vrednote in življenjske usmeritve

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YOUTH: THE TRAP OF INDIVIDUALIZATION IN A GLOBAL ERA

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ABSTRACT

The paper discusses two basic dimensions of life in contemporary times, individualization and globalization, and their influence upon the young. Young people are particularly susceptible to risking social exclusion as the traditional systems of personal and social security are disintegrating, which is particularly characteristic of the so called "societies in transition". The author finds that forced depolitisation of the young causes important effects: during the recent decades, the young have been looking for individual and biographic solutions to structural problems and have thus fallen into the trap of disciplining and privatization. The author critically evaluates the concept of social exclusion: she finds that without ever being analysed in detail the term and its use have entered the politically correct language of European institutions, the professional discourse, particularly that of social studies, and socially-political discourses. The concept of social exclusion, as it is largely used today, does not include any interpretative challenges of the global power structures or the distribution of wealth in society. Thus, the relationships of dominion and the new baronial classes remain invisible.

Key words: youth, individualization, globalization, social vulnerability, social exclusion

LA GIOVENTÙ: LA TRAPPOLA DELL'INDIVIDUALIZZAZIONE NELL'ERA GLOBALE

SINTESI

L'articolo affronta due dimensioni fondamentali della vita contemporanea, l'individualizzazione e la globalizzazione con le loro influenze sulla popolazione giovanile, particolarmente soggetta al rischio di emarginazione sociale, data la destrutturazione dei sistemi tradizionali di sicurezza individuale e sociale, caratteristica in primo luogo delle "società in transizione". Secondo l'autrice la depoliticizzazione imposta dei giovani provoca delle conseguenze significative: i giovani hanno ricercato negli ultimi decenni soluzioni individuali e biografiche ai problemi strutturali cadendo così nella trappola del disciplinamento e della privatizzazione. L'autrice è molto critica nella valutazione che dà dell'emarginazione sociale: negli anni novanta il termine e il suo utilizzo hanno assunto la dimensione di linguaggio politicamente corretto tanto delle istituzioni europee e quanto nelle discussioni di esperti, in primis di carattere sociologico e politico sociale, senza che il concetto stesso sia mai stato oggetto di un'approfondita analisi. Il concetto di emarginazione sociale come oggi utilizzato non contiene sfide interpretative visavis alle strutture di potere globali e alla distribuzione della ricchezza sociale. Le relazioni di padronanza e le nuove classi baronali rimangono così invisibili.

Parole chiave: giovani, individualizzazione, globalizzazione, vulnerabilità sociale, emarginazione sociale

INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century brought many different changes, among them, quite significantly, the constitution of youth as a social group which played an important part in the development of society. Never before had a young generation such an important role, never before they generated so many changes of universal importance, mustered-up so much self-confidence, or showed such readiness and willingness for change, both at personal and at societal level. At the same time, however, it seems that the explicit function of youth has been drawing to a close towards the end of the twentieth century. Their share in demographic terms has been reducing in the western societies and they have become merged with other generational and social groups. These changes in youth and young people above all indicate a historical change in social reproduction and generational units. Until the 1970s young people were firmly embedded in the "production system" of society. Even though school and leisure undoubtedly left space for a certain degree of independence from the production system, the formal educational process, family socialization and everyday culture were in the service of future employment, of life-projects and tasks and thus rather strictly determined social roles. The spread of specifically youth cultures, a growing autonomy of youth consumption and prolonged schooling, which was no longer necessarily in the service of future employment, loosened and strongly individualized the connection between the everyday world of youth and the world of (economically evaluated) production (Ule, Rener, 2001). The life experiences of young people and their life expectations changed quite significantly over the last two decades. These changes affect relationships with family and friends, partners, experiences of education, labour market, leisure and lifestyles and above all the ability to become independent young adults (Furlong, 1997). Many of these changes are a direct result of the restruc-

turing of the global labour market, of an increased demand for educated yet flexible workers and of social policies which have extended the period of dependency of young people on their parents and families well into their thirties. As a consequence of these changes, young people today have to negotiate a set of risks which were almost unknown to the generation of their parents. As many of these changes have come about within a relatively short period of time especially in the so called "transition societies" of the ex-socialist countries, points of reference which previously helped smooth processes of transition into adulthood have become unclear and obscure. Thus, increased uncertainty of one's future life course can be seen as a source of stress, risk and vulnerability. The period of late modernity, as some social scientists have labeled the times we are living in, operates on the everyday lives of people in two fundamental ways: on the general and global level as globalization, and on the personal level as the intensive individualization of life courses.¹

A considerable portion of people's lives in the late modern period unfolds despite of a lack of awareness of the way things operate – things upon which everyday life is based (how many ordinary people understand how transportation systems, financial markets, computer networks, telecommunications, international corporations, and the like really work?). There is therefore an abstract confidence in expert systems as an obligatory part of everyday life. However, this carries with it risks and threats which in recent times have become increasingly apparent, revealing the vulnerabilities of expert systems and their systemic inability to be fully controlled: recall, for example, the (unnecessary) panic induced by the Y2K bug, the Mad Cow Disease, the Bird and Swine Flu scares, various ecological risks, and so on. At the threshold of the millennium abrupt changes occurred which virtually overnight placed us at the very center of modern turbulent events. Today we face ecological threats posed by nuclear power stations, genetically modified foods, global warming, the hole in the

1 Globalization and individualization are two manifestations of the same process and cannot be treated in isolation from one another. Globalization is a concept which has paraded freely through our lives over the past decade. Yet the more ubiquitous it is, the less clear appear to be its implications. So let us define it right at the outset: we take globalization to mean the planetary-wide extension of the system of (neo)liberal capitalism, which has been greatly facilitated by the development of transportation and communications technologies. The principal cultural and political tools of this world system are the recruitment of countries into "the civilized world" (i.e. identification with the values and lifestyles of the west) and the aggressive export of the supposedly superior system of western parliamentary democracy.

Individualization is usually defined by social psychology textbooks as the tendency towards an individual lifestyle and personal autonomy in making decisions about one's education, occupation, job, place of residence, way of life, and similar. Individualization is supposedly made possible by the development of pluralistic and decentralized forms of subjective structures, which are presumed to distinguish "new, individualized people" with a hodgepodge of identities from the stable, solid selves of the traditional subject of modern industrial society. My own understanding of individualization is that it is the result of a self-deception to which social scientists over the past few decades have contributed a great deal: in highly stratified modern societies "free choice" (regarding anything at all, let alone regarding critically important life choices) is only temporary, and is thus more of an illusion than a reality. But illusions have politically useful effects: the more people are obsessed with themselves and their own lives, the less likely they are to recognize the structural forces operating on their lives (and pressure to individualization is definitely a structural force!), and hence the less likely to engage in cooperation with and feel solidarity towards others.

ozone layer, the HIV virus, and a multitude of other problems. Until relatively recently these threats seemed quite abstract to most of us, calamities which occurred in distant places and affected strangers, while we ourselves still felt relatively safe. But common computer viruses, which may seem banal and minor but are global in their reach, new forms of viruses which threaten to spread to world-wide epidemics have catapulted this abstract sense of risk directly into our living rooms via our television screens and into our everyday lives. The September 11 attacks on the very core of the modern world system, after which "the world will never be the same," have definitively shifted the ontological security of even the most privileged part of the world into the world of illusions, or at least made it parenthetical. In other words, fundamental global risks are no longer abstract, and risky situations are no longer something that happen to other people ("over there"), from which we can remove ourselves with a simple push of the remote button. They have literally shifted into everyday reality.²

YOUTH AS EXPERIENCE OF INSECURITY

Social scientists studying youth in Europe observed a tectonic shift in the values orientation of young people from the 1970s onwards: they explicitly withdrew from big issues, big history and ideology to the smaller stories of the more private and personal sphere of everyday life, friendship, partners, and family. The research on youth done by the Center for Social Psychology in the 1990s revealed the same trends among youth in Slovenia (see Ule et al., 2000; Miheljak, 2002): young people constantly spoke of a turning inward, cultivation of a personal social network, and an attendant rejection of the public sphere, particularly the political. But this polarized image is deceptive: despite this pronounced individualism, young people are not egotistically focused only on themselves and their own interests. In fact, just the opposite is true. Young people have consistently shown a high degree of social sensitivity as well as a willingness to volunteer as an alternative social public life. What they are rejecting is not the public sphere in general, but rather the political sphere as the authoritative domination of power.

At the same time, from the 1970s onward, there was also a tectonic shift at the macrosystemic level; in the opinion of the majority of globalization analysts, fundamental globalization processes began to unfold in two key directions, both of which were supported by the development of information and communication technology: the extension of the global capitalist system in the economic as well as political sense (the world as a

"global village"), and the global spread of its ideological (cultural) mechanisms (the "McDonaldization of the world"). At the macro level the sovereignty of national states (and associations such as the European Union are no exception), which represents one of the last remaining obstacles to multinational corporations and the suprataritorial nature of financial capital, is disintegrating, as a result of which political citizens are transformed into private consumers, while at the micro and individual level the mechanisms and institutions of social security are crumbling, and the feelings of personal risk and a sense of being threatened are increasing. The reaction of (young) people is therefore not so surprising: on the one hand, there is a turning inward to the private, personal sphere, to one's own body as in effect the last place in which it is still possible to act "publicly." On the other, there is an aversion to big issues like politics, economics, and history, which are nontransparent and operate as natural forces to which resistance is futile. Thus nowadays the problem of "ontological security" becomes literally a matter of survival.

Of central importance in all this is the feeling that we can only rely on people and things in our immediate environment. The social period for the acquisition of ontological security is childhood and youth, and the social environment for so doing is the family. Thus the results of our survey investigating what and whom the respondents had the most trust in are not surprising: young people trust completely only those with whom they have intimate relationships (parents, brothers and sisters, friends). All the other social institutions (schools, media, politics, religion) are much more objects of distrust than trust (Miheljak, 2002).

But this is no different than for Slovenians generally. According to studies of the Slovenian Public Opinion Survey in the 1990s, in 1996, 86.9% of respondents trusted their family and close relatives a lot or completely, and in 1999 the number was 92%. The level of trust in family did not vary significantly with age or educational level of the respondents. No other institution has such a high and uniform degree of trust as the family (Kurdija in: Hanžek, Gregorčič, 2001, 56; Rus, Toš, 2005, 371). Taking these data into account one can but wonder where do persistent public discourses about "the deep crisis of the family" originate in Slovenia?

The growing uncertainty of the transition to adulthood, which some authors have called an "ontological vacuum" or "empty future," is today a common denominator among youth all over Europe. This dramatic ontological vacuum, which affects the majority of the younger generation, of course also resonates in social science reflections on modernity. In particular, the

2 The experience of risk – similar to the experience of globalization – is governed by the TINA (There Is No Alternative) syndrome. Both are presented as like the weather, beyond human influence. TINA was frequently invoked in the 1980s by Britain's Iron Lady, while Slovenians were subjected to it *ad nauseam* throughout the campaign to join NATO and the EU.

question arises of whether or not these changes herald a transition into a new age, whose significance is no less than that of the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times, or whether they are simply the continuing consequences and unfolding developments of modernization. Postmodernists like Lyotard (1984) or Baudrillard (1988) believe that we are entering into a new, postmodern era in which an analysis of social structure is losing its meaning. The models of social behavior and individualized life courses are considered to be unpredictable, and grand social theories and classical sociological factors (gender, age, class, race, ethnicity, etc.) are no longer adequate to explain variability in individualized life courses and lifestyles.

Other authors are skeptical regarding postmodern ideas and reject the concept of the postmodern, preferring to speak of late modernity (Giddens, 1991) or "second modernity" (Beck, 2009), or "reflexive modernization" (Lasch, 1992), or "liquid modernity" (Bauman, 2008). They say that pluralism and differentiation, the weakening of community, and feelings of uncertainty are characteristic of the kind of modernization that classical sociology deals with. Is there really anything new going on nowadays that the old social science concepts are not able to explain? We tend towards the view that the epistemological confusion is caused not by new elements, but rather by a blurring of the effects of classical sociological factors. In other words, the social and economic status of people still has a fundamental impact on the life courses of individuals, but its operation is less visible, blurred, and less direct, because collective traditions are weakening and the pressures of individual values are growing. As a result, people in the grip of induced isolation and social amnesia see the social world as nontransparent and unpredictable, rife with risk, which must be grappled with as an individual, as if there were no others who lived in the same circumstances and faced the same risks. Typical of young people in the last decades was a search for biographical solutions to structural problems, which made it very easy for them to fall into the trap of discipline and privatization. It is therefore necessary to interpret the "antiglobalization"

demonstrations in Seattle, Goteborg, Prague, and Genoa, whose core was undoubtedly composed of young people, as the first mass forms of resistance in the territory of "the West" against the world system after the revolutionary year of 1968. They are certainly important in a symbolic sense, but even more so in the sense of recognizing "common topics" of action, exchange of information, skills, and solidarity despite the lack of any traditional political "common platform" or shared ideology.³

THE SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF YOUNG PEOPLE?

Globalization, which in Slovenia was additionally exacerbated by the changes accompanying economic transition, has an impact on young people through the fundamental institutions to which they are "subjected" in everyday life – through their family and personal environment, school, and free time. Modern capitalism requires young people to be able to adapt rapidly to changing circumstances, but it does not affect each young person in the same way. Although a large number of young people will certainly find their own way to adulthood, it appears as though the contemporary events of globalization will promote two contrasting groups of young people: winners and losers. The winners will have family and the personal resources which will allow them to take advantage of the opportunities offered by neoliberal capitalism. Young people who cannot or do not want to adapt to the demands of globalization because personally or socially they are less prepared for it than their peers will end up in the category of losers. Both winners and losers will hold their fates only partially in their own hands, but the winners know what to do with it and how to direct it so that they will benefit from it. The dynamics of late modernity lie specifically in expanding the circle of risk for young people; young people who are subjected to risk no longer come exclusively from classic underprivileged social environments, the lower classes and social minorities, although it is true that among the "losers" there are still more of these who live in less favored social circumstances. The im-

3 Individuals and groups who struggle for "a different kind of globalization" (which kind? We can turn a brick over in various ways, but it remains a brick) are becoming visible at demonstrations during the meetings of the G8, the World Bank, and the IMF...Let's stop for a moment and ask a naïve question: why do we even need meetings of the G8 and similar institutions? Why don't the eight heads of the economically most powerful countries in the world consult by videoconference or meet secretly at some isolated farm in Vermont? Why do they prefer to put themselves on display and force the city in which they meet to practically declare a state of military emergency? The answer is probably quite simple: they are not there in order to have a meeting, but to display themselves and their power. Their function is purely to make a spectacle of themselves, to be a highly visible advertisement for globalization. They are there so that an entrepreneur from Bavaria can see them as he is making a decision about whether or not to invest in the Russian market. They are there in order to inform the planet of how likable they are and that therefore the investments (and profits) of the small businessman and the huge multinationals are safe. They radiate optimism, confidence in the future, and unity; they provide the lubricants that keep the machinery of globalization running smoothly (Barricco, 2007). Or, as Kralj states: "This is why the antiglobalist counter-spectacles are so important. Regardless of the fact that the "movement of the movements", like the World Social Forum, which embeds various social discontent cannot stop globalization, it can disrupt its advertising message. In this way the antiglobalists hit their target very precisely: they are hitting globalization where it is weakest, that is to say, when it is selling itself" (Kralj, 2008, 74).

portance of classical structural constraints (class, ethnicity, race, gender) has lessened in modern times, or at any rate no longer plays such a dominant role in how life proceeds for individuals, but at the same time the forces behind social inequality are becoming stronger. These operate inside the basic institutions or agencies of global society, which crosscut the standard class structure of society: in the family, the educational system, employment, and free time activities. Young people who belong to different social classes differ among themselves in the amount and type of resources, opportunities and possibilities at their disposal, but the specific unfolding of their life courses to adulthood is more than ever dependent on their placement within and support from the areas previously mentioned. Concepts of the social vulnerability of youth in particular which have been developed to date originate from two theoretical and empirical suppositions: first, that socially vulnerable young people are from the lower classes, while the rest are much more secure, and second, the concept of risk and vulnerability must be tied primarily to young people who operate in the "danger zones." These concepts now appear one-sided and unconvincing (du Bois-Reymond, 1996). We would rather say that "deviant" cultural and life patterns of young people that in the past were confined to the tiny segment of youth subcultures are now becoming an ever more "normal" part of everyday life. The difference between conformity and deviation in behavior is becoming unclear and relativised.

Similarly as elsewhere in Europe, young people in Slovenia are facing new challenges: they are growing up in a state which in the context of the Central and East European countries appears relatively successful and stable and in which an individualized social climate is being intensively developed. This opens up new options and their accompanying risks. Reliance on past sources of security and trust (values, systems of social security) are no longer possible. Young people and their parents are forced into earlier and more informed choices (with respect to education, leisure activities, the early planning of life courses, etc.), which assumes a shift of responsibility for one's own life essentially into the phase of childhood. Modern European and Slovenian society requires the early mental and behavioral adjustment to two simultaneously contradictory conditions for them: an extended period of education and an extended period of economic dependence are in sharp conflict with the demand for making life choices early on and accepting full responsibility for those choices. Likewise, the challenges which come from "the outside world" are also contradictory: information technology and the media offer elements of multiculturalism and global internationalism and inform young people about new cultures and lifestyles, which on the one hand expands their horizons and "modernizes" them (liberating them from the trappings of national tradition), while on the

other hand it can easily bring new distress and uncertainty.

In the last decade social science researchers focusing on youth developed various concepts of social vulnerability. The British researcher Bob Coles categorized as socially vulnerable those groups of young people who experienced difficulties and challenges during the transition to adulthood: youth with special needs, youth in foster care or institutions, and youth in "alternative" careers who had committed various minor offenses as well as more serious crimes (Coles, 1997, 69). Schuyt's definition of vulnerability is also of interest: youth are considered especially vulnerable if in their interactions with social institutions they are accorded more sanctions and social supervision than they are support and benefits (Schuyt, 1995, 8).

We are convinced that social vulnerability and risk are no longer confined to a delimited, minority portion of the population of young people, but rather are becoming dominant, a majority cultural social milieu of cohorts of modern young people.

The society of late modernity creates risks, and in this respect Slovene society does not differ at all from other developed European societies. It is thus not a new discovery that social risk is unequally distributed. Gender and class ties seem to be of considerable importance in this respect.

In late or "second" modernity as Beck puts it it is possible to say that class ties (at least on the level of subjective feelings of belonging) are being weakened, as a result of which it is impossible to predict lifestyles and political convictions purely on the basis of information about occupation, education, and family background. Beck calls this new era "capitalism without class" (2009). In individualized life courses people are compelled to put themselves at the center of their own life plans and reflexively construct their own biography. Employment and jobs have long ago stopped being the arena for powerful social conflicts; linked foremost to them is the fear of unemployment, which penetrates downwards along the age scale, practically right into childhood. We arrived at these conclusions through our study of primary (14 years old) and high school (17 years old) adolescents who were asked about the biggest problems young people are faced with. According to their answers their biggest concern is fear of illness and disability, followed by fear of failing at school, becoming addicted to drugs and fear of unemployment. Other, seemingly less felt preoccupations, are much more "youth oriented": concerns about self-image, social contacts (fear of loneliness), and emotional problems. Our study of psycho-social problems and the vulnerability of young people showed that the levels of self-destructive feelings, uncertainty, feelings of guilt and a demoralized attitude towards the world and life in general are quite high. Further statistical analysis of the data revealed significant

differences between genders both in reactions and personal feelings. Girls display significantly lower self-confidence, are more uncertain and more depressed: 39% of girls agreed with the statement: "I often feel that life is not worth living" in comparison with 23% of boys. 30% of girls and 16% of boys agreed with the statement: "I often feel that my way of life is a failure". 44% of girls and 22% of boys think that they are "more sensitive than most other people"; 45% of girls and 22% of boys state that they "often feel down" and 68% of girls and 48% of boys "sometimes feel guilty for entirely unimportant reasons".

By contrast, more boys than girls are prepared to act destructively or to fight aggressively in defence of their position. For example, as many as 76% of boys agreed to: "If someone strikes me, I strike back" in comparison with 57% of girls.

These gender differences are rather surprising because they reveal some typical and quite traditional differences which we expected to be disappearing from the life of contemporary young people. These findings could indicate that girls internalize the pressures and frustrations exerted by their environment and more tend to connect them with their self-image, while boys' reactions appear to be more externalized and reveal aggressive tendencies. Girls seem to identify more with various pressures for achievement and their reactions are more acute and sensitive than those of boys. Whereby boys approach problems in a more aggressive manner, girls seem to be more prone to evade them and withdraw (Ule et al. 2000; Ule, Rener, 2001). In our opinion, these findings tend to contradict theoretical assumptions about the weakening of influence of classical sociological constraints such as gender, class, ethnicity... on life course, opportunities and risks of young people in late modernity. In other words, it seems that the classical system of social inequality remains in operation much more than it was optimistically predicted by many social scientists.

British researchers in this sense have coined the syntagma of "structural individualization" (Nagel in Wallace, 1997). In an attempt to understand this phenomenon, the German authors Berger and Sopp (1995) have written that the classical factors of social differentiation and inequality today are introducing or translating into a growing demand for "individual choice," which is most affecting young people.

There is no empirical evidence that the distribution of social wealth and power has changed in any significant way in modern times. On the contrary, there is a consensus among social analysts of western societies that globalization processes are not leading to a higher level of social equality but rather to a specific "fossilization" of the social structure of developed industrial societies. Beck has found that social inequality in Western Europe has shown an astonishing stability (2009). Statistics on social stratification in Slovenia show a similar

picture: while the "objective" picture of stratification of Slovene society takes on the classic pyramidal shape, the subjective judgments of people regarding their own situation within the layers is expressed in the shape of an onion. Regardless of their actual position, the majority of people in Slovenia see themselves as located somewhere in the middle (Hafner Fink, 1999). In Marxist terminology we would say that the social classes exist only "in themselves" and not also "for themselves", and that people have lost or rather failed to develop an awareness of their class belonging. Is it therefore possible to speak of an "epistemological self-deception" of late modernity, which is expressed as a growing gap between the empirical social and economic conditions and the subjective perceptions which people are allowed to entertain and dream about? Life opportunities of people remain determined by class to a great extent and are therefore collective, but people perceive them as individual and search for solutions in private and isolated ways. In this way risks are perceived as individual, as personal crises and shortcomings, and not as the effects of processes which are beyond personal control. The loss of employment is regarded as a personal misfortune, lack of success at school as a lack of sufficient effort and competence, rejectionist attitudes of youth as stemming from a lack of upbringing and solid values, and so on. We would not claim that there is no truth in any of these, but we do believe that half the story is sold as the complete one. Individualization of risk means that situations which at one time would have called for collective and political action are now being interpreted as hard luck stories of one or another person, which can only be solved at the individual level through personal effort.

Young people appear to be exceptionally receptive to risk discourse, which undoubtedly influences their life experience, plans and lifestyles. If we take a look at what Slovene fourteen-year-olds fear the most, we can see that they are more fearful than is actually good or necessary. In the 1960s and 1970s young people were already enveloped by a "moral panic" which the adult establishment society cultivated out of fear of the new self-confidence, resolve, and radical demands of the youth of that time. Today we could say that the panic has moved over to the other side – it is no longer the moral panic of adults, but the existential panic of children. In political concepts we cannot imagine a greater failure for young people. How did the adult establishment manage to instill fear among young people to such an extent and at such an early age, such that in just a few years children shift from fearing monsters and wicked witches to fearing AIDS and unemployment?

Perceptions of risk and danger are of course culturally constructed, they are the effects of media exposure, one's own experience and norms and the fears of significant others with whom young people are in daily contact. Enrollment in a prestigious high school is most

likely regarded as a risky act by an outstanding student who has grown up in a lower working class family compared to an equally well qualified peer who comes from a wealthier family; the latter would regard the same act as a smooth and logical step along a planned life course.

The individualization of risk goes hand in hand with the individualization of responsibility and achievement: both represent values which are constantly reinforced by the media, the educational system, the entertainment industry and anxious parents. The combination of pressures towards individual responsibility (which is a mechanism of disciplining) on the one hand and the experience of actual powerlessness and vulnerability on the other generate a strong sense of ubiquitous risk and danger. Uncertainty and doubt penetrate all dimensions of the lives of young people, and their identity becomes fluid and subjected to constant reinterpretation.

In the space of one generation there have been radical changes in the life experiences of young people in Slovenia: the school experience and educational system of today's primary schoolchildren differs significantly compared to that of their parents, and today's labor market would be completely alien to the former generation. Regardless of social background, the huge majority of young people (98% in Slovenia) continue their schooling after ninth grade graduation, and higher education is no longer limited to a small elite. Education has become a consumer good with an internal hierarchy just like any other consumer good: the more accessible it becomes to the majority, the sharper are the internal distinctions, both formal and informal, which also differentiate the educational aspirations of children and their parents. Competition for entrance into prestigious schools is becoming a commonplace consumer rule, except for one important peculiarity: here, "the fakes" are not just as useful as are "the originals".

Along with the extension of the period of schooling, the period of dependence or semi-dependence of young people on their families is also simultaneously lengthening. This extended dependence on parents, which is not just of a material nature, is a process which can be observed all over Europe, although the regional differences are large. In Slovenia this process was already especially pronounced in the 1990s (Rener, 1996) and doesn't seem to change: in 2009 the average age of leaving parents' home is 31,5 years for young men and just a little less for young women. Some authors (Furlong, Cartmel, 1997, 9) are of the opinion that the social and emotional attachments between children and their parents are in fact weakening, despite the extended period of economic dependence, while the influence of peers and the mass media is becoming stronger. Research that we have conducted in Slovenia on various populations of young people, however, does not support this. In fact, it contradicts it. Particularly when we are speaking of the social vulnerability of young people it

can be seen that it is precisely a lack of family support that is a crucial factor in vulnerability and risk. From the point of view of individualization theories, this should not surprise us. If the influences of the classical sociological determinants are less clear and direct and, in the absence of a collective tradition and collective social identity, risk and responsibility are individualized, then without a doubt the significance of families is growing.

But the crucial problem of the "new individualization" of young people is to be found elsewhere, in the aforementioned epistemological deception of late modernity, in which there is a deconstruction of youth into a mass of individuals, each of whom is striving privately to achieve the best possible niche for themselves and each of whom fails to see that collective and political problems are being fragmented, ground into sand of disciplined loneliness.

CONCLUSION: THE LIMITS OF THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The most socially vulnerable portion of the youth population is usually interpreted by the standard analytical instruments of the social sciences using the concept of social exclusion. The concept of social exclusion was introduced into European social political discourse by the European Commission in 1989 based on the French concept (*l'exclusion sociale*) from 1974, which was used to distinguish "a group of people who are not covered by social insurance" (Chisholm, 1997, 106). In the 1990s the concept and its use spread like wildfire into the politically correct speech of European institutions and into specialist literature, particularly in sociology and socio-politics, but without a precise analysis of the concept itself.

Surveys by Eurobarometer, which make free use of this vague concept, have shown that respondents themselves defined it better than European politicians and academics. Social exclusion was understood not as an "objective" state of affairs (for example, low income, poverty, unemployment, dependence on welfare), but as a feeling of insignificance, superfluity, rejectedness and powerlessness to change one's own situation. These feelings were statistically significant for people who had no source of income, were unemployed, whose family life had fallen apart, and who lacked a social network. On this basis Jill Jones developed the thesis that young people are *per se* a marginalized group, for all practical purposes excluded from citizenship. Young people who are explicitly vulnerable and fall within the "danger zones" represent only the tip of the iceberg (Jones in Chisholm, 1997, 109).

Let us stop for a moment to examine this thesis. The concept of citizenship is a dual concept of rights and obligations, and embodies assumptions regarding individual emancipation as well as social integration, upon

which the social order of modern states is supposedly based. It is well known that right-wing political ideologies, parties, and movements emphasize the significance of the obligations of citizens and that they succeed in stressing the obligations more than the left is able to emphasize the citizens' rights. Researchers of youth in Europe have shown that without the rights of citizenship (political, civil and social), we cannot expect young people to develop feelings of responsibility.

If young people are to gain any sense of the obligations of citizenship in society, they must be treated as citizens and granted rights of citizenship, as Jones and Wallace have explicitly stated (1992, 154).

If young people as a social group - despite their heterogeneity - have anything in common, it is this impeded or forbidden access to all three dimensions of citizenship. Indeed they are barred by law from political citizenship until the age of 18. In other words, what constitutes youth as a social group is precisely their marginal social position. In a situation where the social exclusion of youth is structural and not coincidental, when the educational system is mandatory up to at least the age of 14, and at the same time it monitors, chooses, and excludes, when the means of legal and illegal pacification of youth are offered in schoolyards and in nearby bars, when children and their parents take on responsibility for social inclusion/exclusion in childhood, this means that impeded access to or exclusion from the rights of citizenship represents an arrogant and cynical attitude towards the young population, which is expected to be simultaneously "mature" enough to make critically important life decisions by the age of twelve, and yet is considered too "immature" to have certain rights until well into their 30s. The shift of political citizenship (active and passive voting rights) to earlier years of course would not mean a radical shift in the position of young people, but in a parliamentary democracy it would perhaps contribute to the greater visibility of young people and their problems, and political parties would be compelled to work for their votes.

Let us return for the last time to the concept of one's own speech. Speech and the use of concepts are not neutral acts. We have already stated that the concept of social exclusion, which is widely employed in discussions of social vulnerability of youth, is conceptually questionable. Here we are trying to draw attention to one of its dimensions. The concept is questionable insofar as it is presented as a nonpolitical, neutral expert research tool which is supposedly being used to identify and clarify the social position of vulnerable groups. But as soon as we take away its political ammunition, we sever its ties to its economic and political origins which just produce the processes whose effects are the reality

which the concept is trying to embrace. The concept of social exclusion which today is used by the majority does not contain interpretative challenges to the global structure of power and the distribution of social wealth. The power relations in the new world order thus appear invisible. The imperatives of globalization of world (liberal) capitalism and the structural marginalizations which this inevitably triggers are regarded much like the weather, as something outside the reach of human intervention. The concept of social exclusion carries with it this meaning of inevitability and powerlessness and operates ideologically because it reveals effects but lacks the power and courage to ask about causes. Exclusion from what? Inclusion into what? As if the very core of the concept - society itself – along with its specific organization of power relations, production and distribution of wealth is no longer in question? Thus social science reflections on social exclusion are also ideological, all the more so when they are subjected to the demands of practicality and effectiveness, when they measure exclusion and proposes means for its alleviation. Individual risk and exclusion, just like individual rights and liberties, can only result from collective demands and collective action. Nowadays there is a trend towards the privatization of risk and resources. Moreover, even social utopias are seen as the creation of private dreamers. The art of translating personal difficulties into public affairs and into political power is in danger of being erased or blurred.

It is not my intention to pompously oppose or negate the concept of social exclusion. I would only like to draw attention to the limitations of the concept as it marches victoriously into the dictionaries of the social sciences and into the political institutions of the European Union. My intention is just to remind that it is possible to translate the private to the collective and public spheres, regardless of how difficult this may appear in today's world.

Between the pressures of politically and economically opportune deconstruction of youth into young individuals navigating on their own across the sea to adulthood and their psychosocial demoralization there is a whole series of other possible intermediate attitudes, such as therapeutic consumerism, flexible adaptations to the worsening conditions of life, a constant shifting from one scene to another, occasional "fundamentalism" of various kind, and so on. All individualized attitudes are precarious and therefore risky. Those young people who unreflectively accept them as normal modes of coping with our "liquid times", may survive as individuals and live even well, but are lost as a part of youth as a factor of much needed social change.

MLADI: PAST INDIVIDUALIZACIJE V GLOBALNI DOBI

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POVZETEK

Raziskovalke in raziskovalci mladine v Evropi že od sedemdesetih let naprej ugotavljajo, da se je v osnovnih vrednotnih orientacijah mladih zgodil tektonski premik: mladi so se eksplisitno odmikali od velikih tem, velike zgodovine in ideologij k malim zgodbam zasebniške vsakdanosti, k prijateljstvu, partnerstvu in k družini

V enakem času, ko so se mladi individualizirali z izrazitim obračanjem vase, se je na makro sistemski ravni prav tako dogajal tektonski premik; začeli so se temeljni globalizacijski procesi v obeh ključnih smereh, ki ju je podpiral predvsem razvoj informacijsko-komunikacijskih tehnologij: raztegovanje svetovnega sistema kapitalizma v ekonomskem in političnem smislu (svet kot "globalna vas") in globalno razširjanje njegovih ideoloških (kulturnih) mehanizmov ("McDonaldizacija sveta"). Individualizacija in globalizacija ponujata nove življenjske možnosti, a tudi številna tveganja. Mladi ljudje so bolj kot druge starostne skupine deležni obojega, vendar je bilo doslej zanje značilno, da so iskali individualne in biografske rešitve za strukturne probleme in tako uspešno padali v past discipliniranja in privatizacije

Čeprav bo gotovo veliko mladih ljudi našlo lastno pot v odraslo življenje, se zdi, da globalizacijska dogajanja sodobnosti promovirajo dve kontrastni skupini mladih: zmagovalce in poražence. Zmagovalci imajo družbene ter osebne vire, s katerimi izkoriščajo priložnosti, ki jih globalno razširjanje neoliberalnega kapitalizma ponuja. Mladi ljudje, ki se ne zmorejo ali nočejo prilagajati globalizacijskim zahtevam, tvegajo vstop v kategorijo poražencev. Oboji, tako zmagovalci kot poraženci, imajo svojo usodo le delno v lastnih rokah. Dinamika visoke moderne je specifična v tem, da izjemno razširja tveganjski krog mladih; mladi ljudje, ki so podvrženi tveganjem, še zdaleč ne prihajajo več samo iz klasičnih deprivilegiranih družbenih okolij, iz nižjih razredov in družbenih manjšin, čeprav je seveda res, da je med "poraženci" veliko več takih, ki živijo v neugodnih socialnih razmerah. Pomen klasičnih strukturnih prisil (razrednih, etničnih, rasnih, spolnih) se v sodobnosti navidez zmanjšuje ali vsaj nima več tako dominantnega vpliva na življenjski potek posameznic in posameznikov. Hkrati se krepijo silnice družbene neenakosti, ki delujejo znotraj temeljnih institucij ali agentur globalne družbe, ki prečijo klasično razredno strukturiranost: v družini, v izobraževalnem sistemu, v zaposlovanju in prostem času. Mladi ljudje, ki pripadajo različnim družbenim razredom, se sicer med seboj razlikujejo v količini in vrstah virov, možnosti in priložnosti, a so konkretni izteki njihovih poti v odraslost bolj kot kdaj koli odvisni od umestitev in podpor na navedenih področjih.

Ključne besede: mladi, individualizacija, globalizacija, družbena ranljivost, socialna izključenost

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TWO DIFFERENT STORIES? ACTIVE FATHERING AND EQUAL DIVISION OF FAMILY LABOUR IN SLOVENIA

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the phenomenon of new fatherhood in Slovenia, which is usually defined by the more active involvement of men in family labour, especially with regards to child care. According to empirical evidence, two models of fatherhood seem to prevail in Slovenia: the complementary (based on the traditional division of family labour involving the passive involvement of fathers, not based, however, on the traditional notion of the father as a bread-winner) and the supportive model (with more active involvement of fathers in family labour, however based on the notion of fatherhood as assistant/supportive parental role and motherhood as primary parental role). "New" fatherhood in Slovenia is new in the sense that it is significantly different from traditional notion of fatherhood as a distant paternal role (traditional bread-winner role with paternal authority). Yet, it seems that changes have occurred mainly on the level of paternal identity and related values, and to a much lesser extent in the area of fathering practices. This article discusses the social contexts and factors that influence the way in which new fatherhood in Slovenia is contributing to the evolution of, among other things, structural gender inequalities and the persistence of the traditional division of family labour, strong female family networks, the persistent ideology of the mother as primary parental care giver etc.

Key words: fatherhood, fathering, family life, childcare, division of family labour

DUE STORIE DIFFERENTI? LA PATERNITÀ ATTIVA E LA RIPARTIZIONE EQUA DI LAVORI FAMILIARI IN SLOVENIA

SINTESI

L'articolo tratta del fenomeno di un nuovo tipo di paternità in Slovenia, di solito caratterizzata da una partecipazione più attiva del padre nei lavori domestico-familiari, in particolare nella cura di bambini.

Prove empiriche dimostrano la prevalenza di due modelli di paternità in Slovenia: il modello complementare (basato sulla ripartizione tradizionale di lavori familiari, con la partecipazione passiva del padre, ma non basata sul concetto tradizionale del padre come 'breadwinner', cioè colui che porta i soldi a casa), e il modello di sostegno (con una partecipazione più attiva del padre nei lavori familiari, eppure basato sul concetto di paternità come ruolo genitoriale assistente/di sostegno e di maternità come ruolo genitoriale primario). La nuova paternità in Slovenia è nuova in quanto significativamente diversa dalla nozione tradizionale di paternità come ruolo genitoriale distante (il ruolo tradizionale di breadwinner con autorità paterna). Tuttavia, sembra che i cambiamenti si verifichino in maggior parte sul livello d'identità paterna e i relativi valori, e molto meno sul livello di pratiche di paternità.

L'articolo studia i contesti e i fattori sociali che influenzano il modo in cui la nuova paternità in Slovenia si sta sviluppando, tra cui anche le diseguaglianze strutturali di genere e la persistenza della ripartizione tradizionale di lavori familiari, forti reti familiari femminili, persistenti ideologie di maternità come ruolo genitoriale primario ecc.

Parole chiave: paternità, vita familiare, cura di bambini, ripartizione di lavori familiari

INTRODUCTION

Sociologists who study families agree that changes in fatherhood represent one of the key dimensions of structural family changes in the last few decades (Williams, 2008). This is also one of the most researched phenomena in the field of sociology of families. Today, fathers are said to be different from previous generations, being more involved in family life. It is interesting that feminist authors were among the first to show the shifts in cultural, social and other definitions and the change in the understanding of masculinity and fatherhood (Segal, 1990) and through critical analysis of gendered division of labour also on changes in division of family labour¹ (Hochschild, 1989). The eighties and the nineties of the 20th century were characterised by the interpretative divergence regarding the sociological explanation of the phenomenon of the new fatherhood with, on the one hand, empirical evidence that confirmed these changes (Knijn, Mulder, 1987; Van Dongen et al., 1995) and on the other hand, data that still indicated a strict gender division of family labour and no changes in this respect (DeVault, 1994; Delphy, Leonard, 1996; Lupton, Barclay, 1997). In the last decade the sociological analyses of the phenomenon of new fatherhood extended to various changes in this family role, including fathering after divorce, fathering within re-organised families, gay and lesbian families etc. Fatherhood identities and practices are now studied in all its plurality and diversity.

Based on empirical evidence on the new fatherhood and fathering, the authors discuss various characteristics and aspects of the phenomenon in the Slovenian context, stressing the similarities with the general European trends, as well as cultural and social specificities of the Slovenian context. The findings confirm that the trend towards active fatherhood is not so intensive in Slovenia as in some other Western countries and changes are still far from active fathering and equal division of family labour. The latter is still gendered and practices of fathering are usually selected, reduced and mainly supporting (understood as assistance to the female partner). These practices are followed by some new social images of active fathering which reflect (ideological) social expectations regarding greater paternal involvement in family life. In an attempt to explain these trends, the article focuses on fathering practices in relation to gendered division of labour, and the gap between fatherhood identities and perceptions of active fathering as two main characteristics of fatherhood within a Slovenian context.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The main research question deals with differences in distribution of family and child care work between women and men. The phenomenon of active fatherhood is not based only on father – child relationship and child care, but also contains the distribution of family labour between partners. The empirical data used in this paper come from two empirical projects "New Trends in Parenthood: Analysis of Fatherhood and Proposals for Policy in this Field" (2004–2008)² and the doctoral research project led by Živa Humer for her Ph.D. thesis entitled "Ethics of Care, Gender and Family: Processes of the Relocation of Care Between Private and Public Spheres".

In the first project the empirical material used in this article is taken from five same-sex focus groups with 28 mothers and fathers of pre-school children (Rener et al., 2008). The aim of the project was to explore and analyze father's perceptions and understandings of the paternal role, division of family labour and child care, and reconciliation of work and family life in terms of their active role in family life. Besides, the project identifies main gender differences in the way partners divide family labour and child care, and reconcile work and family life.

In the second project the empirical study is based on 60 semi-structured interviews with women and men – parents with small children, grandparents and nannies (Humer, 2009). The empirical material includes the participation of 36 parents with pre-school children, 20 of whom are female and 16 of whom are male, most being middle class, 12 grandparents, who daily or occasionally look after grandchildren and 12 nannies, who perform informal, paid childcare work. For the purposes of this article, interviews with women and men of pre-school children are presented and analyzed. The central point of attention are the processes of relocation of care and care practices within family life (as) between genders and within private and public spheres, with a strong emphasis on child care. The fundamental research questions are made up of the following: how is care defined within everyday family life? Who is taking care of whom and what sort of care is taking place in families? Care practices give rise to social hierarchies, reproduced and enabled by them, which demonstrate through the social analysis of the phenomena of mothering, fathering, grandparenting and a critical reflection of the notion of a 'work of love'.

1 By "family labour" we mean all activities that are necessary for everyday functioning of the family and all family members: household chores, child care, financial and administrative work (paying the bills, shopping, communication with different institutions etc.), technical repair (in the house, in the garden etc.), kinship work (maintaining kinship relations and communication), and relational labour (maintaining relationships, solving problems and conflicts etc. within the family).

2 Research team: Tanja Rener (project leader), Alenka Švab, Tjaša Žakelj, Živa Humer; Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana; financed by Research Agency of the Republic of Slovenia and Office for Equal Opportunities of the Republic of Slovenia.

MEN AND GENDERED DIVISION OF FAMILY LABOUR

Active fatherhood is most often defined and measured by the father's involvement in childcare and other family labour (Knijn, Mulder, 1987; Van Dongen, 1995; Arendell, 1997; Wall, Arnold, 2007; Rener et al., 2008). In this context, it is often interpreted as a result of wider social changes, especially the mass employment of women. However, expectations that the changes in the labour market will be followed by changes in the private sphere leading towards a more egalitarian division of family labour have been proven wrong or at least overly optimistic.

This is especially the case in Slovenia, where there is a long tradition of full participation in the labour market by women (promoted during the socialist era), while division of family labour remained practically unchanged. Changes in the private sphere are happening more slowly than those occurring in gender relationships in the public sphere. At this point we can mention the results of the international study dealing with the issue of the harmonisation of family life and employment conducted in Slovenia by M. Sedmak and Z. Medarič (2007). Their findings are unambiguous: young females in urban Slovenia are much more involved in childcare and other "private" activities in comparison with young males regardless of their employment status. In other words, young women employed full time spend more time on household chores, childcare and caring for other family members than their partners, even in comparison with women in other European countries such as Italy, Germany and Poland.

Regarding this phenomenon, American sociologist A. Hochschild (1989) speaks about the so-called "stalled revolution". The data emerging from numerous studies of the involvement of fathers in family labour reveal the complexity of the phenomenon of active fatherhood as created by different factors. Fathering and parenting practices are not only influenced by the social context, cultural representations and ideologies but also by diverse, completely subjective factors or contexts, such as an individual man's, his female partner's or their families' expectations and experience, family relationships, age, education level, employment status and employment stability, availability of different family members for family work in terms of time, availability of their psychological, social and economic resources (Van Dongen, 1995; Arendell, 1997), with the key factors influencing fathering practices being employment stability and the requirements of the work sphere (Ranson, 2001).

According to some data, the more active involvement of men in family labour does not stem from the idea of an equal gender division of labour or men doing more work, but rather from women doing less family labour than they used to in the past (Craig, 2006, 260). Namely, the redistribution of family work has occurred

parallel to women's full-time employment: part of the domestic work previously performed by women-housewives as unpaid work has now been transferred to either paid services performed by other women, or is even left undone (Saraceno, 1984; Craig, 2006, 260).

However, the changes seen in the ratio of male to female contributions to family labour are not necessarily the result of a reduction of the range of work and its redistribution to the sphere of paid work, but rather in *redistribution to the sphere of informal unpaid work*. The findings of Slovenian research into new fatherhood show that the use of unpaid work sources, at least where these are available, occurs more often than recourse to the use of paid services (Rener et al., 2005; 2008). One of the key factors in the redistribution of child care and family labour to paid work depends on where people live (Rener et al., 2008). While in urban areas the hiring of household services (mainly house cleaning) is quite common, in rural areas this practice is much less widespread. In rural areas the traditional beliefs held by those in that environment are that care for the home and family are the duties of the woman/housewife, and the hiring of cleaning services indicates her incompetence in this respect. This prevents women from hiring paid household services: "*If I hired a cleaning lady from our neighborhood this would mean I am incompetent. And if I even took an hour for myself, to go jogging, while hiring a cleaning lady, this would be a disgrace*" (Suzana, 28) (Rener et al., 2008). In rural areas, access to paid services of help in the home is also much poorer compared to urban areas, while it is true that the unpaid kinship support is much more available in rural areas.

Informal kinship networks (mainly parents or grandmothers) and friends are an important source of help in household work and especially with regards to childcare. Similar findings were revealed by research done in Germany (Rerrich, 1996) which states that in the process of a change in the division of family labour rather than in the gender distribution of family work, a transfer is occurring from female partners or mothers to other women, meaning either unpaid work (relatives, friends) or paid work (paid domestic workers, babysitters). This creates a *specific contradiction* of informal support networks which perform unpaid domestic work representing indispensable help, while at the same time acting as an obstacle to changes within the family – towards a better gender division of labour and active fathering. However, in the wider context of employment conditions and longer working hours as well as in the existing and deeply rooted structural gender inequality this situation still seems to be more a functional solution than a side effect.

Speaking of the transfer of family labour to either other sources of paid or unpaid work or involving the reduction of work, there is an essential difference between childcare and other chores within the range of family labour. Research shows that while women do

share household chores, they are less willing to limit or reduce the amount of time they spend with their children (Craig, 2006). Childcare is work which involves a special (emotional) relationship between the child and the parent and is in this sense seen as different from other forms of family labour (Craig, 2006, 260). However, the consequences of this situation may not be entirely positive as it can lead to women becoming overburdened or even withdrawing from the labour market altogether. In the Slovenian context this is reflected in several ways, both direct and indirect. First, a certain reservation regarding the use of paid child day-care is noted (Rener et al., 2008): "*I am thinking and deciding, but I just cannot make up my mind to simply leave my little girl with a babysitter. I do not know. However, sooner or later I think I will make use of this*" (Tina, 36). Second, there is a trend in Slovenia where part-time work immediately after parental leave is becoming more common, at least for a certain (short) period of time. After concluding their maternal and paternal leave, about 4% of parents are reported to decide to return to part-time work only, among them 90% of women (Kanjuo Mrčela, Černigoj Sadar, 2004).

The research on new fatherhood (Rener et al., 2005) showed that, when starting to work again after their childcare and maternity leave, women mainly opt for work schedules which are shortened by an hour or two in order to be able to balance their child's day care with their work schedule. Here, certain pressures have been detected: a participant in a focus group who decided to have a 7-hour work schedule after returning to work from her maternity leave described her experience of pressure exerted by her colleagues at work (mainly female colleagues): "*My colleagues complained that they all worked for eight hours, why would I now only have seven hours. ... When I came back, in the first week everybody asked me, 'will you really only work for 4 hours', and, I don't know, all sorts of information was going around*" (Tina, 36) (Rener et al., 2005).

Often, the daily care of small children (mostly those under three years of age) is undertaken by grandmothers or grandparents, and increasingly more often also by babysitters. In the 2006/2007 school year approximately 58,127 children were included in day care, representing 64.8% of the pre-school population of children or 28.7% of one-year olds, 70.1% of 3-year olds and 86.3% of 5-year olds (Statistical Office of the RS, 2007). Other children are included in different forms of informal day care carried out by babysitters, grandparents and other relatives.

If comparing the division of child care between partners, the research into childcare shows that women spend more time with their children than in the past which adds a degree of relativity to quantitative data showing that fathers are spending more time with their children than in the past (Craig, 2006). Research strongly

indicates that the time women spend with their children is two to three times longer than that spent by men (Craig, 2006, 261).

FATHERHOOD MODELS IN SLOVENIA

On the basis of empirical data which reveals a series of the different types of fathers or fatherhood practices, Russell (1995, 222) speaks about the following four types of fathers: disinterested fathers (who do not spend enough time at home), traditional fathers (who spend more time at home, but their involvement with the family is limited to playing with the children), 'good' fathers (who are willing to provide nursing and care for their children and offer help to their partners) and 'non-traditional fathers' (who share the domestic tasks (including child care) equally with their female partners).

In Slovenia, two dominating models of fatherhood have been identified (Rener et al., 2005; Rener et al., 2006; Rener et al., 2008). The first one is the *complementary model* which does not presume the major participation of fathers in childcare. Fathers only rarely and exceptionally (when necessary) participate in childcare and other family work; they mainly do tasks traditionally carried out by men, and among child care tasks they usually play with children in their spare time). This model is similar to the Russell's traditional model of fatherhood, with one important distinction: in Slovenia fatherhood (as an identity and family role) is not tied to the notion of man as a main bread-winner, which can be explained by a long-term tradition of female participation on the labour market, making men and women financially equally responsible. The second model, increasingly present, is the *supportive model* in which fathers' involvement in family labour is greater than in the complementary model, however the labour is still unevenly distributed between the partners, and childcare and other family labour are, implicitly, considered to be primarily women's work. Whereas in the first model it is clear that the majority of family labour is done by women, the complementary model often involves a perception of the active involvement of fathers in both childcare and family work in general, although mainly as *support*, with the argument that women are overburdened and need help to cope with all of their typical female work. The help required does not necessarily come from the man; rather he is being increasingly replaced by kinship support networks (which offer unpaid services, such as child care) or, mainly in urban areas, paid housekeeping and childcare services.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDCARE

One of the basic, essential specificities of childcare is that it is not always merely a *direct* activity, which makes

the time spent by parents on childcare very difficult to measure. More often than *direct care* or *primary activity*, care for children is carried out as a *secondary or simultaneous activity*.³ Research shows that apart from direct or primary childcare (play, nursing, feeding etc.), childcare also requires at least twice as much time in the form of secondary or simultaneous care (Craig, 2006). Similarly, Slovenian research has also revealed key differences between the genders when it comes to carrying out direct and simultaneous childcare. As a rule, men perform childcare only as primary care. When they spend time with their children in ways such as playing with them, that is all they are doing. Apart from doing the majority of primary childcare, women also do the majority of secondary and simultaneous childcare, such as doing numerous other household chores together with their children (Rener et al., 2005; Rener et al., 2008):

"My games are more practical, 'let's do the laundry', 'will you help me, let's fold the clothes, red things over here, others over there', because I am always pressed for time. We also play, we draw, but I must say that if I have time and stuff we would prefer to go outside, to a playground, outdoors, with a bicycle, a ball, anything. When I am indoors I use more of those useful games" (Nina, 32).

"The children play with each other, when they are not arguing. ... I talk to them, but I never seem to be 100% focused. Only when I have cleaned everything up I sit down and we play ... whereas when a man dedicates attention to them, he really dedicates 100%. Women do not. You really must have the whole place cleaned up; at least this is how it is with me, for me to be able to play" (Maja, 32).

Also differentiation between domestic work, especially household tasks and child care activities plays an important role in the division of domestic and care work between partners. Child care activities contain emotional elements, it's also rewarding emotional work for care givers (Humer, 2009):

"If I feel like lying down and watching a movie or doing something with my daughter, this is more important for me than making lunch" (Luka, 35).

A downside of childcare as a multi-tasking activity requiring more focus and energy is the limited options available for doing other household work while caring for the child at the same time. Apart from essential gender differences regarding secondary childcare, there are also gender differences in terms of who takes care of the more demanding jobs involved in childcare (Craig, 2006, 263).

According to past research which reveals a greater participation of fathers in childcare (Craig, 2006, 262) the following is noted:

- both men and women are capable of emotional and nursing interactions with a child;
- the range of activities carried out by fathers is expanding;
- the greater frequency of the father's participation in childcare increases the probability of the participation continuing in the future; and
- fathers are more active on weekends.

While the first three findings paint an optimistic picture or trend, which could lead to a more even gender division of childcare in the future, the data about "weekend fathers" corroborates the assumption that employment or professional obligations are an important factor, that is an obstacle to active fatherhood and to the abolition of the gender asymmetrical division of household work, and that men have greater manoeuvring space or possibility of choice regarding agreements on the division of family work, or that, within this constellation, priority is given to the demands of their career (Rener et al., 2008).

In everyday childcare practices there are essential gender differences in ways of labour division between the partners, and how they reach agreements on sharing their work (Hochschild, 1989; Van Dongen, 1995; Craig, 2006; Wall, Arnold, 2007). Gender is the main factor in different parenting practices even when the partners share all tasks and in the case that they are both employed, regardless of other socio-demographic characteristics (Craig, 2006).

On the basis of empirical data, we identified gender differences in parenting and domestic labour practices in the following aspects (Rener et al., 2008; Humer, 2009):

a.) Men do nicer and less routine work (conversations, reading, listening, and play) and perceive their role as a father on more of an educational level. More pleasant child care activities, often perceived as quality time, function therapeutically:

"Well, yes, at our place the main play is with Lego bricks, and marbles have been in lately. And, yes, she [his daughter, author's note.] has one big obsession, her favourite, well, basically I watch a lot of films, and at those times she immediately sticks closely to me ... As I say, sometimes we draw, watch books. As I say, this goes on for quite a while; we put the bricks together and build castles. She always wants my castle because she likes mine the best" (Simon, 36) (Rener et al., 2008).

"There are certain things we do together ... I taught her to count, I tried to be as educational as possible, I try to motivate her for sport and ... we talk a lot, because she is curious and you have to explain everything to her" (Luka, 35) (Humer, 2009).

3 Care as a direct or primary activity here means that child care is the only activity that is carried out at the moment, while care as a secondary or simultaneous activity means that some other activities, e.g. household chores, are carried out while at the same time caring for a child or playing with a child.

"... when I come home from work, I spend two hours 100 percent with children, which is better for me as well, because it's also relaxing and I relieve my partner so she can do other things" (Borut, 40 let) (Humer, 2009).

b.) Women do more direct child care, physical chores, such as nursing, feeding, washing, clothing etc.:

"In our family I have basically always taken care of the children more. He took the initiative and started to brush our daughter's teeth, and sometimes he bathes her or both children if they are bathing together. Also dressing them is no problem. He often changed my little girl's nappy when she was younger, but with our son he never did this. He is not so involved with our son" (Katka, 32) (Rener et al., 2008).

"I don't know, maybe I even do a bit more, well with the part concerning the children being done by my wife. She dresses them in the morning, changes their nappies and packs their things away, and in the evenings puts them in their pyjamas, washes them, puts them to bed. This is mainly her work" (Simon, 36) (Rener et al., 2008).

c.) Men do work which is less time-limited or is time-flexible or time-unlimited:

"I'm dedicating myself to my child considerably, but as the rhythm of life dictates, unfortunately I am away often, yet I certainly find time when I engage myself in play with him; well, the little girl is only three weeks old..." (Andrej, 31) (Rener et al., 2008).

d.) Men have greater possibilities of reaching an agreement about when they will be involved (such as spending more time with their children on weekends):

"Otherwise, during the weekend there is more play, basically, you are with him all day from morning until he falls asleep, doing anything, playing and everything else. It also depends on what my other duties are, for example our employer educates us a lot and as for this Internet education, it takes place in the afternoons" (Jernej, 33) (Rener et al., 2008).

"... I am also absent and I also study a little in the afternoon. So I don't have so much time during the week. If there's time, I dedicate myself, at least by the way, or else more during the weekend, say, I take time so that we are really together a lot, and then we also play in the morning" (Vlado, 30) (Rener et al., 2008).

e.) Compared to females, male participation in child-care is more optional (they can choose situations and the work they want to do):

"... if I'm doing something, a household chore, and if he's at home, and he isn't doing anything in particular, then he does it. She can also distract herself now" (Anja, 28) (Rener et al., 2008).

"... I try to discipline myself so that when I'm home I absolutely dedicate some time, planning it, to play" (Marko, 40) (Rener et al., 2008).

f.) Male participation is supportive and helping (men help but the main responsibility for care is held by females, women play the role of a manager, they bear the

responsibility for planning and organising, even when the partners share their work relatively evenly):

"I'm far behind her; she does the majority of work at home. Sometimes I help to hang up washed clothes, sometimes I put dirty clothes in the washing machine, I sometimes clean something, once a month, for example I vacuum. What else? We agreed that I work in the garden, this is my obligation, mowing, and things like that. And I help with children, normally, to change the diapers, put clothes on, and other things, which are logical to me that men need to do them." (Rok, 31) (Humer, 2009).

"Otherwise he also hangs up the laundry, does the dusting, vacuum cleans, and this is not difficult for him, if he does not have something to do outdoors or in the workshop. I ask him, and he does it" (Suzana, 28) (Rener et al., 2008).

g.) Women often carry out child care as a simultaneous or secondary activity, while men often carry out child care as a primary activity:

"My wife is capable of doing something and at the same time watching over our little girl and directing her to some play, or joining her for 5 minutes and then resuming her work; while I get confused by this" (Marko, 40) (Rener et al., 2008).

"My wife does it more by the way, she is doing something, and by the way she also does this, while I only play. And then, this is real play, we build Viking castles. I mean we really build them; it is not just by the way" (Simon, 36) (Rener et al., 2008).

h.) Fathers perceive their role as active and important when the child is a bit older (not a baby anymore):

"I often take her with me to basketball games. Now when she is older [she is 4, comment by Ž. Humer], I always take her, just two of us go and I think, when the child is not a baby anymore, I can give her much more attention" (Luka, 35) (Humer, 2009).

i.) Fathers usually take care of children when mothers are absent due to work or when they have to do some household chores:

"What does my partner do in the meantime? Well, if we are not playing together, it means she is either not home at all, that is, she's at work, or she is studying something or she is at a meeting or something like that. Also probably some household chores, some ironing" (Marko, 40) (Rener et al., 2008).

"Well, me, when we play, my wife uses this time for household chores" (Klemen, 30) (Rener et al., 2008).

"When I play, my wife does household chores" (Bor, 29) (Rener et al., 2008).

In the context of gendered family labour, the key obstacles to active fatherhood also include the *social construction of motherhood* and the mother-child relationship as the primary parental relationship. In this parental constellation fathers mainly play an *assistant or supportive role* (Craig, 2006; Rener et al., 2005; Rener et al., 2008; Wall, Arnold, 2007) complementing and support-

ing the parental relationship between the mother and the child. In this role, the father acts as a surrogate parent who usually takes on an active role in the mother's place when she is unavailable or not present, and the like. According to Backett, the very cultural construction of fatherhood as a supportive parental role is creating beliefs and norms about who is an active father. In her opinion, an active father today is not identified by men and women as someone who evenly shares childcare with his partner or as someone who has built a direct and mother-independent relation with the child (Smart, 1999).

GAP BETWEEN PERCEPTIONS AND PRACTICES OF ACTIVE FATHERHOOD

Past research brings two key findings on the phenomenon of active fatherhood. First, shifts towards active fatherhood are mainly visible at the *identity level* (Hochschild, 1989; Van Dongen, 1995; Rener et al., 2005; Rener et al., 2008). New fathers wish to take more active roll in the care of their children, they enter into closer relationships with them than their fathers used to, and they are ready to increase their participation, especially if their female partners are employed. Yet a *considerable gap* exists between the father-identity and the subjective perception of fatherhood on one side and the reality of everyday fathering practices and the division of labour on the other (Craig, 2006; Rener et al., 2005; Rener et al., 2008; Wall, Arnold, 2007; Humer, 2009). Many fathers understand participation as their willingness and capability to be involved in childcare, rather than actual practices or time spent with their children (Ranson, 2001, 23).

A well-known study on the sharing of family work conducted by A. Hochschild (1989) revealed relatively small actual changes in the sharing of *family labour*, but clearly seen changes in couples' perception of it with most couples in her research expressing their wish for an equal division of labour, while at the same time they believed that their division of labour is even. Something similar applies to *parenting*. Research shows that both men and women express egalitarian views of parenting, and men express a wish to spend more time with their children (Rener et al., 2005; Craig, 2006). Therefore, it is more about the change of rhetoric which does not expand itself to the actual division of tasks between partners (DeVault, 1994, 103), but rather shifts toward a *social ideal of an active father*. New fatherhood perceived as a social role starts rather passively, especially concerning the basic care and nurture the new born child needs:

"... When the child is small, and with the first one and with the second, my role in the first five or six months is very secondary. Mother is the one, the first connection with the child and on the one hand she is a dominant as mother. It's not that she wouldn't let me close, because I don't push, but she protects the child

...now it's changing, the children are staring to communicate and parental roles change ... because before I was not that interested, if child cries a lot and now needs to have its diapers changed, this is physical work for me. And I wasn't like that, to sing a song to a child, to talk with him or her; it's just that you need to do the work. Now it's different, when there is a response, also my response is different" (Bojan, 40) (Humer, 2009).

In some cases, the gap between the perception of the division of labour and actual male participation in family work is clearly seen *between the partners*. German researchers found that in the early 1980s women more frequently than men reported doing more work than men, while in the 1990s the studies revealed the opposite with men reporting they do less work, and women reporting on their sharing of work with men evenly (Hearn, Pringle, 2006, 375). Australian research showed the opposite situation: men believe that they share the work evenly, while women disagree, revealing gender differences in the ways of carrying out childcare (Craig, 2006). Differences in perceptions regarding male participation could also be a result of the degree of male participation in family labor. It can be assumed that men who actively participate in family work have a better overview of and can better estimate what is included in family work and how much of it they do. In turn, active fathers could have stricter criteria for and be more critical in their estimation of the share of work they do. These different perceptions are creating double standards and a distinction between motherhood and (active) fatherhood, which justifies the father's smaller amount of activity concerning childcare compared to the child's mother.

The gap between the perceptions, wishes, expectations and everyday situations of women and men is also seen in the case of paid work and labour market. The perception of the need to choose between family and paid labour is evident and realized in a gendered way, where one of the partners builds the career (usually men) and the other one (usually women) beside paid work also takes care of the family (Humer, 2009). The common understanding, based on capitalist ideology, goes in the direction that one cannot have both, work and family. The ideology of motherhood as the natural disposition of women plays an important role in 'rational' decisions in relation with paid labour.

"Where I see it and where the real role (laughing) is, basically it's difficult to confront wishes and expectations with reality. Of course I see my partner's active role in the family. But on the other hand I realize, that he works a lot, that his work doesn't allow him to come home at 2pm. And the fact that he comes at 6 or 7 pm, ok, sometimes at 5 pm, I wish then, that he spends some time with the [our] son. And he does. On the other hand you realize you cannot have everything. So, what we'll have, are we going to be together, are we going to have

jobs, to have bread? ... On one hand there is a wish that we're all one big happy family, while on the other hand I see that when he's at home, he is relaxed, doesn't think about his job and spends some time with our son" (Teja, 30) (Humer, 2009).

Gender differences are also reflected in the perception and practices of domestic work, childcare and similar which can lead to *disagreements between partners* (Rener et al., 2005; Humer, 2009). Often, women prefer to do the work themselves rather than asking their partner:

"... I have a system which gives me and I think also my child a sense of security, and a routine which makes sense to me. Then I sort of expect that he will also function according to this principle. If he just does things his own way, with him being different and all, it is not that my little girl does not enjoy it when he does it, but I then ask 'did you wash her with this', 'No, I did not', and this makes me very upset. But I can see that essentially one needs to let go here, otherwise it will always be me bathing her" (Špela, 32) (Rener et al., 2005).

"Well, he said, he'll do the vacuuming and I would walk around and would say, 'this spot isn't good, there is still some dust there', and he threw the vacuum cleaner into the closet and said 'if you're such a grumbler, you should do it by yourself'. And from then on he rarely does the vacuuming, because I'm [likely] to grumble" (Lana, 30) (Humer, 2009).

"We have a lot of small conflicts and we talk about it a lot, because there are always these fights between us. And it's just because you cannot do something right that moment when someone wants you to do it ... an example: she always says to me in the evening "come and help me to hang/dry the laundry'. And at that moment I'm watching TV and I cannot just jump. But OK, I got used to it and I stand up and help her for these three minutes" (Rok, 31) (Humer, 2009).

Disagreements between partners appear because of the unequal division of domestic work, partner's expectations related to the implementation of domestic tasks and time dimension, when certain work should be done. Often female partners present a barrier for men to get more actively involved in domestic work, because of their control over domestic sphere. Men's limited share in domestic and care work at home maintains and reproduces a gendered division of the work and maintains the status quo of men's role as helpers, assistants of their female partners in domestic sphere. But searching a guilt in women for men being only partially involved in domestic and care work transfers the responsibility for domestic and care work from men to women. On one hand traditional gender roles still play an important part, which puts more responsibility on women for taking care of home and family, and which on the other hand results in women's requests, wishes and demands for their partners to do domestic tasks. One of the common

strategies for solving the conflicts are paid domestic help and the strategy usually used by women, which is to suppress dissatisfaction for the sake of family harmony and partners' relationship and to accept men's small share in domestic and care work at home in terms of 'better than nothing'. It also includes the economy of gratitude (Hochschild, 1997), where women express their gratitude to partners even though their share in domestic work and child care is small and unequal.

CONCLUSION

Gender differences in parenting practices have an important impact on everyday life, especially on the balancing of work and the family which is socially perceived as the problem of women. The balancing of work and the family is especially stressful in the period when children are still small, requiring more direct and physical nurturing and childcare; this is more typical of the care provided by women and less of those kinds of care provided by fathers (such as playing). Especially stressful for women is the period after the parental leave (mainly used by women), when they return back to work (Rener et al., 2005).

Research shows that in the process of balancing work and the family, it is the professional career of the man which sets the limits and range of male participation in family work, despite the principled and declared egalitarian orientation of the couple (Ranson, 2001; Rener et al., 2005). Also in those cases where fathers are more involved in childcare, the degree of male participation is always adjusted to the demands of work, while adjustments in the opposite direction are rare (Gerson, 1997; Ranson, 2001). The fathers who were the most willing to resist work demands and refused to limit their time to be spent with their families were those who had already achieved their professional or career goals, as shown by Canadian research (Ranson, 2006). Seron and Ferris (Ranson, 2001, 23) came to similar conclusions: professional obligations are becoming increasingly intensive in their demands for flexibility at work and prolongation of the time a person is available for work, which is being extended on account of the time which would otherwise be devoted to the family. This is how the vicious circle of the gender division of labour gets closed, in which the balancing of work and the family is socially perceived as a female affair.

The main obstacle in the way to active fatherhood today mainly relates to employment and labour market requirements. The neo-liberal market with its imperative of an independent employed individual brings insecurity into employment or work life, which applies to both men and women (Hearn, Pringle, 2006, 374), along with their enhanced exposure to unemployment. Experience with employment or the labour market, a sense of security, and the availability of alternative sources of income

have turned out to be factors which have had the greatest impact on fathering practices, much more than class or ethnicity, education or even personal characteristics (Ranson, 2001, 22). In this respect, family life is subjected to professional life not only for men but also for women, which clearly represents the key obstacle to changes in the gender division of labour occurring in the family (Rener et al., 2008). Thus, modern active fatherhood stems from the need to balance work and the family (and not from the idea of a balanced gender division

of labour) which, paradoxically is more an obstacle than an encouragement for active fatherhood and the changes in the asymmetrical division of labour.

However, in identifying the obstacles to active fathering, the fatal factor seems to be the very combination of these different factors. Structural gender inequalities go hand in hand with the limiting factors of neoliberal capitalism (precariousness of employment and intensified work requirements) creating conditions which are anything but supportive of active fatherhood.

DVE RAZLIČNI ZGODBI? AKTIVNO OČETOVANJE IN ENAKA DELITEV DRUŽINSKEGA DELA V SLOVENIJI

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POVZETEK

Fenomen novega očetovstva potrjujejo številne študije, ki so si enotne o dveh spremembah: očetje danes preživijo več časa z otroki v primerjavi z generacijo njihovih očetov, vendar sodobni očetje v primerjavi z ženskami še vedno preživijo disproportionalno manj časa z otroki. Obrat od očetovske avtoritete, utemeljene v modelu hranitelja družine v modernosti k 'novim' očetom v pozni moderni, zaznamuje predvsem obrat k senzibilizaciji praks očetovanja, ki presegajo izključno materialno in finančno zagotavljanje preskrbljenosti družine. Na podlagi dveh empiričnih raziskav "Novi trendi v starševstvu: analiza očetovstva in predlogi za izboljšanje družinske politike na tem področju" (2004–2008) in raziskave v okviru doktorske disertacije Ž. Humer "Etika skrbi, spol in družina: procesi relokacije skrbi med zasebno in javno sfero" avtorici tematizirata novo očetovstvo in očetovanje v slovenskem kontekstu. Temeljni raziskovalni fokus se osredinja okrog vprašanja o kvalitativnih razlikah med spoloma v distribuciji in načinu opravljanja družinskega dela in skrbi za otroke. Novo očetovstvo ne vključuje zgolj aktivnosti, ki so vezane na skrb in nego otroka, temveč tudi gospodinjska opravila. Na podlagi empiričnih podatkov (Rener et al., 2005; 2006; 2008) članek izpostavi dva prevladujoča modela očetovstva v Sloveniji: komplementarni in podporni model očetovstva. Komplementarni model predpostavlja vključevanje očetov in skrbstvene prakse in družinsko delo le redko oz. kadar je le-to nujno, pri čemer moški opravljajo večinoma tradicionalno moška opravila in se ukvarjajo z otroci predvsem v prostem času. Medtem ko podporni model označuje aktivnejšo vlogo očetov tako pri skrbi in negi otroka kot pri družinskem delu, vendar je delež očetov percepiran kot podpora, pomoč partnerki. Na podlagi empiričnih raziskav avtorici identificirata temeljne razlike med spoloma v starševanju (skrb za otroke) in distribuciji družinskega dela (Rener et al., 2008; Humer, 2009):

- Moški opravljajo manj rutinska in bolj prijetna družinska opravila (pogovarjanje, branje, igra) in percepirajo očetovsko vlogo zlasti na edukativni ravni.
- Ženske opravijo več neposrednega dela z otroki, predvsem fizičnega, kot je npr. nega, hranjenje, umivanje, oblačenje ipd.
- Moški opravljajo manj časovno zamejenih del.
- Moški izpogajajo lasten angažma (preživljanje časa z otroki zlasti med vikendi).
- V primerjavi z ženskami je vključevanje moških v skrb za otroke opcionalno.
- Moški angažma je podpornega značaja (pomoč, podpora moških, medtem ko glavna odgovornost ostaja v domeni žensk, če tudi je družinsko delo in skrb za otroka deljeno med partnerjem).
- Ženske se pogosteje ukvarjajo z otroci kot simultano ali sekundarno aktivnostjo, medtem ko se moški pogosteje ukvarjajo z otroci kot primarno aktivnostjo.
- Očetje percepirajo svojo vlogo kot aktivno, zlasti ko otrok malo odraste.

- Očetje se pogosteje ukvarjajo z otroki, ko so partnerke odsotne zaradi opravljanja gospodinjskih del ali zaradi službe.

Spremembe se pojavljajo predvsem na ravni očetovske identitete in s tem povezanimi vrednotami ter precej manj na ravni očetovskih praks.

Ključne besede: očetovstvo, očetovanje, družinsko življenje, skrb za otroke, delitev družinskega dela

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ŠTIRI OBLIKE ODNOSA MED JAVNOSTJO, DRŽAVLJANI IN ZNANOSTJO: OD REPREZENTATIVNE ZNANSTVENE JAVNOSTI DO VKLJUČEVANJA DRŽAVLJANOV V PRODUKCIJO ZNANJA

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IZVLEČEK

Članek je plod raziskovanja o znanstvenem komuniciranju v okviru projekta "Družboslovne znanosti in evropske raziskovalne zmogljivosti", ki je potekal v sklopu 6. okvirnega programa Evropske unije. S primerjanjem različnih konceptualizacij odnosa med javnostjo in znanostjo avtor zasleduje razvoj teorij na področju gibanja za "javno razumevanje znanosti", ki se v sodobnosti preoblikuje v gibanje za "sodelovanje javnosti v znanosti". To sodelovanje temelji na aplikaciji kognitivnega in eksperimentalnega znanja državljanov-deležnikov. Analiza teoretskih prispevkov pokaže, da zgodnje gibanje ni dopustilo družbeno-politične racionalnosti javnosti, kar je pripeljalo do nezaupanja ljudstva do znanosti. Podobni trendi se kažejo tudi v pristopih, ki v sodobnosti spodbujajo vključevanje civilnodružbenih deležnikov v produkcijo znanja, obenem pa koncept javnosti kot publike nadomešča ideja sodelovanja deležniških skupin v raziskovalnih procesih, načelo kritične publicitete (načelo javnosti) pa deležništvo. Razkorak med deležništvom in javnostjo je po mnenju avtorja mogoče zmanjšati z njunim komplementarnim dopolnjevanjem, s čimer se odpirajo možnosti za sodelovanje vseh treh tipov racionalnosti v odvisnosti od strokovnosti in interesa državljanov.

Ključne besede: javno razumevanje znanosti, javnost, znanost, participacija, deležništvo

QUATTRO AREE DI RELAZIONI TRA OPINIONE PUBBLICA, CITTADINI E SCIENZA: DALL'OPPINIONE PUBBLICA SCIENTIFICA RAPPRESENTATIVA ALL'INSERIMENTO DEI CITTADINI NELLA PRODUZIONE DI CONOSCENZA

SINTESI

L'articolo è il risultato della ricerca sulla comunicazione scientifica, parte del progetto Social Sciences and European Research Capacities (SS-ERC), svolto nell'ambito del Sesto programma quadro dell'Unione europea. Mettendo a confronto le varie tipologie di concettualizzazione del rapporto tra cittadino e scienza, l'autore segue l'evoluzione dell'impianto teorico del movimento per "la comprensione pubblica della scienza" che nella società contemporanea si sta trasformando in movimento per "la partecipazione dei cittadini alla ricerca". Tale partecipazione si basa sull'applicazione delle conoscenze cognitive e sperimentali dei cittadini-stakeholder. L'analisi dei contributi teorici indica che ai suoi inizi il movimento non ha permesso una razionalità politica e sociale dell'opinione pubblica provocando la diffidenza dei cittadini nei confronti della ricerca scientifica. Tendenze analoghe emergono anche nell'approccio attraverso cui nella società moderna si cerca di incentivare il coinvolgimento degli stakeholder sociali nella produzione di conoscenza. Contemporaneamente il principio del cittadino in quanto opinione pubblica viene sostituito dall'idea della partecipazione attiva degli stakeholder nei processi di ricerca, il principio della pubblicità critica (principio di pubblicità) dalla stakeholdership. Secondo l'autore il divario tra la stakeholdership e l'opinione pubblica può essere ridotto attraverso un rapporto di complementarietà, aprendo in tal modo la possibilità di un coinvolgimento di tutte e tre le tipologie di razionalità a seconda delle competenze e gli interessi dei cittadini.

Parole chiave: la comprensione pubblica della scienza, opinione pubblica, scienza, partecipazione, stakeholder (soggetti portatori d'interesse)

Komuniciranje med znanostjo in javnostjo nikakor ni nov fenomen. V zgodovini ga zasledimo takrat, ko se je znanost izoblikovala v svojo sfero s točno določenimi pravili, praksami in institucijami, pojasnjnjeta Jane Gregory in Steve Miller (1998, 20). Po analogiji glede na tako postavljen zgodovinsko-družbeni mejnik izoblikovanja znanstvene sfere lahko govorimo o javnosti šele takrat, ko se na evropskih tleh oblikujejo prve družbene kategorije, ki imajo značilnosti javnosti, obenem pa se je kot domena družbe razvila javnost v pomenu javne sfere. Tukaj se takoj zastavijo vprašanja glede odnosa med javnostjo in znanostjo. Je to odnos, ki naj bo odprt za sodelovanje in konsenz med obema stranema, ali pa ima eno področje privilegiran položaj glede na drugega? Kako je bil v polpretekli zgodovini ta odnos konceptualiziran in s kakšnimi posledicami prenesen v prakso? Nenazadnje, o kakšni javnosti sploh govorimo? Ima javnost v teorijah o komuniciranju znanosti racionalno ter politično naravo, tako kot v diskurzivnih teorijah javnosti, ali pa javnost zaznamuje neko splošno, lahko tudi statistično skonstruirano družbeno kategorijo, ki jo sestavljajo iracionalni posamezniki, katerih poseganje na strokovna področja ustvarja le zmedo? Če vprašanje političnosti označimo kot prvo razsežnost, ki nas bo zanimala, se druga razsežnost odnosa med znanostjo in javnostjo veže na spremembe organizacije znanstvene produkcije v sodobnosti. Za njih je značilna družbeno distribuirana produkcija znanja, kot na primer v Načinu 2 (Gibbons et al., 2005), kjer je javnost eden od deležnikov raziskovanja. Podobne spremembe, ki vodijo v vedno tesnejše sodelovanje med družbenimi podsistemi, opisuje tudi model "trojne spirale" (Leydesdorf in Etkowitz, 1996, 2003), v katerem pri produkciji znanja sodelujejo univerze, politični in ekonomski sistem, vendar pa v tem modelu javnost ostaja zunaj spirale. Kateri so potemtakem tisti pogoji, ki javnosti zagotavljajo avtonomnost v odločanju o skupnih zadevah, ki se tičejo tudi znanosti in njenih aplikacij, obenem pa ne rušijo norm znanstvene skupnosti?

V luči hitro se spreminjačega odnosa med znanostjo in javnostjo nas bo zanimal predvsem prehod od dokaj hierarhizirane oblike sporočanja znanstvenih odkritij javnosti h konceptom in modelom "sodelovanja javnosti v znanosti" (Wynne et al., 2007). Ob tem premiku bodo kritično analizirane štiri oblike odnosa med javnostjo, državljanji in znanostjo, ki jo takšno istočasno sodelovanje javnosti in odpiranje znanosti lahko zajaema. S pomočjo analize idej, ki so v 80. letih 20. stoletja vodile k pokroviteljsko naravnemu gibanju za popularizacijo znanosti, bodo podani razlogi za pojav reprezentativne "znanstvene" javnosti, ki je pred sodelovanjem državljanov postavljala vidnost in reprezentacijo znanosti. Na podlagi te analize bodo pojasnjene dimenzijske sodelovanja treh oblik znanja (racionalnosti) v javni sferi in v oblikovanju javnega vpliva na politični sistem. V tej luči bo javnost kot socialna kategorija tudi operacionalizirana. Te osrednje tematike povezuje teza, da

štiri različne oblike odnosa med državljanji in znanostjo, ki se razvijajo v sodobnosti, idejno ne naslavljajo toliko demokratičnega javnega komuniciranja o znanosti, temveč prvenstveno deležnike civilne družbe, za katere se pričakuje uporaba drugačne oblike racionalnosti kot pa za člane javnosti. Koncept javnosti kot publike namreč nadomesti ideja sodelovanja deležniških skupin v raziskovalnih procesih, načelo kritične publicitete (načelo javnosti) pa deležništvo. Razkorak med obema, deležništrom in javnostjo, pa je mogoče zmanjšati z njunim komplementarnim dopolnjevanjem, s čimer se odpirajo možnosti za sodelovanje vseh treh tipov racionalnosti v odvisnosti od strokovnosti in interesa državljanov.

NEZAUPANJE V KOMPETENCE JAVNOSTI

Do konca 80-ih let 20. stoletja je bilo še mogoče razmišljati o dveh ločenih komunikacijskih usmeritvah, pri čemer je za prvo značilno komuniciranje v samem procesu znanstvenega raziskovanja, za drugo pa komuniciranje z namenom vzpostavljanja konsenza med širšo družbo in znanostjo z namenom zagotovitve nemotenega poteka dela v znanstveni sferi. Dejavnosti v teh dveh sferah – znanstveni in javni – še najbolje opišeta dve skupini modelov. V prvi skupini so modeli, ki se posvečajo "komuniciranju v znanosti", v drugi pa so modeli "komuniciranja znanosti". Ločitev modelov glede na funkcije je prevladovala vse do začetka 90-ih let, ko so se pokazali trendi prehoda v tako imenovano "post-akademsko ero" (Grecco, 2002), v kateri se znanstveno in tehnološko raziskovanje neposredno vključuje v procese ekonomske produkcije in upravljanja sodobnih družb. Kot pojasnjuje Pietro Grecco, so se v "akademski eri" odločitve o delu znanstvenikov sprejemale v znanstveni skupnosti, zdaj pa se glavne odločitve sprejemajo v dogovoru s posamezniki in interesnimi skupinami, ki izvorno delujejo v političnem in ekonomskem sistemu, in s širšo, predvsem civilno družbo. S temi spremembami se od producentov znanja – pa najsi bodo to posamezniki ali institucije – zahteva komuniciranje tako v sferi neposredne produkcije znanja kot tudi komuniciranje s širšo družbo, ki se obenem pospešeno vključuje v same procese raziskovanja in njegove tehnološke aplikacije. Zahteve po komuniciranju s širšo družbo izhajajo iz različnih idej, ki sežejo od humanističnih idealov o boljši družbi, ki jo je mogoče doseči z razsvetljevanjem in izobraževanjem, pa vse do močno utilitarističnih pozicij. Slednje poudarjajo potrebo po dostopnosti informacij o stroških in porabi javnih sredstev v znanosti, na podlagi česar javnost lahko oblikuje mnenje o državnih politikah upravljanja znanosti (Treise in Weigold, 2002, 311). Na podlagi idej o transparentnosti porabe javnih sredstev je leta 1995 Wolfendaleov komite v svojem poročilu celo zaključil, da je komuniciranje znanstvenikov z javnostjo njihova dolžnost (europarchive.org. (2010-04)).

Razširjeni kontekst, v katerem deluje znanost, je še posebej zanimiv z vidika odpiranja znanosti družbi ter demokratičnega dogovarjanja o nadzoru posledic¹ uporabe znanstvenih rezultatov v njej. Dogovor, v katerega so vključeni vsi prizadeti in zainteresirani državljeni, je mogoče doseči v javnosti,² ki ima že od začetka razsvetlenstva idejno zakoličena vsaj osnovna normativna pravila delovanja. Javnost kot domena družbe (javna sfera) naj bi bila odprta in s tem vsem dostopna, v njej pa naj bi h konsenzu med posamezniki in skupinami z različnimi interesi vodila argumentirana razprava. Znani nemški teoretik Jürgen Habermas (1989a) je v svojem zgodnjem obdobju liberalno javnost postavil kot idealni tip sodobne javnosti, nato je svojo zgodnejšo teorijo revidiral in nadgradil z republikanskimi elementi, skupne poteze, ki si jih še dandanes z njegovim idealiziranim konceptom javnosti deli večina diskurzivnih teorij, pa so med drugim naslednje: političnost, avtonomija od oblasti in ekonomije, avtoriteta argumenta in ne družbenega statusa, participacija interesno različnih državljanov v javnem komuniciranju, ter ne nazadnje, sporazumevanje o pogojih gospodarske aktivnosti v specifičnem načinu produkcije – kapitalizmu. Političnost zaznamuje efektivno svobodo javnega komuniciranja ali z drugimi besedami, zmožnost prepričevanja drugih članov javnosti, vplivanja na politični sistem in sodelovanja v političnih odločitvah. Politični sistem ima namreč edini politično moč, s katero lahko regulira posledice znanstvenega raziskovanja in uporabe tehnologije v družbi. Javnost te moči sama po sebi nima. V nadaljevanju bo zato pozornost posvečena tudi vprašanju, kako teorije in modeli komuniciranja znanosti razumejo političnost javnosti oziroma njeno vlogo pri sprejemanju političnih odločitev.

V zgodnejših modelih diseminacije znanstvenih rezultatov je bila javnost dojeta kot pasivna in zaradi svoje neizobraženosti tudi nenaklonjena znanosti. Ti modeli so komuniciranje znanosti konceptualizirali enosmerno, kot na primer model PUS (javno razumevanje znanosti; angl. Public Understanding of Science), ki je poenostavljen rečeno model distribucije znanja neinformirani in nezainteresirani javnosti. PUS gibanje se je pojavilo v sredini 80-ih let 20. stoletja, začetno pobudo za ozaveščanje javnosti pa je v svojem poročilu (Bodmer, 1985) podalo prestižno Kraljevo društvo iz Velike Britanije. Še pred njim je po drugi svetovni vojni Združenje znanstvenih delavcev zagovarjalo izobraževanje javnosti o znanosti in njenih pozitivnih učinkih na celotno družbo. Pobudi imata različno močne politične dimen-

zije, vse pa naj bi poudarjale napredek družbe skozi znanost, za kar je potrebno pri ljudeh vzbuditi pozitivna stališča do sprememb, ki jih prinaša produkcija in aplikacija novega znanja. Zgodnejše gibanje je sledilo idejam Laburistične stranke, drugo je bilo manj neposredno politično angažirano, obe pa sta poudarjali nenadomestljivo, čeprav pasivno vlogo državljanov za znanstveni napredek. Z drugimi besedami, upravljanje znanosti naj ne bi bil problem, problematično je bilo zavračanje znanosti s strani državljanov, pojasnjuje Irwin (2006, 18). Za obe gibanji je bila tako značilna znanstveno-centralistična država, ki verjame v napredek družbe preko znanstvenega in tehnološkega razvoja, in če se tukaj pojavijo problemi, jih je iskati v ignoranci in iracionalnosti javnosti. Obenem je bila znanost predstavljena kot nevtralna, kot "čista" znanost brez interesov, katere posledice delovanja ne moremo vrednotiti kot dobre ali slabe. Gibanja so dajala poudarek sprejemanju in razumevanju znanosti v družbi, za kar naj bi poskrbeli predvsem znanstveniki ob tihem pristanku javnosti, ki samo absorberja podane ji informacije. Pogled na vlogo znanstvenikov in javnosti nazorno pokaže poročilo Kraljevega društva:

Vsek od teh sektorjev [znanstvene skupnosti] bi moral oceniti svoj potencial za širše izboljšanje javnega razumevanja znanosti, na primer z zagotavljanjem usposabljanja za komuniciranje in seznanjanja z delovanjem medijev, z organiziranjem predavanj, demonstracij in znanstvenih tekmovanj, s pripravljanjem poročil za novinarje, politike in druge, na splošno pa z izboljšanjem odnosov z javnostjo (Bodmer, 1985, 35).

Odločitev za enosmerno komuniciranje od znanosti k javnosti je po eni strani razumljiva, saj je anketno raziskovanje tudi dejansko odkrilo perečo stopnjo znanstvene "nepismenosti" ter izpostavilo nekompetentnost ljudi razpravljati o vprašanjih, ki zadevajo znanost. Po drugi strani pa se tukaj pokaže dokaj enosmerno razumevanje koncepta racionalnosti kot lastnosti javnosti. Enostavna označitev javnosti kot iracionalne in s tem nekompetentne odločati o stvareh, ki se tičajo vseh, je plod platonističnega pogleda na državljanje, ki je v ZDA in Evropi v dejanskosti dnevne politike prevladoval do sredine šestdesetih let. Nato se pojavi zahteve po pluralizaciji političnega življenja, v katerem ne prevladujejo več samo vprašanja o učinkoviti izvedbi političnih odločitev, temveč tudi vprašanja o primernosti odločitev. To spremembo politične zavesti Jessica Glicken (1999) povezuje s pozornostjo drugačnim tipom znanja kot v preteklosti. Če je tehnikratski svet politike upo-

1 Eno bolj univerzalnih definicij javnosti je podal John Dewey: v javnosti potekajo dogovori o urejanju posledic transakcij, ki zadevajo tiste, ki v njih niso neposredno udeleženi (Dewey, 1999, 45).

2 Prve oblike moderne javnosti kot socialne kategorije in kot javne sfere se pojavijo v kavarnah, salonih in omizjih Anglije, Nemčije, Francije ter ostalih evropskih dežel v obdobju meščanskih revolucij 17. in 18. stoletja (Habermas, 1989a). To je bil čas, ko so se javne razprave začele resnejše dotikati politike in ekonomije, prav tako pa je bil to čas preoblikovanja stare, na fevdalnem redu utemeljene gospodarske ureditve, v kapitalistično ureditev.

rabljal in dajal prednost *kognitivnemu* znanju, se od sedemdesetih let naprej začno odpirati področja za sodelovanje in aplikacijo eksperimentalnega in na vrednotah temelječega znanja v političnih odločitvah (Glick, 1999, 301). Kognitivno znanje se povezuje z eksperimentno, znanostjo, in ga povečini uporablja posameznik, eksperimentalno temelji na izkušnjah in zdravi pameti, na vrednotah temelječe znanje pa na "moralni ali normativnem znanju, ki izhaja iz družbenih interesov in temelji na percepcijah družbenih vrednot" (Glick, 1999, 302). Zadnji tip znanja lahko označimo kot družbeno ali politično znanje, ki sodeluje v političnih odločitvah in je produkt različnih družbenih skupin, poudariti pa velja, da je tudi najmanj racionalno, pojasnjuje omenjena avtorica, ki je tipologijo znanj priredila po delu Renna, Weblerja in Johnsona.

Ko omenjeno tipologijo znanja apliciramo na dialog med znanostjo in javnostjo, se znanost izkristalizira kot področje uporabe eksperimentnega, kognitivnega znanja, ki ne more dopustiti strokovnega nadzora s strani sfer, ki uporabljajo drugačne oblike znanja brez tega, da bi se obenem odrekla svojemu spoznavnemu aparatu – ta je namreč v mnogočem drugačen kot v javnosti. Tega se je PUS gibanje zavedalo v korakih znanstvenega opisemnjevanja javnosti, ni pa bilo pozorno na razsežnost komuniciranja, ki bi naslovilo in integriralo druga dva tipa znanja, ki se vežeta na družbene posledice znanstvenega raziskovanja in izhajata iz laične javnosti. Pozornost do eksperimentalnega in političnega znanja zahteva zato dvosmerno komuniciranje oziroma dialog med znanstveniki in javnostjo (publiko). Ob analitični ločitvi dialoga med znanostjo in javnostjo, kjer ima dialog lahko funkcionalni ali pa na drugi strani konceptualni cilj, kot to razdelitev pojasnjjeta Van der Sanden in Meijman (2008), se izkristalizirajo potencialni cilji PUS gibanja. Z vidika znanosti se dialog s funkcionalnim ciljem veže na diseminacijo znanstvenih rezultatov javnosti, torej izobraževanje in informiranje o dejstvih, medtem ko konceptualni dialog zaznamuje razpravo o družbenem pomenu znanstvenih odkritij. Z vidika javnosti funkcionalni dialog zaznamuje povpraševanje po dejstvih, ki jih generira znanost. V nasprotju s funkcionalnim dialogom pa konceptualni dialog omogoča izmenjavo političnega znanja in participacijo javnosti v oblikovanju odločitev, ki z namenom regulacije posledic raziskovanja naslavljajo politični sistem. Dejansko je PUS gibanje pokrilo le enosmerno komuniciranje eksperimentnega znanja in tako stopalo v okrnjeni funkcionalni dialog le s tistimi člani javnosti, ki so pokazali zadostno eksperimentno znanje. Van der Sanden in Meijman (2008, 91) odnos med znanostjo in javnostjo v sodobnosti vidita v izmenjavi tako znanstvenega kot laičnega znanja, s tem pa politične dimenzijske javnosti zajemajo sodelovanje kognitivnega znanja (s strani znanstvenikov), kot tudi družbeno-političnega znanja (s strani laične javnosti) v političnih odločitvah o znanosti. Zato dvom v

nekompetentnost državljanov toliko bolj vabi znanstvenike same, da odvržejo svojo eksperimentno vlogo in iz znanosti stopijo v javnost, s tem pa vzpostavijo dvosmerno komuniciranje z laično javnostjo oziroma s člani javnosti, ki ne posedujejo dovolj eksperimentnega znanja.

Odnos med javnostjo (kot javno sfero) in znanostjo je zato v skrajnih mejah mogoče razlikovati glede na občo dostopnost, ki omogoča družbenost in političnost, ter na drugi strani glede na vidnost, ki aktivira intelektualne kapacitete publike. Javno sfero zaznamuje ideja obče dostopnosti. Področje znanosti pa kot področje produkcije rezultatov raziskovanja, ki po normi znanstvenega komunalizma pripadajo vsem (Neuman, 2006, 11), zaznamuje ideja obče dostopnosti do znanja – in ne do znanosti. V tem smislu je obče dostopna samo reprezentacija znanja, konkretno v primerih, ko so znanstvena dejstva dana v intelektualni premislek javnosti.

PUS gibanje je ti dve področji strogo ločilo. V počilu Kraljeve družbe so se kot javnost definirali člani različnih institucij, osebe, vključene v organizacijo dela v institucijah političnega in ekonomskega sistema, kot volivci in posamezniki, ki se odločajo na zasebni ravni (Bodmer, 1985, 7), ne pa kot državljanji, ki sodelujejo v razpravi. "Družbeno-politična" (Holscher v Peters, 1995, 7) participativna dimenzija javnosti, ki jo poudarja diskurzivna teorija javnosti, v sami konceptualizaciji popularizacije znanosti ni bila predvidena, kot tudi ne sfera, v kateri bi bilo z argumenti podprtlo preoblikovanje različnih interesov sploh možno. Odločitve, ki bi jih predlagala znanost za upravljanje lastne dejavnosti, naj bi bile naslovljene neposredno na institucije političnega sistema, pasivna javnost pa naj bi jim tiko pritrila ob vnaprejšnji izgradnji znanosti naklonjene mnenske klime. Ljudstvu, ki ga sestavljajo posamezniki in skupine, tako ni omogočena vloga člana politične javnosti na način izstopa iz svoje profesionalne ali zasebne vloge, tako da bi lahko sodeloval v (političnih) odločitvah, v katerih sodeluje družbeno in politično znanje – kar predvideva "družbeno-politična" dimenzija. Politično znanje se neposredno veže na konflikte v družbi, ki jih v konkretnem primeru sprožajo vprašanja primernosti raziskovalnih politik, odnos politike do znanosti in družbe, namen porabe javnih sredstev in še bi lahko naštevali. Ti konflikti so plod različnih pogledov na svet, različnih koncepcij o skupnem dobrem in se nemalokrat razvijejo okrog življenjskih stilov, pojasnjuje Glick (1999, 302). Pokritje te dimenzijske tako vključuje konceptualni dialog o znanosti in politikah njenega vodenja z organizacijo fokusnih skupin, državljanskih etičnih komisij, forumov itd. V nasprotnem primeru, brez pokritja družbeno-politične dimenzijske, član javnosti lahko sodeluje v političnih odločitvah samo kot član določene zasebne ali politične organizacije ali pa kot volivec, s tem pa njegov odnos do znanosti obsega dejavnosti zainteresiranega lastnika ali politika, ki deluje strateško (uporablja medija denarja ali moči), ali kot pasivnega

državljana, ki pa ne more vplivati na sistemske mehanizme politike drugače kot preko izražanja tihe podpore določenim političnim strankam.

Nasprotno kot javna sfera pa znanost kot področje družbe ni obče dostopna, je načeloma le vsem vidna – pogoji dostopa do znanosti in javnosti so različni, tako kot sta si različni domeni družbenega življenja. Same prakse popularizacije znanosti in konkretno gibanja PUS so zajele ozaveščanje javnosti o pozitivnih plateh znanstvenega raziskovanja in reprezentacijo določenih interesov o izkoriščanju tehnologij ob podpori argumentov znanstvene sfere, s tem pa se je pokrila predvsem "vzualno-intelektualna" (Holscher v Peters, 1995, 7) dimenzija javnosti, ki jo je tudi mnogo lažje doseči kot "držbeno-politično", kot dokazujejo avtorji, ki raziskujejo naravo javnosti v sodobnih družbah (Peters, 1995; Thompson, 1995). Vzualno-intelektualna dimenzija je v bistvu reprezentativna in v našem primeru vključuje komuniciranje o dejstvih in informacijah, ki jih producira znanost. Gradi na razširjanju kognitivnega znanja, ki ga posedujejo eksperti, in ne dopušča vrednotne pluralnosti, zatorej je dialog, v kolikor se razvije, funkcionalno naravnан v smislu izmenjave argumentov, ki naslavljajo abstraktni sistem znanstvenega raziskovanja v dimenzijah uporabljenih metod raziskovanja in konkretne vsebine rezultatov raziskovanja. Laični javnosti je ravno zaradi šibkih kapacetet pokrivanja kognitivnega znanja namenjena vloga receptorja, medtem ko se znanost reprezentira pred njo.

Dostop do javne sfere je univerzalen, v praksi pa ga kroji držbeni vpliv, ki v moderni družbi ni normiran, medtem ko je znanost mogoče še edina sfera, kjer sloves in vpliv lahko razumemo kot krmilni medij, temelječ na akademskih naslovih (Habermas, 1989b, 275), katerih posedovanje v dovolj veliki količini avtomatizira dostop do nje. Prav tako so različni načini sporazumevanja. Člani javnosti rezultate razprave dosežejo z uporabo praktičnega razuma, medtem ko se znanstveniki poslužujejo znanstvene metode, na katero aplicirajo načelo organiziranega skepticizma in kognitivnega znanja.

SPOZNANJE JAVNOSTI O DRŽBENI KONSTRUKCIJI ZNANOSTI

Znanstveni centralizem, apliciran na tehnokratsko oblikovanje politik, gradi na nezmotljivosti in nevtralnosti ekspertnega znanja, kar so družbena dejstva nemalokrat postavila na laž. Walter Lippmann je že v prvi polovici 20. stoletja z veliko skepso ocenjeval sposobnost javnosti razumeti, premisliti in izoblikovati mnenja o vedno kompleksnejšem svetu, zato naj bi to nalogu opravljali strokovnjaki: "Teoretično bi morali za vsak predmet izbrati največjega strokovnjaka. Toda čeprav je izbira strokovnjaka dosti lažja kot izbira resnice, je še vedno pretežka in pogosto nepraktična. Strokovnjaki sami niso niti najmanj prepričani, kateri izmed njih je

najbolj strokoven" (Lippmann, 1999, 153–154). Glede na tipsko delitev znanja strokovnjaki po tehnokratski ideji vladanja pri odločitvah prispevajo ekspertno znanje, vendar je že Lippmann tisto priznal, da niti začetek izbire poti reševanja ni premočrten. Znanstveni nepismenosti javnosti se tako ob bok postavi nezaupanje v interesno nevtralno znanost in v vrednotno primernost izbranih strategij reševanja družbenih vprašanj – Glickken razlikuje med *učinkovitostjo* ekspertov in družbeno *primernostjo* rešitev, ki jo pod vprašaj postavljajo civilno-družbene skupine (Glickken, 1999, 301). V sodobnih pluralnih družbah se ta razkorak kaže v zavračanju paternalizma izbranih strokovnjakov, s čimer se znanstveni centralizem sooča s spoznanjem državljanov o uporabi rezultatov znanstvenega raziskovanja za legitimacijo oblasti ter kontrolo nad vladanimi. Člani javnosti so na podlagi svojih življenjskih izkušenj znanost povezali s partikularnimi interesmi, katerih nosilci tudi v sodobnosti sponzorirajo znanstvena odkritja in njihovo uporabo skozi tehnologijo. Ne gre pozabiti na primere, ko so na prvi pogled plemenita dejanja diseminacije znanja za seboj skrivala namero utrjevanja družbenega reda in, na primer, izobraževanja delavcev z namenom povečanja njihove delovne učinkovitosti, dokazujeta Gregory in Miller (1998, 21). Teorije, ki se napajajo iz kritične sociološke tradicije proučevanja znanosti in tehnologije (Restivo, 1995; Bijker 1995), nudijo zanimiv vpogled v procese, ki jih zaznamujejo interesi in konflikti sil produkcije (dela in kapitala). Avtorji po eni strani pod vprašaj postavljajo avtonomnost znanosti, po drugi strani pa tudi same raziskave – največkrat administrativne – o nevednosti članov javnosti:

Takšne raziskave respondentne iztrgajo iz družbenega konteksta in so same po sebi nesposobne analitično raziskati ali kontrolirati potencialno spremenljive, družbeno vsidrane pomene, ki jih imajo strokovni izrazi za družbene akterje. Metoda anketne raziskave že po svoji metodi dekontekstualizira znanje in razumevanje ter vsiljuje predpostavko, da njen pomen obstaja neodvisno od človeških subjektov, ki so vključeni v družbo (Wynne, 1995, 370).

Anketno raziskovanje je zakrilo nezaupanje, ki so ga ljudje gradili iz lastnih srečanj z znanostjo in njeno uporabo v njihovih lastnih življenjih. Z anketnim raziskovanjem izmerjeno nerazumevanje vsebine prav lahko pomeni tudi razumevanje vpliva organizacije izkoriščanja raziskovalnih rezultatov in lastniških povezav na znanost, kar kaže na to, da se javnost zaveda interesov, ki posegajo v znanost, rezultat pa je cinična nezainteresiranost in nezaupljivost državljanov do znanosti (Wynne, 2006, 12).

Irwin v svojem delu prikaže študije treh primerov – mogoče še najbolj znan je primer bolezni BSE ("norih krav") – v katerih so politični in ekonomski akterji izkoristili svojo moč kontrole komunikacijskih kanalov in okvirjanja javne razprave, prav tako pa so močne kor-

poracije vplivale na pogoje raziskovanja posledic omenjene bolezni za okolje in zdravje ljudi (Irwin, 2006, 25). Osrednja lastnost takšnega okvirjanja je, da izjave akterjev gradijo na mitu o nezmotljivi znanosti, ki ni prepojena z nasprotji in nepojasnjenimi fenomeni, ki se lahko pokažejo že ob rahlo spremenjenih laboratorijskih pogojih. Slednji so namreč samo grob približek pogoju, ki vladajo v zunanjemu svetu, tega pa ljudje na podlagi svojih vsakdanjih izkušenj nemalokrat celo bolje poznajo kot znanstveniki. Massimiano Bucchi (1998) pojasnjuje, da negotovo, konfliktno in naključno ozadje raziskovanja skoraj praviloma ostane skrito očem javnosti. V svojem modelu diseminacije znanstvenih rezultatov uporabi koncept "zaodrja", ki ga je razvil Gofmann: "So prostori/ situacije, v katerih se dela znanost, mnogokrat s kombiniranjem neskladnih enot znanja in mašinerije v kaotičnih procesih poskušanja, na katere vplivajo družbeni in osebni faktorji (na primer interes, neznanstvena verovanja itd.)" (Bucchi, 1998, 124). Z zakritjem zaodrja se znanost reprezentira kot sfera gotovosti in nezmotljivosti, ki zakrije razdaljo med dolgo in nikakor ne interesov izpraznjeno potjo do znanstvenega odkritja in razširjanjem za družbo uporabnih znanstvenih rezultatov. Diskurz objektivnosti zakrije nasprotja med posameznimi znanstvenimi pristopi in metodami, obenem pa posamezni okvirji, ki jih uporabljajo določeni interesni centri, tekmujejo z nasprotnimi interpretacijami iste javno problematizirane zadeve. Reprezentacije zadev poskušajo postaviti kar najbolj neprepustne meje javne razprave in določiti tematsko povezane lastnosti objekta pozornosti, ki jih razprava še lahko zajema, s tem pa "legitimirajo (partikularne) interesne kot obče – kar bistveno prispeva k njihovi praktični realizaciji – in/ali specifični družbeni položaj akterja moči" (Splichal, 2004, S19).

Nezainteresiranost, odkrita s pomočjo anketnega raziskovanja, je neposreden izraz nezaupanja, ki ga sproža pomanjkanje konceptualno naravnega dialoga med znanostjo, javnostjo in javno oblastjo (političnim sistemom). Wynne ugotavlja, da ljudje ocenjujejo eksperimentno znanje glede na to, ali jim pomaga reševati konkretne probleme, s tem pa znanstvena sfera pridobiva ali izgublja kredibilnost: "Dojemanje znanosti ne temelji toliko na *intelektualni sposobnosti*, temveč na družbeno-institucionalnih faktorjih, ki zadevajo dostop, zaupanje in pogajanja v razmerju do vsiljene avtoritete" (Wynne, 2006, 9). Spoznanje o preprekah sodelovanja političnega znanja javnosti v odločitvah o regulaciji posledic znanstvenega raziskovanja zato teorijo, ki se ukvarja s komuniciranjem znanosti, vodi do pozivov k vključe-

vanju javnosti v znanstveno sfero, kar ima v začetku 21. stoletja za posledico teoretsko in institucionalno gibanje za "sodelovanje javnosti v znanosti" (angl. Public Engagement in Science – PES). Vprašanja o možnem sodelovanju obeh obravnavanih področij tako pridobijo nove dimenzijs, ki se deloma vežejo na spremenjena pojmovanja kompetenc članov javnosti, v veliki meri pa na spremenjene pogoje produkcije znanja. V luči obravnavane tematike je mogoče še najbolj pomembno izpostaviti spremenjeno pojmovanje javnosti. Namreč, družbeno-politična dimenzijsa javnosti kot publike se zdaj nadomešča z vključevanjem deležnikov v raziskovalni proces, javnost kot narava dejavnosti pa z deležništvom.

ŠTIRI OBLIKE ODNOSA MED DRŽAVLJANI, ZNANOSTJO IN JAVNOSTJO V NOVIH KONTEKSTIH RAZISKOVANJA

Ob koncu 20. stoletja, v "postakademski" dobi (Grecco, 2002) se sfere produkcije znanja, politike in ekonome prepletajo, ob spoznanju nezaupanja državljanov do znanosti in njenih deležnikov pa koncepcije tiste družbene kategorije, ki jo teorije poimenujejo kot javnost, pridobijo participatorne poteze v obliki deležništva. Politični vpliv javnosti na oblast je s tem dodatno kontekstualiziran z vprašanjem ločitve avtonomnosti družbenih podsistemov in z vprašanjem demokratične odgovornosti prepletenih strani. Te spremembe sledijo preoblikovanju odnosov v načinu produkcije znanja, ki je zajet v konceptu prehoda iz "Načina 1" v "Način 2" (Gibbons et. al., 2005), kjer slednji zajema produkcijo znanja v kontekstu aplikacije. Znanje je zdaj producirano z namenom rešitve določenega problema, po njegovi rešitvi pa povprašujejo različne institucije sodobne družbe, ki izhajajo iz politike, gospodarstva ali civilne družbe, kar zahteva aplikativno usmerjeno ter transdisciplinarno raziskovanje. Pri reševanju problemov v Načinu 2 sodelujejo raziskovalci različnih disciplin in organizacij, bodisi javnih ali zasebnih, znanje je producirano na različnih lokacijah, s čimer se zvišuje kompleksnost raziskovalnega okolja, raziskovalne skupine pa se neprestano preoblikujejo glede na potrebe po delitvi raziskovalnega dela. Lenarčič nazorno predstavi, da se v razvitih državah "od znanstvenih oz. akademskih institucij poleg opravljanja tradicionalnih funkcij (izobraževanje in raziskovanje) med drugim pričakuje, da neposredno prispevajo k družbeno-ekonomskemu razvoju države" (Lenarčič, 2007, 95). Naštete spremembe prispevajo k dodatni kontekstualiziranosti komuniciranja,³ k potrebi

3 Prehod k spremenjenemu načinu komuniciranja v dandanes družbeno distribuirani produkciji znanja še najbolje opiše model znanstvenega komuniciranja, ki sta ga predstavila d'Andrea in Declich (2005). Model združuje prej ločeni sferi, ločeni "skupnosti" znanstvenikov na eni in zainteresiranih deležnikov in javnosti na drugi strani. Ti dve skupnosti sta vzpostavila v teoriji in praksi funkcionalno ločeni dejavnosti "komuniciranja v znanosti" in "komuniciranja znanosti". Funkcije udeležencev sporazumevanja v modelu niso več plod ločitve prostora znanstvenega raziskovanja in okolja z namenom ohranjanja njune avtonomije, temveč se oblikujejo glede na odnose, ki se vzpostavljajo skozi zadovoljevanje interesov strani povpraševanja po znanstvenih in tehnoloških rešitvah.

po doseganju dogоворov za zagotovitev kar najvišje učinkovitosti samega procesa raziskovanja ter nenačadnje k zgoščenim komunikacijskim tokovom med sodelujočimi stranmi. Kot ugotavlja Ženko, v Načinu 2 že ob postaviti raziskovalnega problema sodelujejo posamezniki in interesne skupine, ki jih je Način 1 izvzel iz načrtovanja raziskovalnega dela: "Omenjeni posamezniki in skupine zdaj postanejo aktivni udeleženci v definiranju in reševanju problemov, prav tako pa pri njihovi evalvaciji, kar pomeni, da morajo biti upoštevane tudi njihove vrednote in preference" (Ženko, 2007, 111). Odpiranje znanosti se na ta način nedvomno povečuje, vendar največ na področjih, ki zahtevajo aplikacijo kognitivnega (ekspertnega) znanja, obenem pa jo ogrožajo vdori političnega in ekonomskega sistema ter njune instrumentalne racionalnosti, ki ni skladna z normami znanstvene skupnosti. Način 2 je mogoče razumeti kot kritiko avtonomije znanosti v "akademski eri" in njene razdalje od laične javnosti, vendar pa sam po sebi še ne vključuje dialoga med deležniki in javnostjo – prostori za konceptualni dialog o pomenu znanosti in tehnologije se šele odpirajo zaradi specifičnih interesov in posledic raziskovanja, ki jih javnost lahko naslovi s svojim praktičnim razumom. Avtorji modela Način 2 priznavajo, da posledice raziskovanja nemalokrat sežejo čez navidezni rob med znanostjo in družbo, s čimer prihaja do zahtev po povečani družbeni odgovornosti in do argumentov, ki znanost ne povezujejo nujno z družbeno koristnostjo: "S tem je povezan argument, da nič več ni mogoče ohraniti znanstvenih in tehniških eksperimentov v laboratorijih kot takih in da je družba sama postala laboratorij za eksperimente, ki bi morali biti kontrolirani v bolj družbeni in čvrsti smeri" (Gibbons et al., 2005, 36). Še več, instrumentalna racionalnost, ki za krmiljenje tako občutljivega področja kot je znanost, uporablja moč in denar, izpodriva komunikativne (k sporazumu usmerjene) načine družbene integracije, s katerimi bi bili dogovori med interesnimi skupinami lahko demokratično in zavezajoče preoblikovani, in to vedno znova in znova v odvisnosti od posledic, ki jih bo družba izkusila v teku časa. Ker so raziskovalne skupine v Načinu 2 oblikovane z namenom rešitve točno določenega problema, in zato največkrat ob njegovi rešitvi razpadajo – pojasnjujejo Gibbons in sodelavci (2005, 6), je z vidika uporabe znanstvenih rezultatov še toliko pomembnejša sfera, ki omogoča javno razpravo o potek raziskovanja in njegovih posledicah tudi takrat, ko so rezultati že aplicirani skozi tehnologijo in so, na primer, vidni samo še v sferi dela in potrošnje.

Državljan ali državljanka je v tem spremenjenem

kontekstu razumljena na dva osnovna načina. En način gleda na posameznika kot na "nedolžnega navadnega državljan", ki še nima izoblikovanih stališč do problemov, ki jih sproža upravljanje znanosti in tehnologije, in bo šele s strokovno usmerjenim izobraževanjem lahko oblikoval ekspertno mnenje o določeni zadevi. Pri drugem pogledu so državljeni zastopani v znanosti kot deležniki v produkciji znanja, Wynne in sodelavci (2007, 58) pojasnjujejo oba osnovna tipa. Prvi tip v prvem koraku še ne predvideva deležnikov-državljanov, temveč najprej vključuje državljanje v izobraževanje z namenom strokovnega usposabljanja in nato v drugem koraku participacijo v razpravi na absolviranem področju. Za oba tipa se pričakuje sodelovanje državljanov s kognitivnim tipom znanja v raziskovanju, ko ju povežemo še z interesni sodelujočih strani, pa vključujeta štiri osnovne tipe organiziranja znanstvenega delovanja in njegove regulacije. Ko apliciramo sodelujočo javnost na "Način 2" (Gibbons et al., 2005) znanstveno produkcijo ali na "trojno spiralo"⁴ (Leydersdorff in Etzkowitz, 1996), kjer se v obeh modelih znanstvena produkcija prepleta s politiko in gospodarstvom, dobimo štiričleno tipologijo odnosa "javnost" – znanost. "Javnost" lahko zastopata dve strani: množica "nevtralnih" državljanov ali angažirana skupina deležnikov. Tudi prvim je priznana aktivna vloga, vendar le pod pokroviteljstvom strokovnjakov iz znanosti, ki najprej izobrazijo sodelujoče, in se tako izognejo posameznikom in skupinam z že oblikovanimi (aktivističnimi) stališči in mnenji. Drugo stran pa predstavljajo deležniki raziskovalnega procesa, ki že imajo lastno vnaprej definirano usmeritev sodelovanja v znanosti. Strani politike in ekonomije, ki sodelujeta z znanostjo, pa se oblikujeta glede na večjo vlogo enega ali drugega sistema v produkciji znanja, kar ima za posledico različno stopnjo zaveze k demokratični odgovornosti: na eni strani večja vloga političnega sistema, ki naj bi bil v načelu odgovoren državljanom, ti pa naj bi ga nadzorovali ali se sledič republikanski ideji spoznali v njem, na drugi strani pa načelu liberalne teorije večja negativna svoboda ekonomije od oblasti in javnega nadzora ter spremljajoča nizka demokratična odgovornost za posledice ekonomskega delovanja. Problem, s katerim se pojmovanje funkcij javnosti ukvarja že vse od razsvetljenstva, je preprečevanje situacij, v katerih politika lahko zlorabi svojo moč, ekonomija pa se izmakne javnemu nadzoru v širjenju posledic svoje dejavnosti preko zamejnih področij. Moč posameznih strani je še dodatno kontekstualizirana glede na delitev raziskovalnega dela med javnimi in zasebnimi raziskovalnimi ustanovami, kjer med prve, na primer, spadajo javne univerze in instituti, med druge pa oddelki za raziskave in razvoj zasebnih podjetij.

4 V modelu trojne spirale institucionalni akterji zajemajo enakovredne vloge, vendar pa so različno pozicionirani glede na infrastrukturo, ki jo zagotavljajo. Za nas je najzanimivejša refleksivnost akterjev, ki se z njeno pomočjo prilagajajo drug drugemu. Cilji sodelovanja in organiziranja so v mnogočem podobni kot v Načinu 2, kjer se prav tako išče interakcija med znanstvenimi in tržnimi silami, pojasnjujejo avtorji (Leydersdorff in Etzkowitz, 1996).

Za odnos "navadni" državljan – znanost z veliko vlogo političnega sistema je značilna vključenost državljanov v upravljanje znanosti, vendar pa tudi nizka intenzivnost komuniciranja znanstvenih tematik v javnosti. Tej značilnosti se pridružuje visoka stopnja političnega upravljanja znanosti zaradi financiranja in regulacije s strani političnega sistema. Odnos poimenujmo *reprezentativno-državljanski*. Državljansko telo je simbolno toliko bolj, kolikor je produkt medijev ali obsežnega anketnega raziskovanja (na primer Eurobarometra o "Evropejcih, znanosti in tehnologiji" (www.euractiv.com, 2009)), s čimer narašča vizualno-intelektualna razsežnost javnosti, niža pa se družbeno-politična. V takšnih zamišljenih skupnostih, ki jih druži apel na njihove skupne lastnosti ali samo izračunano statistično povprečje, ideal participacije ogrožajo nastavki za povratek k reprezentativnim oblikam "znanstvene" javnosti zgodnjega PUS gibanja. Krepi se republikansko pojmovanje politike ob njeni pokroviteljski drži do znanosti in javnosti.

Za drugo obliko odnosa državljan – znanost je značilna velika vloga ekonomskega sistema v skupnem prepletu področij, ki si delijo delo, povezano z raziskovanjem in tehnološkimi aplikacijami. Imenujmo ta odnos *reprezentativno-potrošniški*. Če so značilnosti razširjenih članov javnosti podobne kot zgoraj, se z zahtevami po čim hitrejšem kroženju kapitala niža politična svoboda javnosti zaradi izvzema področja ekonomije demokratični odgovornosti. Takšen očitek, ko je gospodarstvo kot eno najpomembnejših področij življenga izvzeto iz javne kritike, so mnogi teoretički namenili že Habermasovemu idealiziranju liberalne meščanske javnosti (Garnham, 1997, 359; Fraser, 1997, 118). Člane javnosti se naslavljajo kot potrošnike, ki lahko družbene spremembe dosegajo s svojo kupno močjo, odtujivajo javnosti pa se ob prevladi interesov akterjev z veliko količino socialno-ekonomskih virov samo še poglablja. V spremenjenem kontekstu raziskovanja (Način 2) znanost izgublja avtonomijo, ki ji jo je za razliko od sodelnosti gibanje PUS vsaj ohranjalo.

Tretjo obliko odnosa zaznamuje vključevanje aktivnih in zainteresiranih deležnikov v znanost, ki je večinoma sponzorirana s strani političnega sistema, slednji jo preko financiranja tudi posredno upravlja. Takšen odnos ima *deležniško-državljanske* poteze, v katerem se interesi deležniških skupin prepletajo z idejo o predstavniki oblasti kot simbolnem utelešenju državljanov. Ideja ne vključuje nadzora oblasti temveč emancipacijo državljanov skozi sodelovanje s političnim sistemom, ta pa je v dejanskosti liberalno-demokratičnih družb možna samo za skupine, ki imajo veliko vpliva, družbeni status njihovih javnih govorcev pa je dovolj visok, da si lahko pridobijo dostop do parlamentarnega in izvršilnega kompleksa države. Kot pojasnjujejo Wynne in sodelavci, je ideja "deležniške demokracije" v znanosti kompromitirana že takoj, ko "izraz označuje univerzalno primarno

zadevo, v kateri imamo vsi svoj interes in ji je bil že dan nek suveren družbeni pomen" (Wynne et al., 2007, 58). Sintagma "deležniška znanstvena javnost" v sebi skriva past izključitve vseh tistih, ki niso deležniki in strokovnjaki, bodisi na področju znanosti bodisi na področju razširjanja informacij o rezultatih raziskovanja. Tukaj lahko pokažemo še na drug kriterij, ki naj bi ga javnost izpolnjevala, in sicer možnost učinkovitega nadzorovanja in vplivanja na oblast. Javnost se torej navezuje na sodelovanje državljanov v demokratičnih načinih upravljanja družbe, vendar preko uresničevanja načela kritike oblasti iz javnosti, torej v kritični distanci in pri poskusu vplivanja v konstruktivni drži do političnega sistema. Koncept deležništva pa nasprotno predvideva sodelovanje v znanosti z aplikacijo kognitivnega znanja, skrb za posledice znanstvenega raziskovanja in še posebej za njegovo aplikacijo, kjer bi sodelovalo družbeno-politično znanje, pa zopet pušča ob strani.

Cetrti odnos pa poimenujmo *deležniško-potrošniški*. Deležniki sodelujejo v produkciji znanja in razvoju tehnoloških aplikacij pod močnim pokroviteljstvom zasebnega sektorja. Sodelovanje skupin iz javnosti pri upravljanju znanosti je zaradi njihove deležniške narave močno, vendar pa tudi izključuje do skupin, ki se ne vključujejo v tržno menjavo. Če pri drugem tipu zgoraj lahko govorimo o anonimnem glasovanju z denarjem, je za zadnji tip značilna udeležba privilegiranih skupin v vodenju znanosti, ki je v skrajnih situacijah v rokah zasebnega sektorja ali pa ga slednji močno nadzoruje.

Pregled štirih osnovnih oblik zahteva nekaj dodatnih razjasnitvev. Konstrukcija in še prej rekrutacija javnosti zavira samospoznanje javnosti, ki bi šele omogočila, da slednja kot komunikacijsko omrežje posameznikov in skupin deluje sama nase, deležništvo pa zmanjša distanco med znanostjo in državljanji, ki bi se v nasprotnem primeru načeloma lahko spoznali v kritični javnosti. Izraz sodelovanje javnosti, ki ga najdemo v angleški sintagi PES, označuje oslabitev javnosti, ki se zvede na deležništvo, za katerega je značilno sklepanje zaveznihstev, ki se izmikajo demokratičnemu nadzoru. Obe tipologiji državljanova vključujejo opremljanje posameznikov in skupin s kombinacijo kognitivnega in eksperimentalnega znanja – slednje generira predvsem izpostavljenost neposrednim učinkom znanosti in tehnologije, prezentirajo pa ga strokovna združenja in civilne inicijative ob konkretnih problemih, pojasnjuje Glick (1999). Ob osvojitvi teh dveh tipov se v drugi fazi, ki nasledi "izobraževalno" fazo, med znanostjo in državljan-deležniki razvije dialog o dejstvih konkretnega raziskovalnega projekta ali problema, ter tudi dialog o družbenih pomenih raziskovanja, kot bi informiranje o dejstvih, konceptih, čustvih in stališčih med stranmi opredelila Van der Sanden in Meijman (2008, 91). Dialog obeh tipov (funkcionalni in konceptualni) zajema seznanjanje o dejstvih in konceptualna vprašanja pomeba raziskovanja, vendar pa komunikacijske aktivnosti ne

presežejo sfere deležnikov – ostajo v komunikacijski mreži deležnikov. Idejo deležništva "javnosti" pod takšnimi pogoji zavračata tudi Leydesdorff in Etzkowitz, avtorja modela "trojne spirale". V svojem modelu obravnavata odnose med različnimi institucijami univerz, politike in gospodarstva, vendar pa poudarjata, da "konceptualizacija javnosti kot četrte spirale omeji javnost v še eno zasebno sfero" (Leydesdorff in Etzkowitz, 2003, 56). Na drugi strani pa koncept razvoja znanstvene produkcije proti Načinu 2 poudarja padanje meja med posameznimi institucionalnimi področji, kar povzroča dodatno koteksualiziranost pogojev za ohranjenje avtonomije tako javnosti kot znanosti. Namreč, s padanjem meja med področji, liberalna javnost, ki naj postavlja zahteve oblasti, ne najde več naslovnika svojih zahtev, saj le-ta sodeluje v decentralizirani mreži institucij znanstvene produkcije. Ali drugače, odgovor na vprašanje, kdo v deležniški demokraciji potemtakem nadzoruje deležnike, ostaja še vedno aktualno.

Takšno ugotovitev podkripi tudi naslednji primer. Raziskovalci Znanstveno-raziskovalnega središča v Kopru, Univerza na Primorskem, so v okviru projekta o evropskih znanstvenih kapacitetah oblikovali internetni portal (www.mreza-up.org), poimenovan Mreža odličnosti Univerze na Primorskem. Več o njem je najti v *Učbeniku o socializaciji znanstvenega in tehnološkega raziskovanja* (Bijker in d'Andrea, 2009), ki ga je izdal konzorcij institucij, ki so bile vključene v projekt. Namen je bil zasnovati komunikacijsko orodje, ki bi omogočilo dvosmerno komuniciranje "mnogih z mnogimi" ter tudi distribucijo vsebin, ki je značilna za množične medije. Posamezniki in skupine iz sfere znanosti, ekonomije in civilne družbe so nato sodelovali na posebej oblikovanem forumu, prav tako pa so imeli priložnost publicirati vnaprej pripravljene vsebine, s čimer so reprezentirali svojo prisotnost. Diskurzivni forum je bil prvenstveno namenjen ponudbam po deležništvu in v naslednjem koraku oblikovanju konzorcija deležnikov ob konkretnem raziskovalnem projektu, ki bi ga takšen konzorcij nameraval izvesti. Obenem pa je bil portal odprt za sodelovanje družbeno-političnega znanja in krepitev družbeno-politične dimenzijske javnosti, saj je bil projekt namenjen tudi demokratizaciji in socializaciji znanosti. V splošnem je portal omogočil oblikovanje dobro pretočnih in javno dostopnih komunikacijskih kanalov, oblikovanje skupnih temeljnih norm sporazumevanja, oblikovanje vrednot, ki sodelujejo spodbujajo k diseminaciji rezultatov njihovih raziskav in k javni predstavitvi svojih interesov. Raziskovalci, ki so postavili eksperimentalni portal, so pričakovali, da se bo ob deležniškem komuniciranju odprl tudi prostor za razvezavo praktičnega razuma ob konkretnih raziskovalnih vprašanjih, vendar so bile komunikacijske aktivnosti deležnikov strogo usmerjene na določen raziskovalni problem oziroma so se ob tem tematizirali le potencialni prispevki deležnikov. Usklajevanje ponudb in povpraševanja

po znanstvenih in tehnoloških rešitvah ni pospremila niti ena tema, ki bi se lotevala vprašanj o družbeni vlogi znanosti ali regulaciji posledic raziskovanja za širšo družbo, čeprav so se ta vprašanja civilno-družbenih skupin redno pojavljala ob drugih priložnostih – panelnih pogovorih, fokusnih skupinah in intervjujih v okviru projekta.

Čeprav je bilo delovanje portala v preizkusni fazi, je pokazalo, da deležniki civilne družbe težko presežejo svojo eksperimentno vlogo – slednja je konec koncem tudi njihovo poslanstvo, v kolikor govorimo o deležništvu. Deležniki, ki niso izvorno iz znanosti, so prispevali eksperimentalno in deloma tudi kognitivno znanje, ne pa družbeno-političnega. Razprave, ki so se razvile na portalu, so sicer naslavljale in problematizirale posledice raziskovalnih rezultatov, vendar samo – če parafraziram Deweyeve (1999) razdelitev zasebnega in javnega – za neposredno vključene v potencialni raziskovalni projekt.

OPERACIONALIZACIJA JAVNOSTI KOT PUBLIKE

Glede na zgoraj opisane modalitete deležništva in oblike znanja je mogoče izoblikovati koncept, ki poveže znanost in družbo preko javnega rezoniranja. Aplikacija treh oblik znanja (kognitivnega, eksperimentalnega in družbeno-političnega) na javno komuniciranje napeljuje na preseganje dihotomije eksperimentne "znanstvene" javnosti in laične javnosti v smeri dveh področij, ki sta v funkcionalnem in konceptualnem dialogu: deležništva civilne družbe in javnosti. Posebne in specializirane javnosti, prav tako pa deležniki, ta dialog brez svojega komplementarnega dela ne omogočijo, poleg tega pa "z 'nastanjem' neskončnega števila različnih javnosti postaja pomen pojma javnost tako rekoč vseobsegajoč" (Splichal, 2005, 31) in izgublja svojo politično in zgodovinsko specifičnost. V tem pogledu znanstveniki nimajo nobene privilegirane pozicije v primerjavi z drugimi državljanji, prav tako pa se je potrebno zavedati avtonomije znanstvene skupnosti, ki raziskuje po znanstvenih metodah, ter njenih družbenih norm, ki same po sebi niso prenosljive v javnost. Omenjene norme zajemajo univerzalizem, organizirani skepticizem, nezainteresiranost, komunitarizem in poštenost (Neuman, 2006, 11). Velja poudariti, da se z zgoraj omenjenim preoblikovanjem interesov preoblikujejo tudi smernice družbenega delovanja, medtem ko se rezultati znanstvenega raziskovanja ne spreminjajo glede na vrednotno utemeljene interese družbenih akterjev, pa naj bodo ti še tako dobro argumentirani. Raziskovalna sfera ima pravila, ki se ne morejo spremeniti brez tega, da te spremembe ne bi drastično vplivale na avtonomijo znanosti, postopke raziskovanja in ne nazadnje na znanstveno metodo, ki jo uporablja znanstvena skupnost. Zato veljavnost znanstvenega raziskovanja ne more biti predmet javne diskusije ali predmet glasovanja ljudskih množic, ne glede

na njihove dejanske kompetence in suverenost. Rezultate verificira znanstvena skupnost, ki preverja teoretsko delo, tehniko raziskovalnega postopka in rigoroznost pristopa, ki ga znanstveniki uporabljajo. Predmet diskusije so zato lahko le posledice implementacije raziskovanja za družbo in vpliv tehnologije na življenja ljudi. Razprave v javnosti se tako lotevajo družbenih pričakovanj o znanosti in tehnologiji kakor tudi o specifičnih področjih raziskovanja, ko so ta zapostavljena s strani drugih družbenih podsistemov, na primer s strani politike, ali pa kadar se znanost sooča z resnimi problemi (slaba organizacija znanstvenega sektorja, pomanjkljivo financiranje, vdor političnega ali ekonomskega sistema v znanost ...). S te perspektive tudi znanstveniki ene discipline ali področja, na primer biologije, postanejo člani "laične" javnosti, če je zadeva javne razprave iz kakšne druge znanstvene discipline, na primer fizike ali sociologije. Takšna egalitarna koncepcija javnosti veže odgovornost za znanstveno raziskovanje in uporabo tehnologije tako na znanstvenike kot na preostalo družbo, vendar ločuje med praktičnim političnim razumom in ekspertnim znanjem.

Štiri zgoraj naštete oblike odnosa med državljanji in znanostjo odkrivajo tveganje instrumentalizacije in de-politizacije javnosti, ki naj bi poskušala vzpostaviti dvostrorno komuniciranje o regulaciji izkoriščanja in aplikaciji znanstvenih rezultatov v družbi. Izguba političnosti tukaj zaznamuje izgubo lastnosti javne sfere, da ponudi prostor uporabe družbeno-političnega znanja v konceptualnem dialoškem komuniciranju med zainteresiranimi državljanji, znanostjo in oblastjo. Političnost javnosti potemtakem ne zaznamuje vdora političnih interesov v javno sfero, temveč krepitev vpliva javnosti na politične odločitve. Ekspertno deležništvo civilno-družbenih skupin brez svojega komplementa sfere javnosti v tekmovanju z interesnimi področji institucionalizirane politike in ekonomije izgublja avtonomnost, saj deležnikov ne moremo enačiti s kritično publiko. Od zgoraj omenjenih štirih oblik odnosov prvi dve oblike ponudita okrnjeno sodelovanje razpršenih državljanov v znanosti, druga dva vključita državljane v raziskovalni proces. Družbeni prostor, v katerem naj bi se dosegel dogovor o urejanju posledic aplikacije znanstvenih rezultatov v družbeno življenje, pri zadnjih dveh tipih zasedejo ali strokovnjaki ali interesno že oblikovane skupine. V odprtih in egalitarnih javnih sferah se namreč na sprednu razprave pojavijo vprašanja vrednot in pravičnosti, ki ne zadevajo samo strokovnosti, posebni interesi pa se preoblikujejo.

Kolikor normativna in idealistična se mogoče zdi definicija javnosti v odnosu do znanosti in vanjo posegajočih družbenih podsistemov, toliko rigorozno poskušam pokazati, da so pogoji, ki jih PUS- in predvsem v sodobnosti PES-gibanja poskušajo postaviti kot zadostne za oblikovanje "znanstvene" javnosti – torej strokovna

kompetentnost in sodelovanje v raziskovanju, samo potrebeni pogoji. V svetu dobro poznano deležništvo gradi na ideji o državljanu, ki je sposoben izvajanja eksperimentalnih znanstvenih praks, nasprotno pa dogovarjanje o skupnem dobrem sloni predvsem na izgradnji skupne slike sveta, ki bo nadgradila ekspertno definicijo realnosti. Vsiljevanje različnih oblik sodelovanja v obliki državljanskih skupin, porot, etičnih komisij in fokusnih skupin se izogiba temeljni ideji, da se v javnosti srečajo interesno in strokovno močno polarizirane skupine in posamezniki. Kar pa še vseeno ne pomeni, da presojanje o družbenih učinkih znanosti in tehnologije ne zahteva truda, informacij ter izmenjave mnenj z eksperti. Razhanjanja v pogledih se tičejo predvsem zadostnih in potrebnih pogojev vzpostavljanja javnosti (kot sfere in kot publike).

Demokratičen dogovor o urejanju posledic znanstvenega raziskovanja je možen takrat, ko zgornje štiri oblike odnosov nadgradimo s sfero, ki je izpraznjena politične in ekonomske moči, torej sfere, ki jo napolni še razprava o uporabi moči. Sedanji zagovor deležniške demokracije prav tako kot participacija osamljenih državljanov skriva past razvoja k reprezentativni javnosti kot načinu predstavljanja že doseženih dogovorov o uresničevanju interesov tistih, ki so zaradi svojega privilegiranega položaja vključeni v raziskovanje in aplikacijo njegovih rezultatov. Če se interesne centre skupaj z deležniki ne pozove k transparentnosti njihovega delovanja, ti pa so se z različnimi strategijami sposobni izogniti odgovorom, obstaja velika verjetnost, da se, prvič, oblikujejo ločene deležniške interesne "javnosti", med katerimi ni pretoka informacij, komunikacijski kanali pa so prekinjeni ali skupinam in posameznikom brez zadostne količine socio-ekonomskega virov nedostopni. Javna sfera se fragmentira, tvorijo se zaprte diskurzivne skupnosti, njihovimi člani pa zaradi različnih interesov, interpretacij dejstev ali neinformiranosti med seboj ne zmorejo doseči sporazuma o smereh in upravljanju posledic znanstvenega in tehnološkega raziskovanja. Drugo, mogoče še bolj zaskrbljujoče tveganje pa je, da se odločitve o usmerjanju produkcije znanja – in še bolj o razvoju in uporabi tehnologij – sprejemajo v zasebni sferi, javno pa se te politike predstavljajo kot doprinos k blaginji vseh državljanov. V tem primeru se že zaradi liberalnih načel deregulacije ekonomskega sektorja zmanjša možnost sodelovanja javnosti pri nadzoru nad tehnologijami. Tretje tveganje pa izhaja iz odnosa med znanostjo in političnim sistemom, kjer si slednji prisvoji kompetence odločanja o raziskovalnih politikah. V obeh zadnjih primerih tveganj je pasivna javnost izključena iz načrtovanja politik, ki regulirajo uporabo tehnologije, obenem pa znanost izgublja svojo avtonomijo. V načrtovanje se lahko vključujejo samo politične in ekonomske elite, s čimer se odpravlja celo pokroviteljstvo zgodnjega PUS-gibanja.

FOUR FORMS OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE PUBLIC, CITIZENS AND SCIENCE: FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE SCIENTIFIC PUBLICNESS TOWARDS THE ENGAGEMENT OF CITIZENS IN THE PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE

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SUMMARY

In this paper, the author argues that in the early theories and movements for Public Understanding of Science the alienation of the public from science was a result of the neglect of the political dimension of publicness. What is more, a similar risk has been noted in the latest models of Public Engagement in Science. Political dimension denotes the effective freedom of public communication in concordance with socio-political knowledge (rationality), in other words, it denotes conditions for influencing the political system, which is the only one that has the power to regulate the consequences of research and the technological application of its results into society. Chiefly, the public is without such power. In earlier models a passive role was ascribed to the public which was conceptualised according to the "science-centred" view, and communication was uni-directional. Conception of the public has been founded on the idea of the irrationality and incompetence of the public. In this way the restoration of conditions for public participation in the decisions concerning the direction of scientific progress has been precluded, whereas communication of science took over the traits of representative publicness. Newer theories try to exceed the widening gap between science and the public with ideas which accentuate the engagement of citizens-stakeholders in scientific production; however, conceptualisations of the stakeholdership and of publicness cannot be equalised. The author has applied the concept of stakeholdership to the modified conditions of the production of knowledge, at which researchers of various disciplines and organisations cooperate. These new conditions heighten the complexity of the research environment, whereas research networks continually transform themselves in order to satisfy the changing requirements for the division of labour. At the cross-section of two different modes of participation of citizens and the interventions of the political and economic system in the sphere of science, four possible forms of relationships between citizens and science are established which cannot functionally provide a substitute for the relationship between science and the critical public. For these forms, which are based on cognitive and experimental knowledge, the public sphere based on socio-political knowledge is offered as a complement which should, on the one hand, prevent the instrumentalisation of science, and on the other hand prevent the interests of stakeholders from prevailing in the public sphere.

Key words: public understanding of science, public, science, participation, stakeholdership

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USPEŠNI JAVNI ODPRTI PROSTORI

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IZVLEČEK

Prispevek obravnava problematiko načrtovanja, oblikovanja in upravljanja javnih odprtih prostorov z vidika potreb in priložnosti za različne dejavnosti oziroma uporabe teh prostorov. V metodološkem smislu se opira na pristop, utemeljen v ekološki psihologiji: opazovanje in vedenjski zemljevidi (observation and behaviour mapping), ki poleg tega, da omogoča nabor informacij o vrstah dejavnosti, o tem, kdo so tisti, ki so vanje vključeni, kje v prostoru se zadržujejo in kako dolgo, pomeni metodo posrednega vključevanja javnosti v načrtovalsko-oblikovalski proces. Primeri se nanašajo na izbrane javne mestne odprte prostore evropskih mest, Edinburg, Velika Britanija in Ljubljana, Slovenija ter Izola, Slovenija. Predstavljena metoda, s katero je mogoče meriti dinamiko vzorcev uporabe prostora, je še posebej lahko zanimiva in aktualna za primorska mesta in naselja, v katerih se zaradi turizma vrsta in dinamika vzorcev uporabnikov javnih odprtih prostorov skozi vse leto spreminja in doseže specifične oblike prav v poletnih mesecih.

Ključne besede: urbanistično oblikovanje, vedenjski zemljevidi, GIS, vključevanje javnosti, privatizacija

SPAzi PUBBLICI APERTI – ESEMPI DI SUCCESSO

SINTESI

L'articolo affronta la problematica della progettazione, della costruzione e della gestione degli spazi pubblici aperti prendendo come spunto le necessità e le opportunità che offre per varie attività ovvero l'utilizzo di questi spazi. Dal punto di vista metodologico parte dai rilievi della psicologia ecologica: osservazione e mappa del comportamento (observation and behaviour mapping) che oltre ad assicurare una vasta gamma di informazioni sulla tipologia delle attività, sui soggetti coinvolti, sui luoghi dello spazio pubblico in cui questi soggetti si fermano e quanto a lungo, rappresenta il metodo attraverso il quale il pubblico viene indirettamente coinvolto nel processo di progettazione e costruzione. I casi studio scelti riguardano spazi pubblici urbani aperti di città europee quali Edinburgo, Gran Bretagna e Lubiana, Slovenia nonché Isola, Slovenia. Il metodo illustrato ci permette di misurare la dinamica dei modelli di utilizzo dello spazio ed è particolarmente attuale in riferimento alle città e agli abitati del Litorale dove per ragioni legate al turismo la tipologia e la dinamica del modello di utente dello spazio pubblico aperto muta lungo tutto l'arco dell'anno, per assumere proprio nei mesi estivi forme specifiche.

Parole chiave: progettazione urbanistica, mappa del comportamento, GIS, coinvolgimento del pubblico, privatizzazione

UVOD

Članek obravnava izključno javne odprte prostore. V splošnem so to prostori med grajenim tkivom mesta oziroma naselja, ki so dostopni vsem uporabnikom. Čeprav so po značaju, obliki in funkciji lahko zelo različni, je vsem skupno, da vsebujejo potrebitno podporno infrastrukturo, ki omogoča in podpira raznovrstno rabo. To so na primer poti, klopi ali drugi elementi, namenjeni posadanju, tlakovane površine, zelenice in vegetacijo. Javni odprti prostori kot tudi javni prostori na splošno so predmet razprav številnih disciplin od različnih družboslovnih strok, kot so sociologija, psihologija in antropologija, do praktičnih disciplin, kot je na primer načrtovanje in urejanje prostora. To priča o kompleksni naravi javnih odprtih prostorov in o tem, da je zanje težko najti kratko, jedrnato in enopomensko definicijo.

Javni odprti prostori so ena ključnih tvornih sestavin mest in so nosilci različnih pomenov in funkcij: členitvenih glede na strukturo, programskih glede na uporabnike in kulturnih glede na simboliko. Te se med sabo običajno prepletajo in dopolnjujejo. Čeprav se javni odprti prostori pojavljo neločljivo s samim nastankom mest oziroma naselij in so neizpodbitno povezani z javnim življenjem skupnosti, so vzgibi in razlogi za njihov nastanek lahko različni. Eni nastanejo kot rezultat skrbnega načrtovanja z jasnim namenom, drugi pa neformalno, kot posledica postopnega poseganja družbe ali njenih uporabniških skupin v določen prostor, kjer je prostor le fizični okvir družbenega dogajanja.

Za sodobne vidike o vlogi in pomenu javnih odprtih prostorov je poleg poznavanja današnje družbe, ki jo predvsem v mestih zaznamujejo povečane migracije, socialna razslojenost in vedno pestrejša sestava prebivalstva različnih kultur in etničnih pripadnosti, hkrati pomembno osvetliti ključne premike v urbanističnem načrtovanju zadnjih desetletij. V šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja so v ospredje stopile teme o pomembnosti javnih prostorov kot sestavin mestne krajine za povečanje kakovosti bivanja (Jacobs, 1961). V osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja je tematika, vezana na javni prostor, ponovno postala zelo aktualna in ključna tema strategij urbanih prenov. V Evropi, na primer, nekaj najvidnejših in vplivnih primerov predstavljajo prenove in številni novi parki in trgi v Barceloni in Parizu, intenzivno vračanje mestnih središč pešcem in kolesarjem na Danskem (Gehl, 1987), celostne prenove velikih industrijskih mest, kot je na primer Birmingham v Veliki Britaniji, prenove obvodnih industrijskih in pristaniških območij, prav tako v Veliki Britaniji (na primer Liverpool), pa tudi

na Nizozemskem (Amsterdam), v Nemčiji (Hamburg) in drugod. Oživljjanje obvodnih delov mest je doživelno velik razmah tudi v ZDA, predvsem na vzhodni obali, še posebno ob podpori gibanja za *novi urbanizem*¹ v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja.

Tudi v slovenskih obalnih mestih v zadnjem času intenzivneje pristopajo k izboljševanju in oživljjanju javnih odprtih prostorov. Zgovorni so predvsem številni natečaji (ZAPS, 2006; ZAPS, 2007) ipd. Poleg tega intenzivno urejajo tudi obalne sprehajalne poti, od 'lungo-mare', namenjene pešcem (na primer od Pirana do Fiese), do kolesarskih povezav in urejenih promenadnih cest, kjer se motoriziran promet podreja drugim nemotoriziranim uporabnikom, kot so pešci, kolesarji, rollerji ipd. (na primer Pristaniška ulica v Kopru).

Povečano zanimanje za urejanje javnih prostorov pomeni pomemben preskok v razmišljanju o prostorski kulturi in kakovosti bivanja. Pri tem je ključnega pomena, da se vsi, tako uporabniki kot načrtovalci in tisti, ki sodelujejo v procesih odločanja in upravljanja, zavedajo večplastne vloge in pomena javnih prostorov. Goličnik (2008, 6) poudarja, da "Upoštevaje različne vloge odprtega prostora v strukturi in vsakdanjem življenju naselja morajo biti ti prostori oblikovani z enako pozornostjo do izražanja oblikovnih in vizualnih kvalitet kot s pozornostjo do dejanskih rab prostora in s tem povezanih doživljajskih vrednosti prostora. Prevelik poudarek na izraznih in vizualnih lastnostih prostora na račun funkcionalne šibkosti lahko, kljub dobri lokaciji, vodi do neuravnotežene rabe in v skrajnih primerih do opuščenosti in zanemarjenosti prostora".

Še posebej pri iskanju kazalcev in vrednot kakovosti bivanja je nujno na javni prostor gledati z različnih uporabniško prostorskih vidikov hkrati in ga razumeti kot medsebojen proces med *javnim* (javnostjo – uporabniki) in *prostором* (fizičnim okoljem, okoljem dogodkov). Augé (1992) opisuje kakovost odnosa med uporabnikom in prostorom z motom lepota, koristnost in ugodje ter varnost. Carr et al. (1992) označujejo dober uporabniško prostorski odnos za cilj, h kateremu je treba težiti tako z vidika načrtovanja kot tudi upravljanja in urejanja javnih prostorov. V tej luči prepozna dober javni prostor kot tistega, ki je demokratičen, odziven in osmišljen (Carr et al., 1992).

Javni prostori so *demokratični*, kadar so dostopni vsem skupinam in omogočajo tako prostost delovanja kot začasno prisvajanje in nadzor. Demokratični javni prostor lahko daje občutek nadzora in moči, saj je omejen zgolj z enakimi pravicami drugih. Javni prostori so *odzivni*, če izpolnjujejo raznovrstne potrebe svojih različnih uporabnikov. *Osmišljeni* pa so, če ustreza

¹ *Novi urbanizem* je gibanje za urbanistično načrtovanje in oblikovanje, ki se zavzema za pešcem in nemotoriziranim uporabnikom prijazne soseske oz. mesta in naselja. Osnovni principi so podani na listini novega urbanizma, osnovani leta 1993 na kongresu novega urbanizma v ZDA (glej Charter, 1993).

osnovnim človeškim potrebam, kot so udobje, sprostitev, zaposlitev in raziskovanje, in če pri tem varujejo pravice svojih uporabnikov in jim omogočajo povezave s fizičnim in družbenim okoljem (Carr et al., 1992). Omenjene lastnosti se med sabo prepletajo. Naravo javnega prostora opisujejo in označujejo na precej splošni ravni, vendar že nakazujejo fizične, zaznavne, simbolne in uporabniško programske razsežnosti javnih prostorov in s tem opozorijo na potrebo po večplastni in kompleksni definiciji javnih prostorov.

Definicije javnega prostora najpogosteje izhajajo iz stališča, da je javno nasprotje zasebnega. Najkompleksnejše definicije navadno določajo javni odprt prostor z vsaj treh vidikov: struktурno-morfološkega, uporabniškega in lastniškega. Madanipour poda definicijo, "da je za javne prostore mest pravzaprav povsod in v različnih obdobjih značilno, da so zunaj dosega kontrole posameznikov ali manjših skupnosti, da pa vendarle igrajo pomembno posredniško in povezovalno vlogo med zasebnimi prostori. Služijo raznovrstnim funkcijam in so nosilci različnih simbolnih vrednosti. Javni odprt prostori so tako navadno večnamenski prostori različnih oblik, ki v strukturnem in programske smislu posredujejo med zasebnimi prostori." (Madanipour, 2003, 141). Carr et al. (1992) definirajo javni prostor kot "odprt, javnosti dostopen kraj, kjer se ljudje v skupinah ali posameč zadržujejo zaradi različnih dejavnosti. Javni mestni prostori lahko zavzamejo različne oblike, od trgov, nakučovalnih središč do otroških igrišč. Lahko so v javni lasti in upravljanju ali pa v zasebni, vendar odprt za javnost." (Carr et al., 1992, 50). Vsem definicijam je skupno, da javni odprt prostor obravnavajo celovito in da poudarjajo večplastnost javnega prostora in poleg fizičnih značilnosti tudi vidike dostopnosti, razpoložljivosti in svobode uporabe.

Javni odprt prostori in njihova raba so kompleksen pojav. Na utrip prostora vplivajo tako prostorski kot človeški dejavniki. Razlogi in način vključevanja posameznikov in skupin v odprte prostore in s tem povezana pravila rabe, programske, morfološke in strukturne značilnosti prostora, življenjsko obdobje uporabnikov in njihov socialni status vplivajo na uspešnost prostora. Carr et al. (1992) poudarjajo, da je zato pri iskanju (proto)tipov javnih odprtih prostorov treba biti previden, saj razlike v prostorskem in družbenem kontekstu pogosto preglasijo očitne podobnosti tipološko enakih prostorov, in da je zato v primerjavi s poznavanjem zgledov iz preteklosti mnogo pomembnejše neposredno opazovanje dogajanja. Podobno Bechtel et al. (1987) poudarjajo, da je pozornost treba usmeriti na skupnost, ki jo sestavljajo posamezniki z različnimi značilnostmi in potrebami v določenem prostoru.

Canter (1977) v teoriji o psihologiji prostora definira, da je prostor rezultat odnosov med aktivnostmi, pojmovanji in fizičnimi lastnostmi prostora. Ravno takšen koncept prostora in takšno razumevanje je podlaga dveh

ključnih doktrin okoljske psihologije, ki sta izjemnega pomena za načrtovanje prostora. To sta: *okoljski posibilizem* in *okoljski probabilizem*. Posibilizem zagovarja stališče, da okolje z ustreznimi nastavki daje možnosti za posamezne aktivnosti, vendar uporabniku dopušča izbiro. Probabilizem pa je doktrina, ki zagovarja, da so v določenem okolju ene dejavnosti bolj verjetne od drugih, vendar tudi ne absolutno določene. Goličnik (2005; 2006) opozarja na to, da se je na poti k dobri in uspešni načrtovalski praksi pomembno zavedati, da načrtovalci in oblikovalci ustvarjajo zgolj potencialna okolja, prostore priložnosti, in da uporabniki ustvarjajo učinkovita okolja, torej prostore dejanskih (iz)rab in uresničenih priložnosti. Nadalje poudari potrebo po ponazarjanju prostorskih razsežnosti rab in poznavanju potencialnih vedenjskih vzorcev v prostorih in tako o njihovi fizični zgradbi in programski ponudbi govori v strukturnem jeziku uporabniških (vedenjskih) vzorcev zasedbe prostrov.

MATERIALI IN METODE

Na področju raziskovanja okolja in dejavnosti ljudi v njem so opazovanje, kartiranje opaženih vedenj in vedenjski zemljevidi neločljiva enota. Opazovanje je raziskovalna metoda dela, medtem ko je kartiranje način zapisa opazovanj. Kartiranje vedenj oziroma dejavnosti v prostoru so razvili Ittelson et al. (1970). Definirali so ga kot osnovno tehniko za preučevanje okoljskih vplivov na vedenje, pri čemer fiziognomijo okolja in vedenje obravnavajo kot povezani entiteti v času in prostoru.

Opazovanje je metoda, ki jo uporabljamo za poznavanje in razumevanje dogajanja v prostoru. Zbira dokaze in pojasnjuje, kaj posamezniki in skupine v določenem prostoru počnejo, kako ga razumejo, upoštevajo in uporabljajo. Osnovni namen opazovanja je izluščiti ključna vprašanja in natančneje opredeliti problem. Opazovanje je tako način oziroma orodje za pridobivanje jasnejše predstave o 'življenju' izbranega prostora. Namenjeno je lahko orientaciji ali kot izhodišče za raziskovanje. Rezultati se navadno nanašajo na prostorske zmogljivosti, všečnost prostora, dejavnosti v njem, ciklične spremembe in prikrite okoljske probleme ali na uspešnost prostora, opredeljenega na primer kot nerabljeni prostor, prostor pogoste in izrazite rabe, nevarna območja ipd.

Celotna metoda (opazovanje in kartiranje vedenj) je kompleksen proces, v katerem se opazovanje in tehnike zapisa prepletejo v kompaktno celoto. Z vidika priprav na opazovanje in zapisovanje opažanj so pomembne stopnje predstavljene metode naslednje:

- skrbno izvedeno uvodno preiskovanje prostora (obisk prostora, priprava kartografskega gradiva),
- določitev in utemeljitev (pod)območij opazovanega prostora in

- odločitev o izbiri najprimernejše tehnike kartiranja.

Vedenjski zemljevid je torej instrument za zapis opazovanj in tudi končni rezultat opazovanj. Da sta kontrola in ponovitev procesa mogoči, so potrebne izpolnitve določenih pogojev. Opazovalec ali skupina opazovalcev mora pred začetkom opazovanj:

- priskrbeti grafični prikaz opazovanega območja v ustreznem merilu,
- jasno definirati parametre in vrsto vedenj, ki bodo opazovani, šteti, opisani ali upodobljeni,
- izdelati urnik ponavljanja opazovanj in zapisa podatkov,
- sistematično organizirati postopek in
- izdelati kodirni sistem, ki kar se da olajša zapis opazovanj.

Z vidika metode opazovanj in zapisovanj podatkov v obliki vedenjskih zemljevidov se ta prispevek nanaša na opazovanja, ki so bila opravljena v maju 2002 (Edinburg) in maju 2003 (Ljubljana). Mesec maj je bil izbran zato, ker je to obdobje, v katerem je v obeh mestih vreme zelo ugodno za zadrževanje na prostem. Vzorec je obsegal sedemnajst javnih mestnih odprtih prostorov, kot so trgi in parki: devet v Edinburgu in osem v Ljubljani. Prostori so bili opazovani v različnih delih dneva (dopoldne 10:00–12:00, zgodaj popoldne 12:00–14:00, popoldne 14:00–16:00 in pozno popoldne 16:00–19:00) in tedna (delavnik, konec tedna). Prostor, ki ga je bilo mogoče zajeti z enim pogledom, je bil določen kot osnovna opazovana enota in je bil opazovan deset minut. Pri trgih je bila opazovana enota pogosto kar trg sam. Prostori širših razsežnosti, parki ali večji trgi, pa so bili razdeljeni na podenote, določene tako, da je bilo območje podenote mogoče opazovati z enim pogledom. Za vsako pričakovano dejavnost je bil vnaprej izdelan simbol, ki je bil ob ustreznem opažanju narisani na karto v merilu 1:1000. Poleg vrste dejavnosti so bili na vsako karto zabeleženi tudi podatki o starosti uporabnika (starostni razred), času zadrževanja v prostoru, smeri gibanja po prostoru in podatki o vremenskih okoliščinah. V Edinburgu je bilo opravljenih 105 opazovanj, v Ljubljani pa 106.

V raziskavi je bilo pomembno predvsem, kako ljudje uporabljajo manj pomensko določene prostore in kako se v parkih ali na trgih sooblikujejo in razvijajo spontane ali neformalne rabe prostorov. Na primer otroško igrišče in športna igrišča v Tivoliju ali terase z gostinsko ponudbo na trgih, zato niso bili podrobneje obravnavani. Poudarek je bil na opazovanju prostorov kot takih, to je njihovih poti, ploščadi, stopnic, zelenic in drugih oblikovanih motivov.

Čeprav uporaba metode opazovanj in kartiranj vedenj zahteva vnaprej izdelan časovni načrt opazovanj, je pomembno, da ta vendarle ostane prilagodljiv, tako da omogoči zajetje najzanimivejših, najpomembnejših in najbogatejših podatkov obravnavanega območja. Že prvih nekaj opazovanj je opozorilo na razlike v in-

tenzivnosti in pogostosti dogajanja ter na razlike v raznovrstnosti uporabnikov med opazovanimi prostori. V izbranem časovnem okviru so bili zato prostori s pestrejšo in intenzivnejšo rabo pogosteje opazovani, manj pa prostori s splošno manjšo dinamiko dogajanja in pretežno običajnimi dejavnostmi, kot so hoja, vožnja s kolesom, posedanje in ustavljanje ter čakanje. Zbrani podatki so reprezentativni, ker so bila opazovanja ponavljana v različnih dnevih, delih dneva in vremenskih razmerah.

REZULTATI

Vedenje oziroma izvajanje dejavnosti v prostoru je vedno v časovnem razmerju do prostora in do nosilca dogajanja, uporabnika, v tem prostoru. Glede na dejavnost in čas so značilne situacije: stalno prisoten v prostoru, občasno prisoten v prostoru in v prehodu čez prostor. Glede na dejavnost in uporabnika pa so značilna naslednja vključevanja v dejavnost: pasivno, izmenično pasivno-aktivno in aktivno. Upoštevanje obeh vidikov, dejavnost in čas ter dejavnost in uporabnik hkrati, celovito opisuje prisotnost in izvajane dejavnosti v prostorih in opredeli naravo vključenosti dejavnosti v prostoru. Tako nastane devet dvorazsežnih kategorij opisov dejavnosti v prostorih. Vsaka hkrati opisuje enega od načinov vključitve v dejavnost kot tudi enega od načinov vrste prisotnosti v prostoru. Vsi tako nastali pari v dejanskih situacijah običajno niso enakomerno zastopani, vendar so teoretično mogoči.

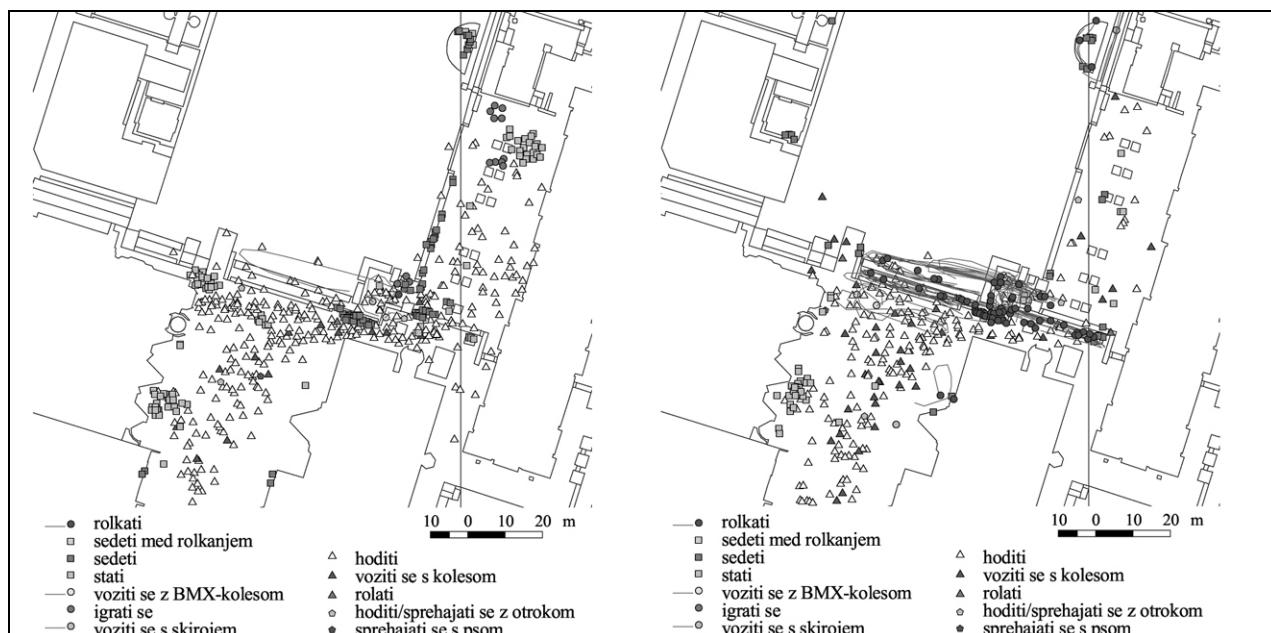
V nadaljevanju so podrobneje obravnavane tri najosnovnejše in najpogostejše kombinacije narave vključenosti dejavnosti v prostoru: *biti v aktivnem prehodu čez prostor*, kot na primer hoditi ali voziti se s kolesom; *se aktivno dlje zadrževati v prostoru*, kot na primer žogati se, igrati ali rolkati; in *se dlje zadrževati v prostoru, vendar pasivno*, kot na primer sedeti ali ležati.

Na primeru Ljubljane je na primer za Tivoli in Trg republike značilen precej uravnotežen odnos med vsemi tremi načini vključevanja (prvi zbirni stolpec v Tabeli 1). Drugi dve skupini predstavljata (drugi in tretji zbirni stolpec) prostore, v katerih je prisotnost aktivnih in ves čas prisotnih dejavnosti, kot sta na primer igra in rolkanje, precej nizka. V parku Zvezda, na Dvornem in Mestnem trgu je število tistih dejavnosti, ki označujejo dogajanje v prehodu (hoditi, kolesariti) in ves čas prisotnih pasivnih dejavnosti (sedeti, stati) številno in precej uravnoteženo. V Argentinskem parku, na Plečnikovem in Prešernovem trgu pa je dejavnosti v prehodu in ves čas prisotnih pasivnih dejavnosti tudi precej, vendar je njihovo medsebojno razmerje neuravnoteženo. Čeprav so si prostori podobni glede na nekatere splošne značilnosti vključevanja dejavnosti in njihova medsebojna razmerja, se hkrati med sabo razlikujejo glede na število različnih vrst opaženih dejavnosti in njihovo pogostost.

Tabela 1: Število dejavnosti, opaženih v celotnem opazovalnem obdobju v vseh opazovanih prostorih v Ljubljani (maj 2003) in Edinburgu (2002), razvrščene glede na splošno naravo vključenosti v prostor (Goličnik, 2005, 80).

Table 1: The number of activities observed during the entire observation period in all observed spaces in Ljubljana (May 2003) and Edinburgh (2002), arranged according to their general nature of inclusion into space (Goličnik, 2005, 80).

prostor	park Tivoli	park The Meadows	Princes Street Gardens	Trg republike	Trg Bristo Square	Trg Festival Square	Kongresni trg	Dvorni trg	Ulični trg Royal Mile	Trg Hunter Square	Trg Conference Square	Mestni trg	Argentinski park	Trg Usher Hall Square	Plečnikov trg	Prešernov trg	Trg Grassmarket	
vključenost																		
Aktiven v prehodu	12	9	6	5	4	5	6	7	4	3	4	5	8	6	7	9	6	
Pasiven in prisoten	11	6	6	4	5	5	7	7	4	5	4	5	4	4	4	5	4	
Aktiven in prisoten	9	10	5	5	3	3	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1			
kategorija	vse vrste dejavnosti enakomerno razporjene										majhna udeležba aktivnih stalno prisotnih, vendar uravnotežene pasivne in aktivne rabe v prehajanju				majhna udeležba aktivnih stalno prisotnih, neuravnotežene pasivne in aktivne rabe v prehajanju			



Sl. 1: Zbirne karte uporabe prostora v dopoldanskem (levo) in popoldanskem (desno) času na Trgu republike v Ljubljani (Goličnik, 2006, 29).

Fig. 1: Assembled behavioural maps of Trg republike square in Ljubljana in the morning (left) and the afternoon (right) (Goličnik, 2006, 29).

Kako pogosto se določena raba pojavlja v nekem prostoru, je le eden od vidikov primernosti prostora za rabo. Za usmeritve in pomoč v načrtovalski praksi so pomembni natančnejše analize in odgovori na vprašanja, kje, v katerih in kakšnih delih prostorov se te različne rabe dogajajo in v kakšnem medsebojnem časovno-prostorskem kontekstu. Redko opažene dejavnosti še posebej opozarjajo na to, da določene prostorske členitve in konfiguracije bodisi dobro spodbujajo neko rabo bodisi so najboljši približek ustreznega prostora za rabo, ki poskuša najti možnosti za uresničevanje v danih okoliščinah.

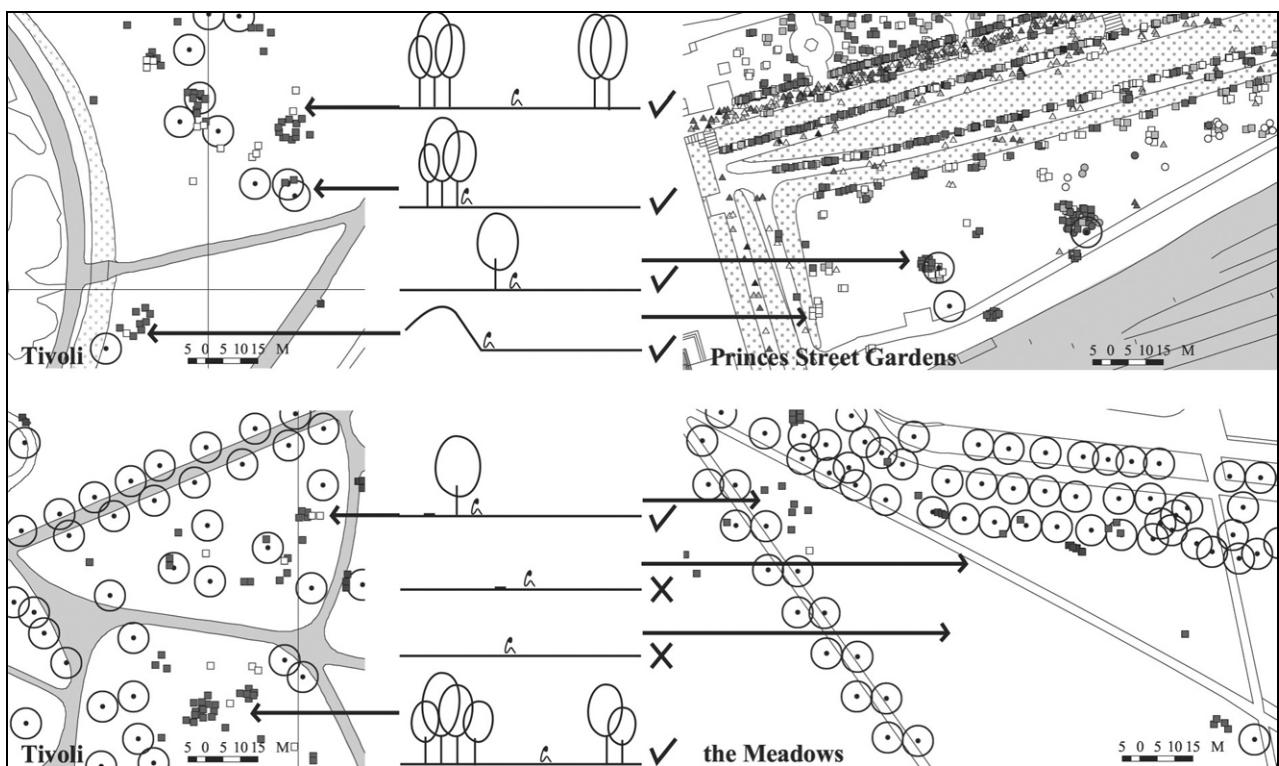
Analize vedenjskih vzorcev, zabeleženih na podlagi opazovanj na Trgu republike (Sl. 1), so pokazale, da je najbolj členjen, razgiban, a hkrati najožji del trga, to je območje med vzdolžnima ploščadma in parkiriščem, najintenzivneje v rabi in da je prizorišče najbolj raznovrstnih aktivnosti na celotnem trgu. V dopoldanskem času so bili na tem delu trga najpogosteje opaženi pešci in kolesarji, občasno tudi skupine šolskih otrok, ki so sedeli pod drogovi za zastave in na stopnicah med členitvenimi zidci in koriti za vegetacijo ali pa so se med temi prostorskimi elementi lovili in igrali iztevanke. Zelo redko so bili v dopoldanskih in zgodnjih popoldanskih urah opaženi rolkarji, bmx-kolesarji in tisti s skiroji. Tovrstni uporabniki so se ob drugih uporabnikih na trgu pogosto pojavili v popoldanskem času.

Goličnik (2005) ugotavlja, da na Trgu republike v Ljubljani in na trgu Bristo Square v Edinburgu poleg običajnih vsakodnevnih dogajanj, kot so hoja mimo ali skozi trg, sedenje, čakanje in ustavljanje ter kolesarjenje, precejšen delež uporabnikov predstavlja rolkarji. N oben trg ni bil načrtovan kot prostor rolnanja, vendar oba primera pokažeta, da so stopnice, ki se iztečejo v ravne ploščadi, nujne prostorske sestavine, ki privabijo tovrstne uporabnike. Čeprav so stopnice bistvena sestavina, ki omogoči in zagotovi prostor dogodka, njihova prisotnost še ne zagotavlja optimalne rabe prostora. Nanje pripete ploščadi so ključnega pomena pri dejanski rabi. Rolkarji kombinacijo stopnic in ploščadi uporabljajo na dva načina. Najnižji stopnici se v lahnem loku približujejo vzdolž, skočijo nanjo, po njej drsijo in odskočijo; ali pa se najvišji stopnici niza, navadno visokega le nekaj stopnic, približujejo pravokotno, ga preskočijo in pristanejo na ploščadi, v katero se izteče.

Za parke so rezultati iz opazovanj in beleženj vedenj pokazali, da so večji mestni parki v glavnem v rabi za počitek in sprostitev. Pasivne rabe, kot je sedenje na klopi, so privlačne za mlade in starejše, za posameznike in skupine. Sedenje in/ali ležanje prosto v travi pa sta priljubljeni vrsti uporabe pri mlajših generacijah, še

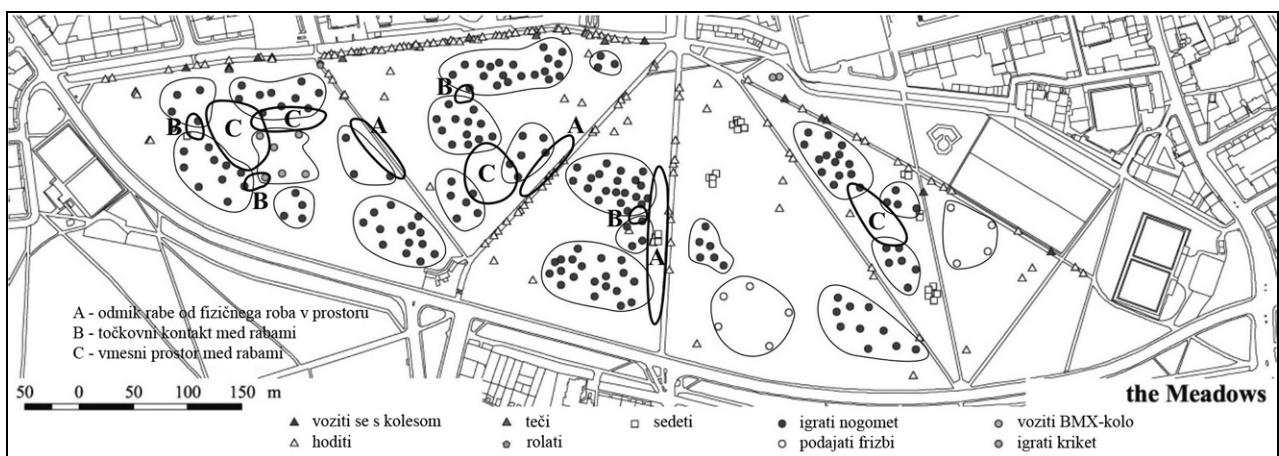
posebej najstnikih, mlajših odraslih ter družinah z otroki. Analiza vseh mestnih parkov – Tivolija (Ljubljana) ter The Meadows in The Princes Street Gardens (Edinburg) – so pokazale, da imajo različne vrste prostorskih definicij in kombinacij prostorskih sestavin, kot so poti, drevoredi, gruče dreves ali posamična drevesa, pomembne in različne vloge pri razporeditvi rab, kot sta na primer sedenje in ležanje v travi (Sl. 2). Goličnik (2006) povzema, da poln, neprosojen rob, kot na primer zid, gosta ograja ali utrjen nasip, pogosto poraja pasivno rabo neposredno ob prehodu roba v zelenico. Prosojni robovi, kot na primer parkovne poti z drevoredi, porajo sedenje v 5- do 15-metrski oddaljenosti od roba proti notranjosti zelenice, odvisno od intenzivnosti rabe poti, stopnje prosojnosti roba in od celotne površine zelenice. Pomembna vplivna prostorska sestavina so tudi križišča oziroma vogali, v katerih se na podobnih oddaljenostih prav tako običajno začne pasivna raba. Podatki tudi kažejo, da je minimalna razdalja med posamezniki ali skupinami, ki prosto posedajo v travi, 4 metre (Goličnik in Ward Thompson, 2010). Ta razdalja še zagotavlja udobnost in navaja na zagotavljanje zasebnosti v javnem odprttem prostoru (Hall, 1966).

Pomembnost prostorske členitve pokaže tudi, da predvsem v prostorih z malo različnimi elementi prostorske členitve ni le fizično-prostorska členitev tista, ki usmerja uporabnike in poraja razporeditev rab v prostoru, temveč tudi navzočnost drugih uporabnikov (Sl. 3). Na ta način v glavnem večje skupine aktivnih uporabnikov členijo prostor ter oblikujejo prostore za svoje potrebe in za zasedbo drugih. Pri tem je pomembno prepozнатi vlogo praznin med rabami. To so vmesne proste cone med dejavnostmi, ki izražajo učinkovito razporeditev in sobivanje rab v prostorih ter tako opozarjajo na zmogljivost prostorov za rabo. Zasedbe prostora se ne razlikujejo le po površini, ki jo potrebujejo za aktivno rabo, temveč so raznovrstne tudi glede na oblike, ki jih zavzamejo v prostoru in po kompaktnosti. Slednje se navezuje na število ljudi, ki je vključeno v določeno dejavnost na območju rabe in je v tesni povezavi z vrsto dejavnosti. Igra nogometna navadno predstavlja precej strnjeno skupino, medtem ko je podajanje frizbija primer bolj razpršene skupine. Za ilustracijo – povzeto po Goličnik (2005; 2006) – za neformalno igro nogometna (odrasti, 15–20 oseb) je potreben podolgovat prostor, velikosti 3000 – 5000 m². Za manjše skupine, vključene v igre z žogo, zadostuje do 3000 m² prostora. V nasprotju s prostorom, potrebnim za podajanje frizbija, ki je lahko zelo ozek, je za take aktivne igre primerno, da daljša dimenzija take površine ne presega dvojne dolžine povprečne širine prostora igre.



Sl. 2: Različne prostorske kakovosti parkovnih ureditev in njihov prispevek k pasivni rabi, kot sta sedenje in ležanje (Goličnik, 2006, 103).

Fig. 2: Different spatial qualities of park arrangements and their contribution to passive uses like sitting and lying (Goličnik, 2006, 103).



Sl. 3: Prikaz različnih vrst praznin med rabami ter med njimi in fizičnimi strukturami okolja (Goličnik, 2006, 118).
Fig. 3: An illustration of different types of voids between uses and between them and physical environment (Goličnik, 2006, 118).

Poleg omenjenega so rezultati iz opazovanj tudi pokazali, da so ženske pri igrah z žogo redkeje udeležene. Pogosteje sedijo in opazujejo taka dogajanja. Kot aktivne uporabnice so vključene v dejavnosti v prehodu čez prostor, kot na primer potiskanje otroškega vozička, sprehajanje z otrokom ali tek. Tivoli (Ljubljana) in The Meadows (Edinburg) sta pomembni povezavi med mestnim središčem in različnimi drugimi deli mesta, zato sta hoja skozenj ter vožnja s kolesom in/ali z rollerji (Tivoli) zelo pogosti za moške in ženske ter za vse starostne skupine.

RAZPRAVA

Metoda opazovanj in vedenjskih zemljevidov je pri obravnavanju urbanih prostorov uporabna z več vidikov in na več načinov. Vsekakor je ključno, da pomaga odčitati dejansko stanje in je zato uporabna kot orodje za posnetek stanja pred spremembami (načrtovanimi ali spontanimi) in po njih oziroma kot orodje za monitoring, na podlagi katerega je mogoče usmerjati spremembe. Bugarič (2008) v raziskavi Mesto Otok, mestno središče Izole med drugim obravnava tudi z uporabniškega vidika (Sl. 4 in 5). Kljub temu da raziskava poda le nekaj pilotnih vaj in preveritev uporabe metode opazovanj in vedenjskih zemljevidov, pomeni pomembno osnovo za določanje uspešnosti javnih odprtih prostorov in za izgradnjo omrežja javnih prostorov Izole. Zakaj?

Sestavine in lastnosti javnega prostora, ki so se izkazale kot ključne za njegovo opredelitev (obravnavane v uvodnem poglavju tega prispevka), kot na primer dostopnost in upravičenost do zasedbe prostora, se odražajo tudi v stopnji uspešnosti prostora. Newyorška nevladna organizacija Project for Public Spaces (2005) za uspešen javni odprt prostor prepozna štiri ključne kvalitete: dostopnost, dejavnosti, udobje in druženje. Čeprav je možnost dostopa (v najširšem pomenu besede) ključna za uporabo javnega prostora, ni zadostna. Goličnik (2005) poudarja, da je javni prostor kompleksna entiteta, ki jo določa medsebojni dvostranski proces med 'javnim' (uporabniki) in 'prostorum' (fizičnimi in programskimi lastnostmi lokacije).

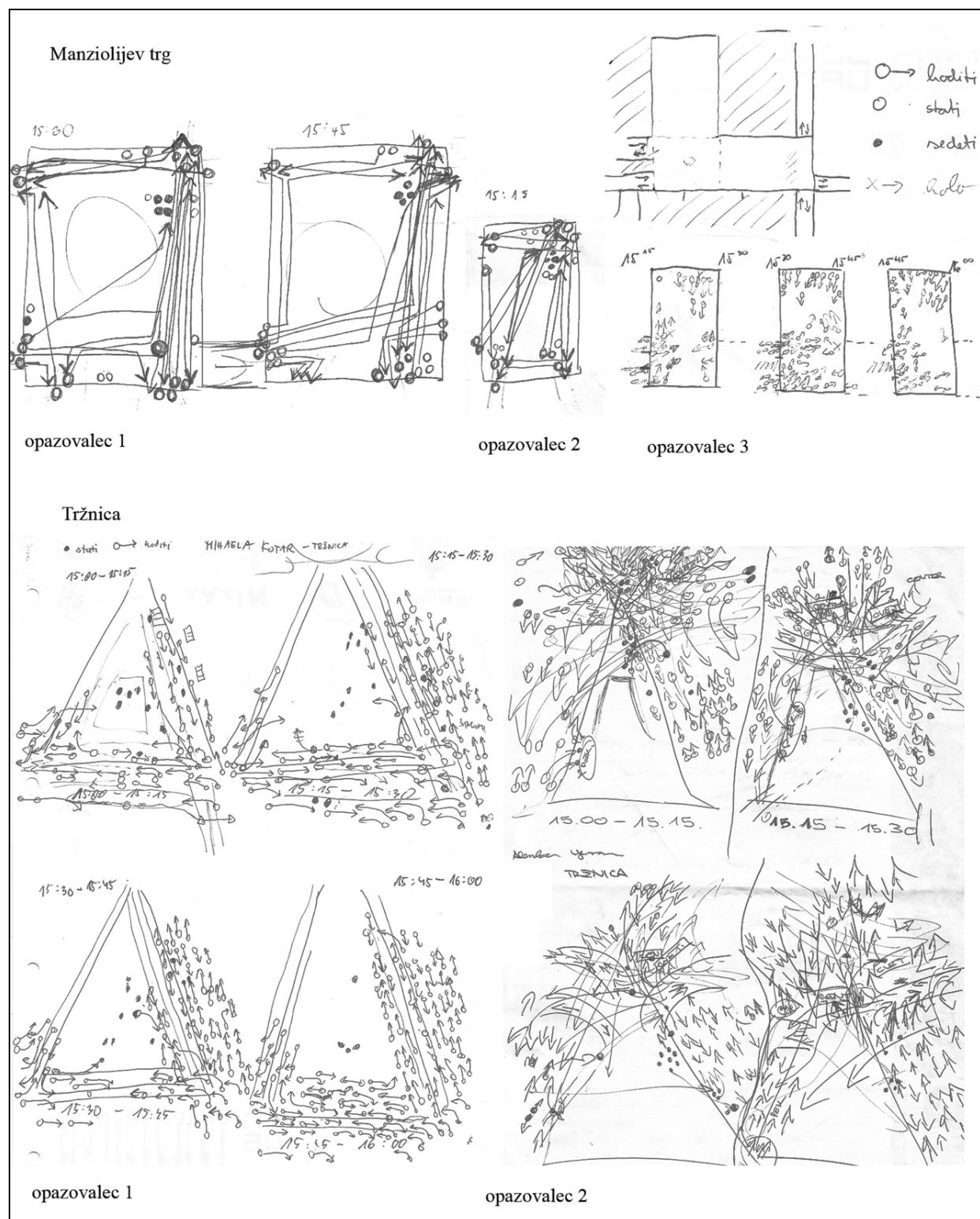
Zato je na primer poznavanje dinamike uporab javnih odprtih prostorov, kot sta na primer Manziolijev trg in tržnica v Izoli, pomembno, saj v podrobнем merilu pokaže, katere smeri dostopa so najbolj frekventne v določenem delu dneva, kje so ovire, za koga itd. Posredno takšne analize pokažejo tudi na to, kaj in kako je potrebno spremeniti, da obravnavani prostori (vsak zase ali kot del sistema) ob primernem upravljanju in oblikovanju postanejo uspešni, torej da niso zgolj do-

stopni, temveč, da omogočijo druženje oziroma zadrževanje in udobje.

Poleg poznavanja dinamike uporab prostorov je ob upoštevanju drugih prostorskih analiz od strukturno-morfoloških do kulturnovarstvenih mogoče izoblikovati osnovo za vzpostavitev sistema javnih in poljavnih prostorov mesta in s tem tudi za učinkovito odločanje pri iskanju lokacij za festivalske in druge prireditve, ki so za mesto zanimive predvsem v času turistične sezone. Prizorišča zadrževanj in posedanj po robnikih ali slovenj ob stavbah lahko služijo kot izhodišča za to, kje je potreba po več klopeh, kje je smiseln lokalne izvleči na ulico in do kam ter kje to omejevati. V primeru Izole omenjena raziskava (Bugarič, 2008) z vključitvijo vedenjskih zemljevidov kot metode obravnavanja mestnega prostora nakaže pomembnost enakovredne obravnavne tako vizualnih in zaznavnih kakovosti prostora (Nikšič, 2006) kot tudi programskih oziroma uporabniških (Goličnik, Nikšič, 2009). To je še posebej pomembno v času, ko sodobna načrtovalska praksa prepogosto zanemari uporabniške vidike oblikovanja odprtih prostorov (Goličnik, 2008a). Lynch (1981) z uporabniško-prostorskega vidika razlikuje pet razsežnosti prostorskih pravic: prisotnost, uporaba in delovanje, prisvajanje, preoblikovanje in dispozicija. Carr et al. (1992) jih interpretirajo in utemeljijo kot: dostop, svoboda delovanja, upravičenost, spremicanje in lastnina. Spodnji razdelki podajo definicije za vsakega od vidikov in nekatere komentirajo s pomočjo vedenjskih zemljevidov.

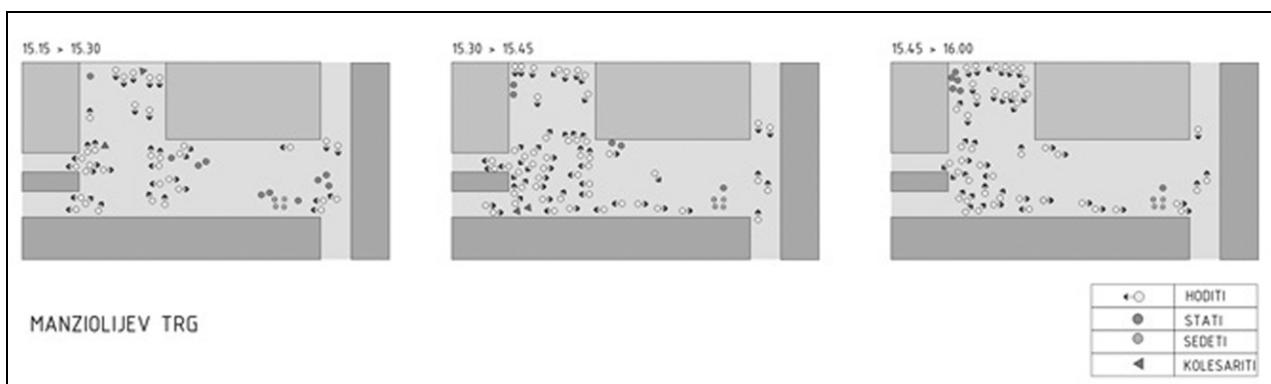
Dostopnost

Dostopnost je tista lastnost oziroma razsežnost javnega prostora, ki je najpogosteje povezana z njegovo definicijo. Številni in različni avtorji ji pripisujejo mnoge različne oblike in vloge tako pri definiciji pojma samega kot tudi z vidika presoje uspešnosti prostorov. Benn in Gaus (1983) dostopnost razčlenita po štirih vidikih: dostop do prostora, do dejavnosti, do informacij in do virov. Na podlagi njunih izhodišč Madanipour (2003) utemeljuje, da je javni prostor javni zato, ker je vsak upravičen do tega, da je v njem fizično prisoten, kar pomeni, da mu je omogočen dostop. Lynch (1981) se do pojma dostopnosti opredeli zelo široko in ga definira kot stopnjo, preko katere uporabnik lahko dostopa do drugih uporabnikov, storitev, virov, informacij ali prostorov, vključujuč število in raznovrstnost elementov, ki jih lahko doseže. Carr et al. (1992) na podlagi teoretičnih izhodišč in v luči prepoznavanj uspešnega prostorskega načrtovanja prepoznajo tri ključne oblike dostopnosti: fizično, vizualno in simbolično.



Sl. 4: Primeri terenskih zapisov vedenjskih zemljevidov pilotnih opazovanj na izbranih odprtih prostorih Izole (Bugarič, 2008, zasebni arhiv Bugarič).

Fig. 4: Examples of field notes for behavioural maps from pilot observations in selected open spaces in Izola (Bugarič, 2008, private archives of Bugarič).



Sl. 5: Primer uporabe Manziolijevega trga v Izoli med 15. in 16. uro (Bugarič, 2008).

Fig. 5: An example of the use of Manzioli square in Izola between 15.00 and 16.00 hours. (Bugarič, 2008).

Fizični dostop pomeni odsotnost ovir in povezanost s sosednjimi območji. Vidni dostop pomeni ustrezan vizualni stik med uporabnikom in prostorom, kamor je posameznik namenjen. Vidnost je zelo pomembna pri presoji varnosti prostora. Prav tako, kot je pomembna vidnost oziroma videnost v prostor, je pomembna tudi videnost iz prostora. Javni prostor mora na ustrezan način ponuditi obe možnosti. Kljub temu da je vidna dostopnost pomembna z orientacijskega in varnostnega vidika, z vidika zadovoljevanja potrebe po zasebnosti v javnem prostoru pomeni 'oviro'. Nezanemarljiv in v današnji družbi vedno bolj pomemben postaja simbolični dostop. Opredeljen je lahko na različne načine. Že sami elementi fizične členitve in strukture prostora, kot so različni (vertikalni) poudarki (na primer spomeniki, zvoniki), lahko jasno izražajo simbolni pomen prostora ali območja. V urbanističnem smislu tako vlogo lahko igrajo vedute. Še posebej pa se v javnih prostorih simbolna dostopnost odraža skozi prisotnost uporabnikov samih, bodisi posameznikov ali skupin, ki se v prostorih zadržujejo zaradi lastnega interesa, bodisi s prisotnostjo vzdrževalcev in upravljavcev, ki so v prostorih po službeni dolžnosti. Pogosto velja, da če je prostor varovan in vzdrževan, da je simbolno nevtralen in da se v njem različne uporabniške skupine enako udobno počutijo.

Svoboda delovanja

Svoboda delovanja vključuje možnost izvajanja želenih dejavnosti, to je možnost uporabe prostora ob prepoznavi, da gre za skupen prostor, v katerem ima vsak posameznik možnost prisostvovanja. Za doseganje svobode uporabe prostora so zato pomembna pravila, ki jo urejajo. Svoboda delovanja lahko predstavlja enega

ključnih regulatorjev delovanja javnih prostorov v mestu. Neskladni interesi različnih skupin lahko svobodo ene omejijo. Udobje je ena tistih potreb človeka pri zasedbi in izražanju v javnem prostoru, ki je za svobodo delovanja ključna. Če so prostori oblikovani tako, da so za rabo ali počutje neugodni in neudobni, se njihovi uporabniki navadno le sprehodijo čez nje in se v njih redko dlje časa zadržujejo. Z uporabniško-prostorskega vidika Goličnik (2005) poudarja skladno pestrost delovanja in ilustrira različne primere časovno-prostorskih (ne)skladnosti med različnimi uporabniki.

Celoten spekter vseh dejavnosti, zabeleženih na Trgu republike v celotnem opazovalnem obdobju, pokaže, da je zbirna intenziteta rabe zasedbe prostora zgoščena v najožjem in najbolj razgibanem delu trga, v vozlišču med obema vzdolžnima ploščadma. Kljub temu konfliktne situacije niso bile opažene. V primeru Bristo Square je intenzivnejše območje rab značilno izraženo na več delih (Sl. 6). Aktivni uporabniki, ljudje v prehodu čez trg in rolnarji, zavzemajo prostore med stopnišči v središču trga. Kadar so za rolnanje prepoznanata in aktivirana latentna območja, se tovrstna raba pojavi med členjenim robom (stopnice) in območjem prehoda. Pasivna raba, kot na primer sedenje, se značilno razporeja na zgornjih stopnicah, predvsem tam, kjer je zagotovljen zaslon in s tem občutek 'varnega hrbta'.

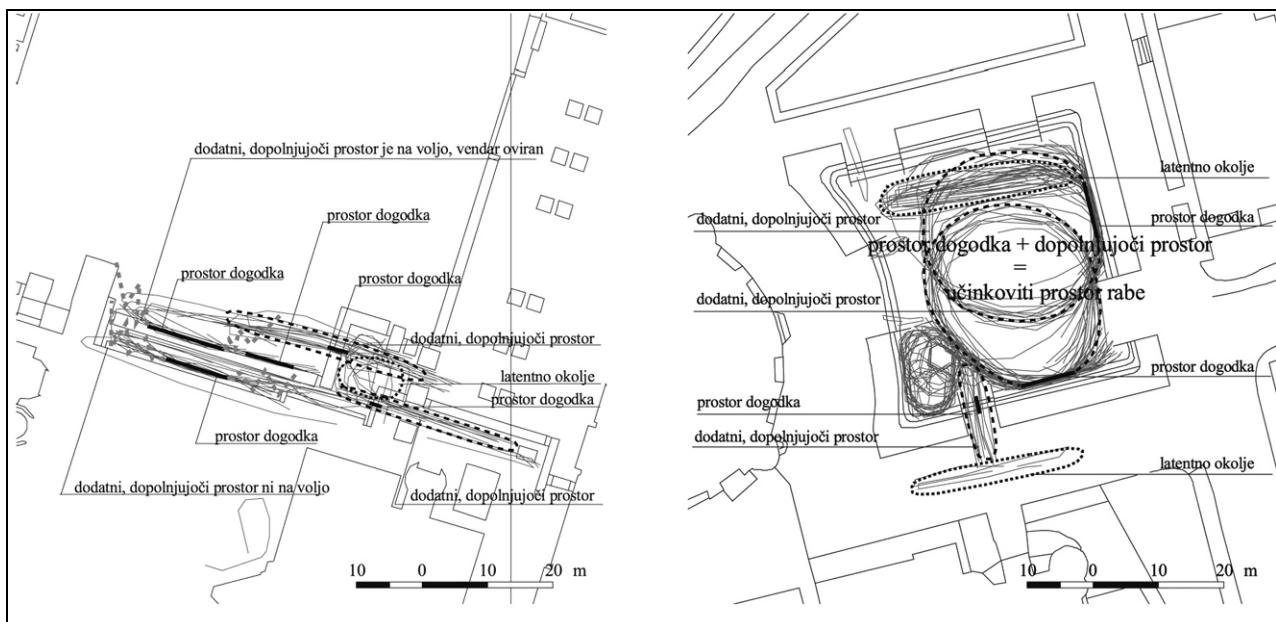
Te analize kažejo, da različne kombinacije enakih prostorskih sestavin lahko ustvarijo različne možnosti za so-bivanje in intenziteto rab v prostorih. Interakcija med ljudmi v prehodu čez trg in rolnarji se v primeru Bristo Square dogaja predvsem v rolnarjevih dopolnjujočih prostorih dejanskih dogodkov (skok-dršenje-odskok). Goličnik (2005) povzame, da tako imenovani dopolnjujoči prostor in prostor dogodka (skok-dršenje-odskok) skupaj tvorita učinkoviti prostor rabe (Sl. 7).² Primerjalne

2 Učinkoviti prostori rolnanja so na primer dolge stopnice in nanje pripete ploščadi. Minimalni učinkoviti prostor rolnanja je zagotovljen, kadar se rolnar v prostoru po loku krožnice radija približno 10 metrov v vsaj 3 metre široki ploščadi približuje dolgi stranici. Potrebna dolžina stopnice za skok nanjo, dršenje po njej in odskok nazaj na ploščad je vsaj 15 metrov.



Sl. 6: Zbirne karte uporabe prostora, ki prikazujejo tiste opazovane dni, ko so bili na obeh trgih opaženi rolkarji (Goličnik, 2006, 91).

Fig. 6: Assembled maps of the use of space for selected days when skaters were present on both squares (Goličnik, 2006, 91).



Sl. 7: Notranja struktura rabe prostora na Trgu republike in trgu Bristo Square (Goličnik, 2006, 92).

Fig. 7: The inner structure of the use of space in the Trg Republike square and the Bristo Square (Goličnik, 2006, 92).

analize so pokazale, da le-ta na Trgu republike praktično ni na voljo ali je okrnjen (Sl. 8). Dodatna oprema in rekviziti, kot so na primer plastične embalaže ali podobne lažje konstrukcije, ki jih rolnarji prinesejo s seboj, aktivirajo latentna okolja prostorov (Goličnik 2005; 2006).

Spremembe

Spremembe javnih prostorov so lahko trajne ali začasne. Zgoraj omenjeni latentni prostori odražajo aktiviranje prostorov za določeno rabo in predstavljajo spontani odziv na neko družbenoprostorsko situacijo. Načrtovanje aktivnosti in programov je ključnega pomena za usmerjanje sprememb in za določanje njihove dinamike. Ob delovanju različnih uporabnikov v odprttem prostoru v mestu pa je pomembno vprašanje, kaj uporabnik lahko naredi v prostoru ali s prostorom in koliko so te spremembe povratne ter kako in koliko vplivajo na njegov pomen. "Ustvarjati prostore – ne oblike" je moto uspešnega pristopa planersko-načrtovalske prakse, ki ga zagovarja newyorška nevladna organizacija Project for Public Spaces. Eden njihovih uspešnih primerov dobre prakse je revitalizacija Bryant parka v New Yorku. Poleg izboljšave fizičnih kvalitet prostora, kot je razširitev vhodov in izboljšava vstopov v park, odstranitev pregostne vegetacije ipd., so v park umestili dodaten program (kioski s hrano, letni kino ipd.), in kar je najpomembnejše, premične stole, da si jih ljudje postavijo, kamor želijo. S prenovljenim in razširjenim vstopom v park in z novimi programi so v prostor vnesli spremembe. Z zagotovitvijo premičnih stolov pa so uporabniku odprli možnost ustvarjanja prostora in s tem sprememb v njem.

Poleg spontanih sprememb je pri načrtovanju in urejanju prostora pomembno upoštevati možnosti sprememb za določene posebne priložnosti. Pri tem je pomembno ustrezno prepozнатi vlogo javnega prostora in ovrednotiti, za kakšne priložnostne spremembe se lahko namena in kako pogosto.

Upravičenost do prostora

Upravičenost do prostora je povezana s svobodo delovanja in dinamiko sprememb, saj lahko bistveno vpliva nanju. Nanaša se na lastninske interese ter na zasebnost in ozemeljsko vedenje, ki pa sta povezani z oblikami in pristopi do prisvajanja prostora. Z njima si ljudje povečujejo obseg možnosti in svobodo izbire v danih razmerah. Načrtovanje in urejanje prostora lahko igrata pomembno vlogi pri upravičenosti uporabnikov do prostora.

Načrtovanje samo s primerno členitvijo in programskimi umestitvami tako nakaže prioritete v upravi-

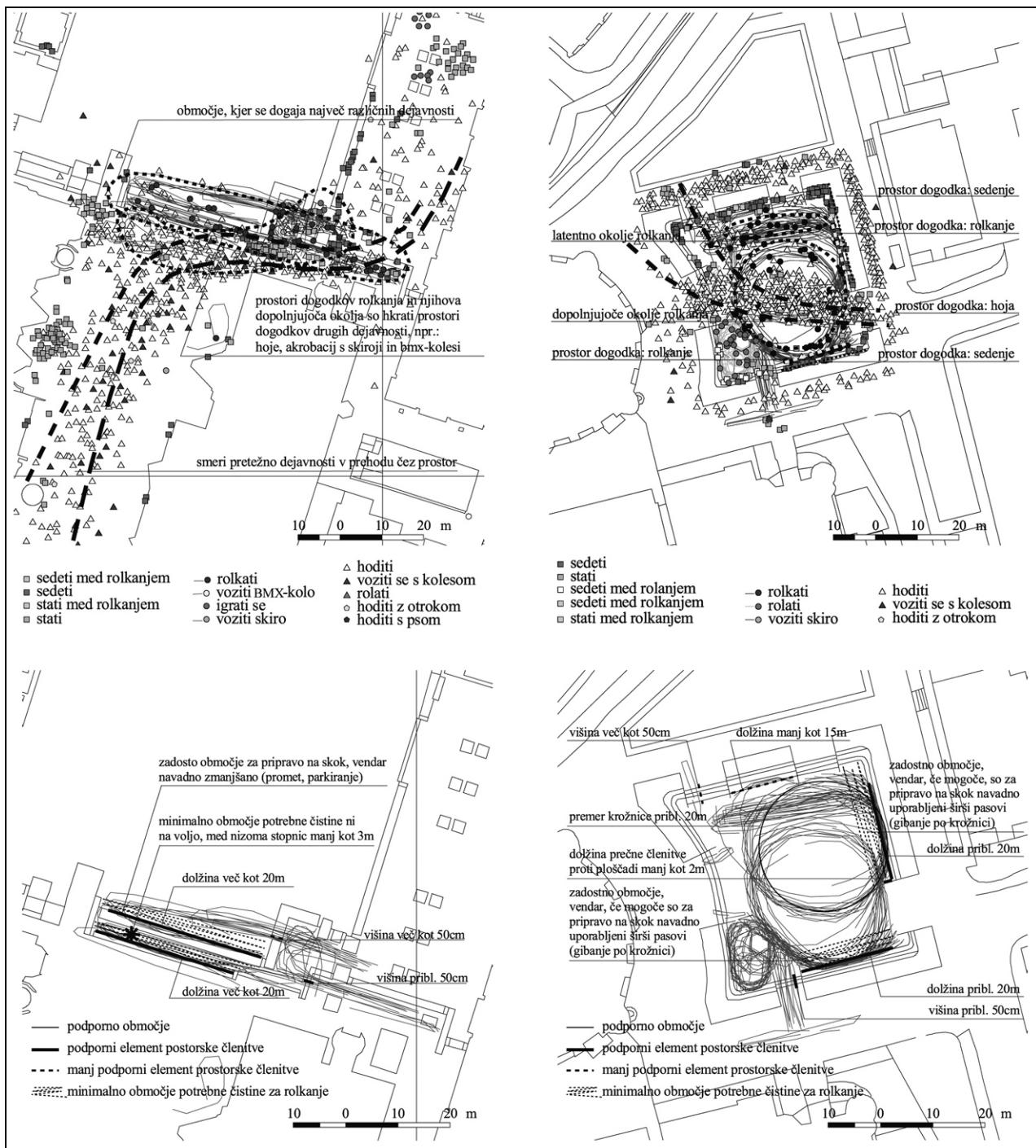
čnosti do prostora in s tem zmanjša možne konflikte. Urejanje prostora in opremljanje prej s spodbudnimi napisi kot s prepovedmi je ključno, da uporabniki prepozna svojo vlogo v upravičenosti in so-odgovornosti do prostora. Odvisno od prioritete in namembnosti javnega prostora so slogani primerov dobrih praks, na primer: Park pripada vam! Hodite po travi! Ohranimo lepoto prostora! Na igrišču psi niso dobrodošli! (CABE Space, VB, Project for Public Spaces, ZDA).

Lastnina

Čeprav se definicije javnih prostorov strinjajo, da je prostor javen, ne glede na to, ali je v javni ali zasebni lasti, le da je dostopen javnosti, je vidik lastnine mogoče opredeliti tudi glede na to, kdo in kako ga posedeje in/ali nadzira. Predvsem v lokalnih skupnostih lahko pride do izraza tovrstno lastništvo nad nekim odprtim prostorom, ki se kaže v večji odzivnosti na potrebe lokalne skupnosti. Ob taki vključitvi javnosti primeri dobre prakse pogosto kažejo na zmanjšanje vandalizma v takih prostorih, s tem povezano znižanje stroškov vzdrževanja in ugodne pogoje za pogoste raznovrstne rabe in spremembe.

Bugarič (2006) na temo preobrazbe javnih prostorov zaradi pritiska kapitala in privatizacije opozarja na to, da se zaradi interesa kapitala preobraža tako družbena kot tudi fizična oblika javnega prostora. Izpostavi, da se "zlasti historična mestna jedra transformirajo na podlagi dveh razvojnih procesov: na eni strani se kažeta degradacija in zapuščanje prostora zaradi pomanjkanja družbenih vsebin, na drugi pa se z uvajanjem novih oblik organizacije po meri kapitala oblikujejo območja, ki so namenjena izključno za potrebe potrošnje" (Bugarič, 2006, 6).

V tem kontekstu je tudi z vidika lastnine in/ali upravičenosti do prostora še posebej pomembno izpostaviti rabo javnih prostorov za potrebe gostinstva. Kavarniške mizice in stoli so samo ena od možnih uporab javnega prostora. Trenutna praksa vse prepogosto kaže le na profitabilno naravnost programskega urejanja javnih prostorov. Gostinski lokalni so drug do drugega natlačeni na ulicah, trgih ali obrežjih tako, da ovirajo druge rabe (prehodnost, posedanje na klopeh). Javne klopi so namreč pogosto vključene kar v zunanjem ureditvem mizic in stolov in tako niso več na voljo za počitek kar tako mimo grede, temveč postanejo sestavni del 'gostinske ponudbe'. Takšno upravljanje z javnim prostorom zavira ponudbo raznovrstnih in odzivnih prostorov. To je takih prostorov, ki so privlačni tako za tiste, ki lahko ali želijo kupiti kavo, kot tudi za tiste, ki si tega ne želijo.



Sl. 8: Zbirne karte uporabe prostora na Trgu republike in na trgu Bristo Square s poudarkom na vrsti dejavnosti, njihovi intenzivnosti in območjih učinkovitih, dopoljujočih in latentnih okolij (Goličnik, 2006, 107) (zgoraj) in Dimenzijs spodbudnih in podpornih okolij kot tudi okolij, ki onemogočano ali zatirajo rolkanje na teh dveh trgih (Goličnik, 2006, 122) (spodaj)

Fig. 8: Assembled maps of the use of space in the Trg Republike square and the Bristo Square with an emphasis on the sort of activities, their intensity and the effective, the supplementary and the latent areas (Goličnik, 2006, 107) (above) and the dimensions of space within the two squares, where skating is stimulated and supported as well as spaces, where it is prevented or obstructed (Goličnik, 2006, 122) (below).

SKLEP

Javni odpri prostori v primerjavi s pozidanimi omogočajo večjo svobodo različnih uporab prostora, obenem svobodnejša uporaba odprtih prostorov lahko povzroča zaplete, kot na primer prevlada ene rabe ali skupine nad drugo ipd. Zasedba prostora in boj zanj ne potekata le za fizični prostor, temveč tudi na simbolni ravni, kar se odraža v določanju pomenov in vsebin prostorov. Dejstvo je, da je v načrtovalski praksi predvsem fizični dostop, pa tudi drugi vidiki dostopnosti, eden tistih parametrov, iz katerih načrtovalci izhajajo in jih upoštevajo pri načrtovanju in oblikovanju javnih mestnih odprtih prostorov. Druge kvalitete, kot so dejavnosti uporabnikov, udobje in druženje, so redkeje relevantno in korektno upoštevane.

Gehl (1987) pri raziskovanju uporabe mestnih odprtih prostorov, kot so ulice in trgi, dejavnosti razvršča glede na stopnjo obveznosti oziroma prostovoljnosti za udejstvovanje v določeni uporabi prostora. Meni, da je z načrtovalsko-oblikovalskega vidika mogoče vplivati na izvajanje oziroma izvrševanja dejavnosti v prostorih. Poudari predvsem vpliv na čas zadrževanja v prostoru, vrste dejavnosti, ki se lahko razvijejo, in množičnost oziroma število ljudi, ki uporabljajo določen javni prostor. Cooper Marcus in Francis (1998) na primer za uspešnost trgov in manjših parkov poudarjata pomen lokacije, navzočnost uporabnikov in raznovrstnost dejavnosti, v katere so vključeni, raznovrstni program, opremo, urejenost in vzdrževanost ter udobje (možnost sence, zaščita pred vetrom ipd.).

Da bi torej načrtovalska praksa dosegala kar se da dobre prostore, to pomeni, da bi se v njih zadrževali raznovrstni uporabniki, da bi bili prostori v rabi ves dan, med tednom in ob koncu tedna, vse leto in tudi ob manj ugodnih vremenskih razmerah, je pomembno s tem povezane značilnosti dejavnosti dovolj dobro poznati in o njihovih razmerjih do prostora vedeti ključne značilnosti in informacije. Na podlagi opazovanj in kartiranj vedenj je mogoče obravnavati uporabniško prostorska razmerja glede na vrsto in trajanje dejavnosti v prostoru. Prispevek prinaša spoznanja, da so prostori uspešni, če

so hkratna prizorišča dolgotrajnejših dejavnosti (aktivnih in pasivnih) in dejavnosti v prehodu čez prostor.

Pri usmeritvah za urejanje in načrtovanje javnih odprtih prostorov je tako smiselno izhajati iz vseh treh vidikov prostora: fizičnih lastnosti, uporabe in dejavnosti v njih ter njihovih simbolno-doživljajskih vrednosti. Tako za bodoče uporabnike kot za načrtovalce javnih mestnih prostorov in tudi tistih, ki sodelujejo v procesih odločanja in upravljanja, je pomembno, da se vsi zavedajo pomembnosti javnih mestnih prostorov in da po svojih najboljših močeh prispevajo k dobro dostopnim in prepoznamenim, udobnim, želenim, odzivnim, lepim in osmišljenim prostorom. To pomeni, da naj bodo javni odpri prostori:

- locirani tako, da so enostavno dostopni in dobro videni,

- oblikovani tako, da jasno sporočajo, da so na razpolago za uporabo in da so prav njej tudi namenjeni,

- oblikovani in urejeni tako, da uporabnikom dajejo občutek varnosti,

- oblikovani in urejeni tako, da se prilagodijo potrebam uporabnikov ali uporabniških skupin, za katere se pričakuje, da jih bodo najverjetneje uporabljali in naj opogumljajo rabo različnih skupin ter zmanjšujejo možnosti konfliktov in izključevanja. Še posebej naj bodo dostopni otrokom in gibalno oviranim in omejenim;

- lepi in urejeni. Kjer je mogoče naj ponujajo umik od stresa in nudijo okolje za dobro zdravstveno in čustveno počutje uporabnikov. Še posebej pomembno je, da ob konicah uporabe za uporabnike nudijo dovolj izbire glede na mikroklimatske značilnosti: sonce, senca, dež, veter;

- premljeni z urbano opremo, ki naj podpira najbolj verjetne in želene raznovrstne dejavnosti. Vsebujejo naj tudi sestavine, s katerimi uporabniki lahko manipulirajo, jih uporabljajo in spreminjajo (na primer premični stoli);

- oblikovani tako, da uporabnikom dopuščajo tudi možnost, da so vključeni v (pre)oblikovanje, urejanje in vzdrževanje prostorov (soustvarjanje učinkovitih prostorov in aktiviranje latentnih prostorov); in

- vzdrževalsko enostavni oziroma čim manj zahtevni.

SUCCESFULL PUBLIC OPEN SPACES

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SUMMARY

Exploring physical dimensions of uses in places by using behavioural mapping techniques can directly lead into an understanding of usage-spatial relationships in observed places. Behavioural maps seem like x-rays of places, revealing a dimension of place which is hidden within its physical configuration. These aspects of spatial-human dimensions elucidate the anatomy of space and therefore make a critical reflection on designed open spaces. Thus, the behavioural patterns reflect on abilities of uses to take place in a place and/or capacity of place to be used by one or more activities. Increasing dynamic of changes in urban areas and favour private in comparison to public, public place is often jeopardised or impoverished by one or mostly monotone use. In urban design and management of urban landscapes the empirical knowledge about potential usage of public spaces is therefore of key importance.

Public urban spaces are successful and vital when they are settings of three different types of activities: long-stay active ones, long-stray passive ones and these in transition through the place. Accordingly, they are to be easily accessible, well seen, so that the message about their availability to uses is clear. Therefore, such public open space is to be beautiful, maintained and fit for use at any weather conditions. It should assure a feeling of safety and identity. Safety is often linked with the presence of other users. Therefore it is important, that design solutions accommodate (future) users' needs. Public open spaces must be especially well accessible and available for children and physically impaired people.

The effective space of any particular activity consists from the event space of this activity and its supplementary space. For a successful planning and design of public spaces, it is of key importance to realise, that designers create merely potential environments, places of opportunities, whereas are users those, who form effective environments, this means places of actual uses and realised opportunities.

Key words: urban design, behavioural mapping, GIS, public participation, privatisation

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PARADIGMA TRAJNOSTI IN IZOBRAŽEVANJE. RAZISKAVA NA SLOVENSKIH UNIVERZAH S POSEBNIM OZIROM NA UNIVERZO NA PRIMORSKEM

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IZVLEČEK

Članek analizira rezultate raziskave na slovenskih univerzah o percepciji trajnostnega razvoja, ki je potekala leta 2009 v okviru CRP Etika v raziskovanju za trajnostni razvoj, ter možnosti paradigmatske preobrazbe v izobraževanju in učenju v visokošolskem okolju. Izobraževanje, o katerem smo navajeni misliti kot o nečem koristnem in dobrem samem po sebi, ki pa ga trajnost prepoznavata kot enega od vzrokov hudi antropogenih vplivov na naravno in humano okolje, zasluži, da ga znova premislimo. Članek sledi nekaterim nedvoumnim podatkom, ki so le znamenja veliko hujše krize razhajanja med človekom in okoljem. Vključitev trajnosti v izobraževanje in učenje tako ni le potreba kulture ekološkega dizajna, ki se sprašuje po tem, kaj človek hoče oziroma kaj je dolžan storiti kot človek, pač pa tudi izziv, kako naj človek dojema samega sebe v kritičnih razmerah. Članek predlaga tudi nekatere strukturalne in organizacijske spremembe v izobraževalnem procesu, in sicer s posebnim ozirom na Univerzo na Primorskem.

Ključne besede: trajnostno izobraževanje, univerza, percepcija trajnostnega razvoja, interdisciplinarnost, kolaborativno učenje, transformacijsko učenje

PARADIGMA SOSTENIBILITÀ E FORMAZIONE. STUDI REALIZZATI DALLE UNIVERSITÀ DELLA SLOVENIA CON PARTICOLARE RIFERIMENTO ALL'UNIVERSITÀ DEL LITORALE

SINTESI

L'articolo analizza i risultati di una ricerca dedicata alla percezione dello sviluppo sostenibile realizzata nel 2009 dalle Università della Slovenia nell'ambito del CPR Etika v raziskovanju za trajnostni razvoj (Programma di ricerca mirato Etica nella ricerca per lo sviluppo sostenibile n.d.tr.) e le possibilità di una riconsiderazione paradigmatica dell'educazione formale e dell'apprendimento a livello universitario. L'educazione formale di norma ritenuta di per se utile e positiva, ma secondo i principi della sostenibilità ritenuta una delle principali cause delle influenze antropogeniche che hanno un impatto negativo sull'ambiente naturale e umano, merita per tale ragione di essere ripensata. L'articolo si fonda su alcuni dati inconfutabili, ulteriore segnale del ancora più profondo divario tra uomo e ambiente. L'inserimento del principio della sostenibilità nel sistema di educazione e apprendimento formale, non è solo la risposta alle necessità della cultura del design ecologico che si interroga su cosa di fatto voglia l'uomo ovvero come in quanto uomo sia tenuto ad agire, ma anche una vera sfida relativa alla percezione che l'uomo dovrebbe avere di se in situazioni e condizioni di criticità. Nell'articolo vengono proposte delle modifiche di tipo strutturale ed organizzativo del processo di formazione, con particolare riferimento all'Università del Litorale.

Parole chiave: formazione sostenibile, università, percezione dello sviluppo sostenibile, interdisciplinarietà, apprendimento collaborativo, apprendimento trasformativo

UVOD

Korenine ideje trajnostnega razvoja segajo v šestdeseta leta dvajsetega stoletja, nekatere pa k vizionarskim mislecem v 19. stoletje (Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, Frederick Law Olmsted) in izročilu Alda Leopolda (†1948). Ta ideja se v začetku sedemdesetih 20. stoletja izrazi kot "nujna potreba po poglobljeni dejavnosti na nacionalni in mednarodni ravni, da bi omejili in, če je mogoče, preprečili uničevanje človeškega okolja" (*United Nations conference on the human environment*, Stockholm, 1972). Leta 1977 se v *Tbilisijski deklaraciji* izrazi kot nuja, da se "etični, družbeni, kulturni in gospodarski vidiki" vključijo v izobraževalni proces kot "okoljsko izobraževanje" (*Tbilisi Declaration I*, 1). Z različno intenzivnostjo se prebuja na različnih območjih sveta, dokler se pri Lesterju Brownu (Brown, 1981) terminološko ne ustali kot *sustainable development*, danes najbolj poznan izraz te ideje. Trajnost (ozioroma trajnostni razvoj) ima v ozadju dve značilni trditvi: da je (1) trenutni ekološki status planeta izrazito netrajen ter da obstaja nepreklicna povezava med človeško dejavnostjo in stanjem planeta in (2) da bi moralno sedanje človeštvo zavreči prepričanje, češ da razpolaga z znanjem, s katerim bo upravljalo planet, orodjem, s katerim bo obrnilo tok dogodkov, in začeti razmišljati o radikalnem premiku v mišljenju, načrtovanju in delovanju/vplivanju na okolje na vseh ravneh (Rees, 2003). Današnji koncept gradi na opredelitvi t. i. Brundtlandove komisije (Brundtland, 1987, II, 1: "*Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*") in ga želi preseči. Nekateri avtorji pa so kritični: "Poročilo se je namerno izognilo morebitnim žalitvam in izzivom ter tako zanemarilo neprijetne reči ..., da bi uskladilo med seboj neskončne človeške zahteve z omejenostmi končnega planeta" (Orr, 2009, 121). James Speth s tem soglaša, saj se v četrto stoletja noben kazalnik ni premaknil v pozitivno smer (Speth, 2008). Pri tem ne gre za pojasnjevanje posameznih dejstev, pač pa, da bodo spremembe v okolju začele vplivali na ljudi – na humano okolje –, da sedanje človeštvo že živi v 'dobi posledic' ozioroma da je sedanja "civilizacija eksperiment, zelo pozna oblika življenja v človeški zgodovini, ki stopa /.../ v past [lastnega] razvoja" (Wright, 2005, 108). Človek vztraja v ločitvi med seboj in svetom in s svetom in ravna 'inteligentno', neodvisno od spoznanj, ki mu jih namigujejo oprijemljiva dejstva. "Kjer ljudje spregledamo inherentno tragiko zavestnega bivanja, čutimo mnogo manjšo potrebo po tem, da bi storili kaj za to, da bi zmanjšali trpljenje, posledično pa to pomeni manjše spoštovanje življenja" (Damasio, 1994, 251).

K vrzeli med človeškim svetom 'razumnosti' in naravnim okoljem, ki 'čuti', prispeva tudi dejstvo, da v

razvitem svetu glede trajnosti prevladuje opredelitev, vzeta iz *Our common future* (II, 1), ki ji gre za drugačno, manj od materialnega udobja odvisno kakovost življenja, ter z občutkom za naravno okolje, duhovne vrednote, prožnost, hitro odzivnost, mir ipd. (Kessler, 1990). Drugod po svetu, kjer večina prebivalstva ni nikoli okušila materialnega blagostanja, se s trajnostjo opredeljuje nekaj, kar naj bi tem družbam omogočilo bolj dostenjno življenje, povečalo družbeno blaginjo in pravičnost ter omogočilo aktivno udeležbo vseh v političnih, gospodarskih, družbenih in kulturnih spremembah. Zdi se, da imajo družbe zunaj t. i. razvitega sveta več možnosti, da trajnost kot strategijo in cilj uresničijo v obliki bolj kakovostnega izobraževanja, kar bi se lahko izrazilo v kontekstu kakovosti življenja (Gruber, 2008). Na ta paradoska kaže tudi paradigma trajnosti na akademski sferi, ki je predmet te razprave: dominantna je predstava, da bodo poglavitev ovire presežene s tehnološkimi rešitvami in da se spremembe ne bodo dotaknile materialnih pridobitev, ki si jih je ustvaril manjši del človeštva predvsem na račun izkoriščanja naravnih in humanih virov. "Prepričana sem, da je preseženje tradicionalnih nazorov nujno, če hočemo ustvariti svet z ekološko in družbeno pravičnostjo" (Moore, 2005b, 180). Tudi Arjen Wals in Bob Jickling (2002) svarita, naj se visokošolske ustanove ne slepijo s posli vladnih in delniških družb, ki promovirajo le 'tehnološko trajnost'; menita, da je paradigma trajnosti za univerzo priložnost, da vstopi v nov krog raziskovanja, učenja ter razumevanja odgovornosti do neposrednega okolja.

Razprava predstavi nekaj podatkov iz raziskave o percepciji paradigm trajnosti v slovenskem visokošolskem prostoru in jih nato vrednoti s širšega vidika vključenosti elementov trajnosti v izobraževalni proces. Na ta način pokaže na možnost nekaterih sprememb s posebnim ozirom na Univerzo na Primorskem.

RAZISKAVA O PERCEPCIJI TRAJNOSTNEGA RAZVOJA NA SLOVENSKIH UNIVERZAH

Raziskovalna skupina v okviru ciljnega razvojnega projekta *Etika v izobraževanju za trajnostni razvoj* (v času od 2008 do 2010 poteka na UP ZRS) se je v teku projekta odločila, da raziskavo o percepciji trajnostnega razvoja napravi v univerzitetnem prostoru. Razloga sta bila predvsem dva: (1) v slovenskem izobraževalnem sistemu se posveča trajnosti sorazmerna pozornost na osnovnošolski ravni, in sicer v obliki okoljskega osveščanja (*environmentalism*), v srednji šoli raven osveščenosti hitro upade, saj na območju Slovenije ne obstaja veliko gradiv za trajnostni razvoj (Kokot, Globovnik, 2010), na univerzitetni ravni pa je trajnost kot paradoska izobraževanja skoraj povsem odsotna; (2) dejstvo, da v sistemu izobraževanja/učenja prepričljivo vodijo tehnološki modeli ozioroma prepričanje, da je svet (a) osvojljiv in da ga je (b) mogoče obvladati s tehnološkim

znanjem. Povod za raziskavo je bila tudi podrejenost visokošolskega izobraževanja tržnim ciljem (karierni modeli, vsebinska osredotočenost,odeljevanje kvalifikacij ipd.), kar je vplivalo na percepcijo razmerja med trajnostjo in izobraževanjem. Poklicni profil pedagogov na univerzitetni ravni nima nobenega sodobnega programa s področja trojne prepletosti trajnosti, kar je prav tako vplivalo na razumevanje vprašanja, kaj naj bi trajnost pomenila za samo izobraževanje.

Vse univerze oziroma članice univerz so bile pisno obveščene o nameravani raziskavi in vprašalniku, z vsako članico pa se je potem sklepal dogovor o izvedbi raziskave med študenti (ciljna skupina so bili študentje tretjega letnika), visokošolskimi učitelji in raziskovalci ter strokovnim osebjem. Stiki so bili navezani z 51 fakultetami, ki so članice slovenskih univerz (UL 26, UM 16, UP 8, UNG 1), in petimi drugimi fakultetami, ki formalno izpolnjujejo pogoje za tristopenjski študijski program. Raziskava je potekala od druge polovice marca do začetka julija 2009. Odziv fakultet in/oziroma visokih šol je bil presenetljiv in je potrdil nekatera predvidevanja. V raziskavi je sodelovalo 26 ustanov (46%), vseh respondentov je bilo 697, od tega približno 15% učiteljev, strokovnih sodelavcev oziroma starejših od 28 let. Naravoslovne fakultete so pokazale večji posluh za sodelovanje kot družboslovne in humanistične. Socialni (humani oz. kulturni) vidik trajnosti je bil nerazumljen pojmom. Potrdila se je domneva, da je percepcija trajnostnega razvoja večinoma povezana z nekaterimi okoljskimi, tehnološkimi in gospodarsko-političnimi strategijami. Če so odgovori na eni strani pokazali na relativno nepoznavanje kompleksnosti trajnosti na družbenem in kulturnem ter gospodarskem in okoljskem področju, je bilo na drugi strani zaznati veliko pričakovanje, da bi trajnostni razvoj utegnil postati del izobraževanja in bi nudil več možnosti pri kasnejši zaposlitvi. Med željo, da bi bila trajnost vključena v izobraževalni/učni proces kot ena od vsebin, in poznanjem, kaj trajnost je, je zevala globoka vrzel.

Anketa je imela 35 (oziroma 41, če se upošteva tudi šest demografskih) vprašanj: 13 splošnih (povezanih s pojmovanjem visokošolskega študija in univerze) in 22 takih, ki so se nanašala na percepcijo trajnostnega razvoja. V razpravi se omejujem le na peščico rezultatov, ki najbolj izstopajo in bi lahko usmerjali nadaljnjo pozornost v raziskovanju tega področja. Večina respondentov (63,1%) pozna izraz 'trajnostni razvoj' (ne 36,7%), 80,6% pa jih še ni slišalo za Unescovo pobudo *Decade of Education for Sustainable Development* (DESD, 2005–2014) (da 19,3%; 0,1% brez odgovora). Na vprašanje: "Na kaj najprej pomislite, ko slišite za izobraževanje za trajnostni razvoj?" jih je 58% odgovorilo, da na izobraževanje (poseben predmet), na drugem mestu so bile s 37,9% "nove tehnološke možnosti"; vprašanje je imelo 12 možnih odgovorov, vsak pa je lahko obkrožil tri (gl. tabela 1). Večini (54,5%) se je zdelo

vprašanje o razvijanju globalnega čuta za družbeno odgovornost v univerzitetnem izobraževanju pomembno (33,1% zelo pomembno; 9,3% niti niti), a že v naslednjem: "Ali vam je morda znan kateri od programov izobraževanja za trajnostni razvoj (v nacionalnem, regionalnem oziroma mednarodnem okviru?" jih je kar 94,7% odgovorilo z 'ne' (da 4,9%, brez odgovora 0,4%). Na vprašanje: "Ali vam je znana katera od izjav o izobraževanju za trajnostni razvoj, ki se nanaša na univerzitetno okolje?", je z 'ne' ogovorilo kar 98% respondentov (da 1,4%, brez odgovora 0,6%). Na vprašanje: "Kako pomembno se vam zdi izobraževanje za trajnostni razvoj v času študija oziroma v univerzitetnem okolju?" jih je 58,2% odgovorilo, da pomembno (zelo pomembno 23,5%, niti niti 17,5%, ni pomembno 0,9%). Kar 91,5% respondentom ni bil poznan *Environmental Sustainability Index* (da 7,9%; brez odgovora 0,6%). 80,5% jih je z 'ne' odgovorilo na vprašanje, če jim je znano, da bolonjska reforma visokošolskega izobraževanja predvideva vključitev nekaterih pobud za izobraževanje za trajnostni razvoj v izobraževalni proces (da 19,2%). Na vprašanje: "Ali ste že prebrali katero od knjig, razpravo ali članek, ki se nanaša na izobraževanje za trajnostni razvoj ali na iskanje trajnostnih rešitev v družbi?" je bilo 87,7% odgovorov negativnih (da 11,3%). V Sloveniji ni veliko organizacij, ki bi v nacionalnem ali regionalnem okviru koordinirale izobraževanje in raziskovanje na področju trajnostnega razvoja, še zlasti ne v pomenu, ki bi trajnosti pripisoval strukturni oziroma družbeni pomen, toda na vprašanje, če poznajo katero od njih, je 94% respondentov odgovorilo z 'ne' (da 5,3%, brez odgovora 0,7%). Vprašanje: "Ali bi moral biti po vašem mnenju izobraževanje za trajnostni razvoj del formalnega ali predvsem del neformalnega izobraževanja?" je najbrž preveč očitno sugeriralo odgovor, naj bi bil del formalnega i. (63%), saj iz prejšnjih odgovorov nanj ni bilo moč sklepati (34,6%: moralno bi biti del neformalnega i.; brez odgovora 2,4%). Prav tak vtiš daje 58,4% odgovorov 'da' na vprašanje, če je izobraževanje za trajnostni razvoj pomembno za splošno poklicno usposobljenost (niti niti 27,1%; zelo pomembno 6,9%; ni pomembno 4,2%). Čeprav je na vprašanje: "Ali ste že obiskali kakšno spletno stran, ki govori o izobraževanju za trajnostni razvoj?" kar 83,9% respondentov odgovorilo z 'ne' (da 11,3%; brez odgovora 0,7%), jih je v naslednjem vprašanju ("Ali bi vas to področje dela in študija v prihodnosti zanimalo?") 66,6% odgovorilo z 'da' (ne 31,3%; brez odgovora 2,2%). Na vprašanje, zakaj jih to zanima (možni so bili trije odgovori), je po pričakovanju večina pokazala, da trajnostni razvoj razume kot priložnost za gospodarstvo (41,4%) (tabela 2). V zadnjem (35.) vprašanju so respondentni ocenjevali deset tem, ki sodijo v okvir izobraževanja za trajnostni razvoj in bi jih lahko upoštevali v prenovi univerzitetnih kurikulov. Teme za to vprašanje so bile povzete po *Izjavi iz Halifáxa* (1991), ki je do-

polnila *Izjavo Talloires* (1990) oziroma po še nekaterih drugih izjavah, ki so bile sprejete v okviru *International Association of Universities*. Odgovori so bili na 'zlati sredini': respondenti so s tem pokazali, da so odgovarjali 'varno'. Povprečna ocena desetih podvprašanj je bila: sploh ni pomembno 0,1%; ni pomembno 10%; niti niti 31%; je pomembno 37%; je zelo pomembno 20%; brez odgovora 0,2%). Kot primer se lahko navede tema 35.3: *Etika, medkulturni dialog in institucionalna kultura*. (Ta je dobila naslednje ocene (po istem vrstnem redu kot prej): 0,1; 10,5; 26; 38,7; 21,1; 2,7.

INTERPRETACIJA IN VREDNOTENJE RAZISKAVE

Nekaj rezultatov iz druge skupine vprašanj, ki so se nanašala na trajnostni razvoj, je bilo izpuščenih. Celotna raziskava bo dostopna v končnem poročilu, vsaka od sodelujočih članic univerz oz. fakultet pa je prejela

rezultate konec poletja 2009. Odzivov nanje ni bilo. Glede na pred nekaj leti objavljeno knjigo *Planet univerza* (M'Gonigle, 2006) je čas, ko bodo univerze postale 'drugačne' v razmišljaju in sooblikovale potrebe po poklicnih profilih, še daleč; še vedno je prevladujoča podrejenost sistema izobraževanja zahtevam trga dela. S tem se prenova univerze in paradigmatični premik na osnovi prepletanja različnih vidikov trajnosti odmika v prihodnost. Rezultati ankete, opravljene na slovenskih univerzah, kažejo isto sliko. Medtem ko nekateri odgovori izstopajo bodisi v pozitivnem bodisi v negativnem smislu in odražajo tipično sliko nemira – kar je najbrž vplivalo na nerazumevanje nekaterih zastavljenih vprašanj –, je splošen vtis, da gre za "razmišljanje o nekem manjkajočem izkustvu .../., čemu je ta stvar podobna" (Orr, 2009, 218). Dejstvo, da so bila v bližnji preteklosti vsa vprašanja podrejena gospodarstvu (oziora politiki), David Orr primerja pozabljeni prihodnosti v preteklosti

Tabela 1: 16. vprašanje.
Table 1: 16th question.

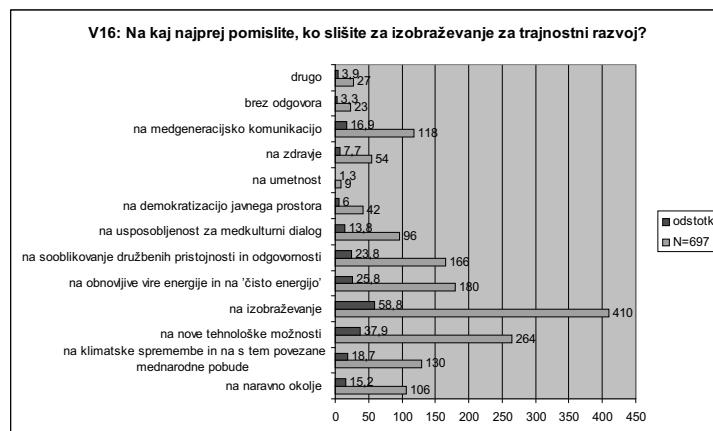
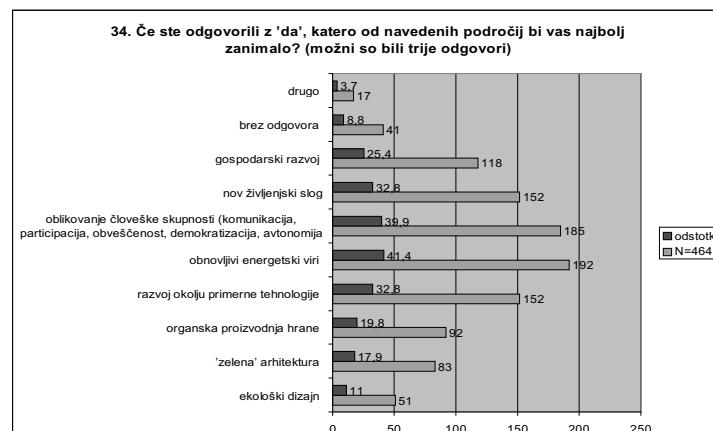


Tabela 2: 34. vprašanje.
Table 2: 34th question.



(Orr, 2004, 1998). Na dveh tabelah – pri teh vprašanjih so lahko respondenti obkrožili tri možnosti – se lahko vidi model razmišljanja, v katerem je izobraževanje sicer pomemben družbeni dejavnik, a ga je težko vzporejati z 'demokratizacijo javnega prostora' (tabela 1) ali 'zeleno arhitekturo' (tabela 2), razumljivo pa je, da paradigmatičnega premika, ki ga predvideva trajnost v izobraževanju, ne gre idealizirati.

Osnovni cilj raziskave – percepcija trajnostnega razvoja – je bil s tem dosežen, rezultati pa so povedali zgodbo o razvitosti izobraževalnih politik na slovenskih univerzah na tem področju. Čeprav poročilo ne vsebuje detajlov, pač pa le najvišja nihanja, pa podatki odpirajo vprašanja o nujnosti poglobljenega raziskovanja celotnega sistema izobraževanja kot 'arhitekturne', strukturne in organizacijske naloge. Gre za dve različni in povezani resničnosti: da (1) problemov, s katerimi se srečuje sedanja generacija, "ki [že] živi v obdobju posledic" (Orr, 2009, 147), ne bo mogoče rešiti z istim miselnim pristopom, s katerim so ti problemi nastali (Calaprice, 2005), in da je (2) razsežnost nalog, s katerimi se bo moralno spopasti sedanja generacija, tolikšna, da ta in morda naslednja generacija ne bosta mogli uživati rezultatov opravljenega dela, če se strukturne spremembe začnejo takoj. Razsežnost nalog ne kaže le na nujnost drugačnega miselnega pristopa, pač pa, da se bodo posledice sedanjega ravnjanja čutile še stoletja, četudi se začne človeštvo obnašati drugače takoj danes. "Treba je razumeti razliko med izogibanjem nevarnosti in resničnim zdravljenjem, to pa zahteva boljše razumevanje .../ povezav, ki .../ niso izraz muhavosti, pač pa predvidljiv rezultat sistemov tveganja, ustvarjenih v slepeči luči in nevarno nepopolni podobi resničnosti" (Orr, 2009, XII). Percepcija trajnostnega razvoja kot orodja tehnologije, s katero se bodo reševali problemi, kaže na problematičnost sedanjih miselnih pristopov. Želja biti čim bolj učinkovit v reševanju problemov beži pred resničnostjo in udeležbo; podobna je zdravniku, ki predpisuje zdravila brez diagnoze. Večina vprašanj, na katera opozarjajo simptomi sprememb, niso problemi, pač pa sistem biosfere, katere del je tudi človek. "Mnogo bolje bi bilo, da bi človek spoznal samega sebe in se prilagodil omenjenemu planetu, kot pa da hoče prilagoditi planet svojim neskončnim željam" (Orr, 2004, 9).

O tem lahko marsikaj povedo tudi podatki o načinu komuniciranja in odzivih na vabilo k sodelovanju, ki so se v obliki 'dnevnika' zbirali v teku raziskave, ter precej velika abstinencija fakultet s humanistično in družboslovno usmeritvijo. Prav tako je bilo zanimivo analizirati, kako se posamezne ustanove posvečajo koncepcionalnim in strateškim vidikom vključevanja alternativnih modelov razmišljanja (če sploh) v visokošolski prostor in temu, kakšno priložnost ima paradigmata trajnosti v tem kontekstu. Posamezni akterji na področju varovanja in ohranjanja okolja in razvijanja alternativnih modelov raziskovanja in učenja so nepovezani s sistemom izobraževanja.

Temu je bil posvečen znanstveni sestanek *Izobraževanje za trajnostni razvoj in univerza* (Koper, 27. november 2009) (Mlinar, 2009). Stiki z univerzami v sosednjih državah in po svetu kažejo, da bodisi razvijajo posebne programe trajnostnega razvoja, kot npr. Univerza Lund (Švedska), bodisi poskušajo razumeti trajnost kot miselno paradigma, ki se bo odrazila v drugačnem načinu dela tako na ravni izobraževanja in raziskovanja kot tudi odločanja, vodenja in upravljanja, in predvsem v obliki komuniciranja znotraj univerze, za kar med drugim Univerza Britanske Kolumbije v Vancouveru razvija poseben inštitut CIRS (<http://www.cirs.ubc.ca/>), bodisi si prizadevajo pridobiti standard trajne univerze (*sustainable university*), kot na primer Karl Franzens Universität Graz (prva univerza v Srednji Evropi, ki je leta 1995 podpisala Listino *Copernicus* in leta 2006 prvič objavila *Poročilo o trajnosti*), bodisi postavljajo sebi še strožja merila, da bi jim uspelo odpreti povsem nov cikel v raziskovalnem procesu, perspektivi trajnostnega izobraževanja in učenja ter sooblikovanja politik. Posamezni vidiki trajnosti, zlasti socialni – v smislu socialne inovativnosti – in kulturni, so postali zrcalo politik upravljanja s človeškimi viri. Trajnost v izobraževanju je (ozioroma bo) izraz krožnega sodelovanja med panogami in usmeritvami, ki ne bo vplivala le na načrtovanje, prakso in posamezne dejavnosti na vseh ravneh izobraževanja, pač pa bo tudi postavljala vprašanja o človekovi "še vedno nepriznati zavesti" (Leopold, 1949).

Posredni rezultati raziskave na slovenskih univerzah so pokazali na sedanje razpoloženje do nujnih sprememb v strukturalnih reformah visokega šolstva. Fakultete, katerih vodstva se niso odločila sodelovati v raziskavi, so svoj 'ne' utemeljevale s tem, da nimajo časa, da je to le še strošek ali težava več ("Mislim, da zdaj nimamo težav, da pa jih bomo imeli!"), da ne gre za pomembno stvar, da si fakultete prizadevajo storiti kar največ in najbolje, da so njihovi učitelji in študentje povsem zasedeni in da si ne morejo nakopati dodatnega dela. Med odgovori, zakaj ne nameravajo sodelovati, je bil tudi očitek, češ da je trajnost nedorečena in brez izvedbenega načrta. Tudi vodstva fakultet, ki so sodelovala šele na večkratno prigovarjanje, so za to navajala različne razloge; da se načrti, politike in prioritete samo kopijo itn. To, da učiteljem in študentom na univerzi zmanjkuje energije za razširitev perspektive ter da so povsem zaposleni z vsakodnevnimi problemi, je deloma zrcalo razmer v (visokem) šolstvu, ki ima svoje merilo zunaj sebe.

TRENDI V IZOBRAŽEVANJU ZA TRAJNOSTNI RAZVOJ: PRIMER UBC

Številne univerze po svetu sledijo usmeritvam trajnosti bodisi prek pristopanja k skupnim iniciativam v okviru *International Association of Universities* (IAU,

UNESCO) bodisi v okviru evropskega visokošolskega prostora (*European Higher Education Area* ali EHEA) bodisi v drugih mednarodnih zvezah ali meddisciplinarnih povezavah bodisi v postavljanju lastnih standardov avtonomije. Nekatere med njimi si prizadevajo 'preklopiti' na trajnostni model v raziskovanju, učenju in delovanju, četudi se trajnost kot miselna paradigma v kontekstu izobraževanja in učenja šele oblikuje, in bistvene vidike trajnosti vključiti v seznam kazalcev kazovosti (Lukman, Kranjc, Glavič, 2009). Če gre v nekaterih primerih za merljive kazalce ustreznosti, kot jih na primer predstavlja *Environmental Sustainability Index* (ESI), kot so reciklaža, arhitektura delovnih in bivalnih prostorov, prehrana, transport, povezanost posameznih ustanov univerze in sodelovanja med njimi ipd. – ESI obsega 21 kazalcev – gre v drugih tudi za bolj zahtevno refleksijo o načinu dela, učenja in poučevanja ter raziskovanja ter nenazadnje tudi razmišljanja o tem, kako ljudje sploh razmišljamo in se odločamo. "Eden prvih nesporazumov je, če se trajnost nanaša le na stavbe in njihovo vzdrževanje in se prizadevanje za trajnost s tem že konča. Večina konceptov trajnosti gre onkraj stavb in oblikovanega okolja in si prizadeva trajnost vključiti v univerzitetno raziskovanje, učenje in družbeno vlogo univerze" (Moore, 2005b, 184).

Univerza Britanske Kolumbije (UBC, Vancouver, Kanada) je v ta namen leta 1998 ustanovila *Campus Sustainability Office* (CSO), ki se je lotil naloge za 'danes' (Moore in dr., 2005; Holden, 2008). Na UBC se je zvrstila vrsta projektov, ki so imeli za cilj izdelati okvirni program učenja, izobraževanja in raziskovanja po merilih široke udeležbe učiteljev, študentov, strokovnega osebja in vseh zaposlenih. Rezultat tega je bil *Program SEEDS (Social, Ecological and Environmental Development Studies)* z značilnimi 'zankami' (*sustainability loops*), ki ponazarjajo model pretoka informacij med udeleženimi in proces 'prevedljivosti' premika v raziskovanju in učenju, ki skupaj s poklicno kvalifikacijo predstavljajo tudi oblikovanje osebnosti, skratka opredeljujejo novo konstrukcijo znanja (Moore et al., 2005). Janet Moore je več let delala na programu premostitvenih nalog (Kaj storiti tukaj-in-zdaj?), ki je bil tarča kritik. Medtem ko so se komunikacijske vrzeli med načrtovalci in 'izvajalci' poglabljale prav zaradi vprašanja, kaj storiti tukaj-in-zdaj, in je osebje univerze v trajnostni strategiji odkrivalo priložnostno retorično dopolnitve programov (Moore, 2004), se je začel načrtovati nov in dokaj specifičen program, ki ga danes predstavlja *Centre for Interactive Research on Sustainability* (CIRS). Ta naj bi začel delovati leta 2009, po novem 2011. Po navdihah Janet Moore so tako študentje kot učitelji izražali naklonjenost trajnosti kot nekakšni gramatiki raziskovanja in učenja, nepredstavljen pa se jim je zdel miseln premik, češ da ukinja (spodnaša) ustaljene kurikule. "Bilo bi nepošteno dati ji prednost, saj imamo vrsto drugih politik /.../ Zakaj bi morali dati prednost trajnosti,

zakaj ne pravičnosti in poštenju ...?" (Moore, 2005b, 188). Zadržanost pred trajnostjo, ki naj bi vplivala tudi na vsebino izobraževanja (Bowers, 2001), je kazala na zakoreninjenost tradicionalnega načina razmišljanja, ki človeku dovoljuje vztrajati v distanci do sveta in nujnih sprememb. Sedanji koraki uresničljivosti trajnosti na UBC se osredotočajo na prioritete posameznih članic univerze, v katerih se kažejo težje po medsebojnem sodelovanju panog in novih načinov učenja (CIRS). Seznam prioritet je signaliziral miselno izoblikovan tip dolgoročnega načrtovanja sprememb, ki ga označujejo spodbujanje učenja na temelju raziskovanja, poudarjanje skupnega (interaktivnega) učenja, jasno izražen družbeni vpliv znanja ipd. CIRS je sprejel tudi vrsto miselnih premikov v pojmovanju človeka, človeškega in naravnega okolja, človekove vključenosti, bistveno pozornost posveča premiku v pojmovanju vodenja, in sicer tako transakcijskega kot transformacijskega (Burns, 2003).

Po več letih se je pokazalo, da ni šlo samo za pomanjkljivost načrtovanja, ki mu je manjkal načrt za 'danes' (element t. i. pozabljeni prihodnosti v preteklosti), pač pa za težavno spremicanje miselnih vzorcev, ki ga je mogoče primerjati s postopnim uveljavljanjem znanstvenega načina razmišljanja v razsvetljenstvu (Holden, 2008), za inertnost zanikanja stvarnosti, pritisk gospodarstva in politike, skupinskega razmišljanja, nerazumevanja samih sebe ter zlasti nejasne zavesti o tem, kaj storiti, da bi bili pripravljeni se soočiti s težkim obdobjem v prihodnosti in prihodnost zares vključiti v današnje ravnanje. Godrjanje o pomanjkljivostih načrtovanja in preširokem horizontu sprememb je bilo znamenje prevladujoče percepциje trajnosti, ki se jo na institucionalni ravni pogosto zamenjuje z infrastrukturno podobo "akademske skupnosti, ki je varna, čista, prijazna do okolja in naklonjena življenju" (Moore, 2005b, 189), a ne razmišlja o radikalnih spremembah.

TRAJNOSTNO IZOBRAŽEVANJE NA SLOVENSKIH UNIVERZAH

V prej omenjeni raziskavi na slovenskih univerzah (2009) se je nekaj vprašanj nanašalo na perspektivo izobraževanja in usmeritev slovenske akademske sfere. Vprašanje o (možnih) strukturnih premikih izobraževanja/učenja je obsegalo deset tem: (1) trajnostne strategije v poučevalnih, raziskovalnih in študijskih metodah (poudarek na interakciji, etični refleksiji in transformativnem učenju), (2) povezovanje univerzitetnega prostora z neposrednim okoljem, (3) etika medkulturnega dialoga in institucionalne kulture, (4) koncept ustvarjalnosti in/ali inovativnosti (razvijanje sposobnosti vodenja in oblikovanje podjetniškega duha), (5) nove metodologije dela (interdisciplinarnost in kooperativnost), (6) razvijanje sposobnosti vodenja in razvijanja demokratičnih kompetenc (npr. aktivno državljanstvo),

(7) redno ocenjevanje trajnostnih praks v univerzitetnem okolju (spremljanje pomembnih kazalcev trajnosti), (8) univerza kot 'živ laboratorij' in razvoj univerzitetnega okolja kot vzorčnega primera prehodnosti paradigem, (9) medgeneracijski dialog, oblikovanje vsem generacijam prijaznega (grajenega) okolja in (10) drugi družbeni vidiki izobraževanja za trajnostni razvoj. Respondenti so predlagane teme ocenili s 3,7 (najnižja ocena 1, najvišja 6).

Štiri slovenske univerze (in EMUNI, ki ima sedež v Sloveniji) so vključene v EHEA in ERA (Univerza na Primorskem kot pridružena članica). V času pisanja te razprave imajo vse slovenske univerze v svoje kurikule integrirana osnovna načela trajnostnega razvoja, nimajo pa programa trajnostnega izobraževanja, ki bi poleg vsebinskega (okoljski, gospodarski) vseboval tudi družbeni (paradigmatični) premik k trajnosti. Po *Graški deklaraciji* (2005) in DESD (2005–2014) se je zanimanje za standarde 'trajnostne univerze' povečalo. Ministrska konferenca v Bergnu (2005) je to vključila v sporočilo za javnost. Univerza v Ljubljani ponuja programe o zaščiti in upravljanju okolja, okoljske inženirske programe in tudi interdisciplinarni program v mednarodni poletni šoli (*Environmental and resource management*). Univerza na Primorskem bo s študijskim letom 2010/11 začela izvajati interdisciplinarni program na drugi stopnji *Upravljanje trajnostnega razvoja*. Univerza v Novi Gorici ima Fakulteto za okoljske znanosti in ponuja okoljsko usmerjene programe tudi na prvi stopnji. Evropska mediterranska univerza (EMUNI) v Portorožu ponuja programe na tretji stopnji, ki ne predstavljajo strukturne novosti. Univerza v Mariboru od leta 2003 naprej ponuja podiplomski program o trajnostnem razvoju, kot univerza pa je najbližje standardom trajnostne univerze glede na merljive kazalce (ESI). V okviru Laboratorija za procesno sistemsko tehniko in trajnostni razvoj Fakultete za kemijo in kemijsko tehnologijo te univerze je nastalo nekaj odmevnih študij in predlogov (Lukman, 2007; Lukman et al., 2009). Večina programov v slovenskem šolskem sistemu je osredotočenih na okoljsko vzgojo v osnovnih šolah oziroma na razvoj modela 'šole v naravi' in 'učnih poti'.

Glede na rezultate raziskave in zadetke v cobissu prevladuje v Sloveniji precejšnja nepovezanost programov in raziskovanja. Čeprav je večina respondentov izražala naklonjenost trajnosti kot integralnemu delu raziskovanja, izobraževanja/učenja in vodenja/upravljanja sprememb, so *paradigmatični premik* razumeli različno; največja ovira se zdi sedanja disciplinarna razdelitev raziskovanja oziroma znanosti, ki je še vedno Laplaceov in ki ne zaznava 'kulture zanikanja' oziroma značilnosti 'hotene slepote' (Kitcher, 2010; Kitcher, 2001). Študentje imajo pred vpisom predhodno predstavo o študiju na fakulteti glede na bodoči poklic in se ne vprašujejo o ciljih izobraževanja, etični dimenziiji poklica, družbeni implikaciji izobraževanja, interakciji

med izobraževalnim sistemom, gospodarstvom, politiko in kulturnim ter družbenim razvojem, tega jim pa tudi nihče ne ponuja. Zato se kritika paradigemskega premika ne nanaša toliko na dvom, če je to (našteto) lahko naloga univerze, pač pa na strmo upadanje okoljske in znanstvene pismenosti v srednjih šolah, enosmerno razpravo o ciljih izobraževanja, rigidnost institucij, koncentracijo moči, na vlogo medijev, gospodarstva, razumevanje naravnega okolja, medgeneracijsko odgovornost, relativno veliko odpornost na spremembe, katerih sadov ni mogoče pričakovati takoj ipd. Zato premik v izobraževanju predpostavlja multidisciplinarno sodelovanje med posameznimi znanstvenimi panogami glede vprašanj, v katerih je sodobna družba najbolj šibka. "Izrajiti moramo povsem nove ustanove, nove načine poslovanja, nov način vodenja" (Gould, Hosey, 2008, 32).

NALOGA UNIVERZE SPRIČO TRAJNOSTI

Politična, gospodarska in tehnološka nepripravljenost na nove razmere so spričo trajnosti manjši problem kot nepredvidljive človeške razmere v prihodnosti (pozabljena prihodnost v preteklosti), kot so valovi vojn, poškodovanje, bolezni, pojav klimatskega begunstva ipd. Univerza lahko odgovori na dve vprašanji, ki se nanašata na njeno avtonomijo: (1) "Je človekova razumnost povsem vrhnji del razvoja sveta?" in (2): "Je pripisovanje specifične razumnosti izključno človeku dovolj močan razlog za vztrajanje na dualističnem vzorcu: človek + ves preostali svet?" Potreba po temeljitem premisleku vzorca, katerega utrdba je tudi aktualni izobraževalni sistem, se kaže tudi v vprašanju, če smo ljudje in družbeni sistemi integralni del širšega planetarnega sistema ali pa smo izvzeti in je kritika dualističnega vzorca neupravičena. Razsvetljenski (kartezijanski) model podpira in vzdržuje razmere, kakor da človek ni del tega sveta oziroma da je od njega neodvisen in da degradacija okolja zanj ne more imeti pomembnih posledic. Večina zagovornikov trajnosti kot paradigmte trdi, da o okolju ni mogoče pridobiti relevantnega znanja, če je človek od njega ločen. S tem se tudi pojasni, zakaj je sedanje tehnološko znanje precej diletantsko in krivično (De Hahn et al., 2008) ter da je univerza dolžna storiti več.

Tradicionalnima nalogama univerze, učenju in raziskovanju, se danes pridružujejo nove naloge. "Dialog o trajnosti vključuje razprave o ekološki in družbeni pravčnosti in o tem, kaj pomeni raziskovati, učiti (se) in služiti družbi" (Moore, 2005b, 192). Te so kritične do človeka kot pasivnega izvajalca, mislečega stroja (*homo faber*) in 'nedolžnika' (Kellert, Wilson, 1995; Wilson, 2003). Prihodnosti ne pojmujejo kot oddaljenega časa (kot izstreljene puščice, ki ne more spremeniti smeri), pač pa se je *spominjajo z zavestjo odgovornosti* (Orr, 2009, 68–83).

Nekatere univerze, na primer Univerza Lund (<http://www.lucid.lu.se>) ali *Alliance for Global Sustainability*,

močno poudarjajo družbeni vidik trajnosti tako v smislu razvoja ustanov po meri človeka kot tudi v smislu socialnega učenja in socialne inovativnosti (LeVine, Scollon, 2004). Ti vidiki univerzam neposredno ne pomagajo do višje uvrstitev na lestvici odličnosti (in so zato 'dodaten strošek), toda nanašajo se na percepциjo temeljnih potreb (dejanska vključenost prihodnosti v sedanosti). Razprave o trajni (varni) prihodnosti si brez tega ni mogoče predstavljati (Lukman, 2007). V današnjih razmerah ovirajo vključevanje (1) zgodovinski spomin o prepletjenosti izobraževanja in politik, ki univerzo pojmuje kot podaljšano roko gospodarstva, (2) cilji politike v obdobju gospodarske ekspanzije, in (3) vprašanje, koliko to stane. Motnje so še očitnejše spričo dejstva, ker se razprava o ceni trajnosti pojavlja kot retorično polnilo v politiki, ki daje prednost gospodarskim rešitvam. To nedoslednost je opaziti v strukturnih spremembah univerzitetnega okolja (bolonjska reforma). Kljub načelni opredelitvi EHEA in ERA za umestitev trajnosti v visokošolski prostor bodisi v okviru *Global Higher Education for Sustainable Partnership* (GHESP) bodisi v okviru DESD pa predlogov za integracijo trajnosti paradigmatičnega premika še ni; se še vedno nahaja na seznamu dodatnih stroškov (Bagheri, Hjorth, 2007).

SPREMEMBE 'OD SPODAJ'

Koncept trajnosti vključuje gospodarske (izvedljivost), okoljske (varovanje) in socialne vidike (kohezivnost). Socialni vidik trajnosti zajema tako organizacijske (socialna inovativnost) in institucionalne spremembe. Doslej so te bile v senci na videz pomembnejših vprašanj. Družbeni vidik sicer ni bil prezrt, toda reforme so se osredotočale na merljive strukturne spremembe, kot jih ponazarja *Demingov cikel* (PDCA = Plan-Do-Check-Act ali PDSA = Plan-Do-Study-Act) in se nanaša na transakcijsko vodenje (Burns, 2003), to pa ponuja le akcijske, ne pa transformacijskih sprememb. Povezovanje trajnosti v izobraževanju/učenju z družbenimi vidiki znanja bere spremembe v *obe smeri*. "Problem je, da ljudje zanikajo slabe novice, posebno če so zapletene in če napovedujejo drage in neprijetne rešitve" (Orr, 2009, 33). Temeljna sprememba v kontekstu trajnosti je zavest o vključenosti prihodnosti v današnje ravnanje. Spremembe *od zgoraj* niso dovolj.

SKLEP IN PERSPEKTIVA

Družbeni in politični dogodki v Sloveniji zadnjih dveh desetletij so vplivali na povečanje potreb po poklicnem usposabljanju in zagotavljanju kakovostnih delovnih mest ter kakovostnega delovnega in bivalnega okolja. V tem času se je močno povečal delež ljudi z univerzitetno izobrazbo. Zaradi politik, nagnjenih k potrošnji, neadekvatnih potez in večplastne krize se to še

ni ekvivalentno izrazilo v preobrazbi sistema izobraževanja in družbe. Ugotovitve raziskave z vzporednim upoštevanjem izkušenj od drugod se lahko strnijo v dveh vprašanjih: 1) Kaj se v tem času dogaja z Univerzo na Primorskem? in 2) Kaj ponujajo modeli kooperativnega, kolaborativnega, transformativnega učenja?

Ad 1) Odgovor na vprašanje, ali lahko Univerza na Primorskem (UP) na nacionalni ravni ali v regiji ponudi več kot to, kar danes od nje pričakujeta gospodarstvo in politika, je odvisen od tega, v kakšno smer gre načrtovanje prihodnjega razvoja univerze. Načrtovanje novogradnje v Kopru in Izoli ter sedanje dislocirane enote na eni strani konceptualno nadaljuje z ustaljenim razvojem univerze kot izobraževalne in raziskovalne strukture, ki posreduje znanje, usposablja za poklice in podeljuje kvalifikacije. S tem razvoj univerze ne posega v razvoj mesta in primestja ter kakovost bivanja v tem prostoru, še zlasti ne zaradi pospešenega razvoja komercialnih vsebin in degradacije arhitekturne ponudbe v mestnem obrobju (Bugarič, 2009). Ime univerze izpostavlja celotno (ne samo slovensko) obmorsko regijo, kar na neki način opravičuje razpršenost enot/članic, na drugi strani pa to ovira rast univerze 'navznoter'. Boštjan Bugarič s konceptom mestne (koprsko) univerze dopušča razmišljanje, da bi univerza s preimenovanjem (Univerza v Kopru) pridobila na identitet in avtonomiji, to pa bi se ustvarjalno vključilo v vsebinski (družbeni) in arhitekturni razvoj mestnega jedra. Če bi se hotela univerza v tej fazi razvojnih odločitev soočiti tudi z izzivi trajnosti ali paradigmatskim premikom raziskovanja in izobraževanja v drugo smer – k čemur jo spodbuja vrsta evropskih in drugih mednarodnih dokumentov ter tudi nacionalna strategija razvoja visokega šolstva –, bi lahko bistveno prispevala ne le k znižanju degradacije grajenega okolja, pač pa tudi k identiteti tipičnih za univerzo in kakovost življenja pomembnih okolij, v katerih se lahko tehnična (objektivistična) usmeritev poveže s kritičnim pojmom *vmesnika (interface)*, ki ga danes predstavljajo sonaravno oblikovanje, razumevanje prostorov dihanja (komunikativnost in kakovost zraka v odprtih in zaprtih prostorih), povezovanje strok ipd. *Interface* v tem kontekstu ne pomeni samo povezave med eno in drugo točko (točkami), pač pa po cirkularnem modelu, kot si ga zamišlja nevirobiologija (Damasio, 2004), zajema tudi vsebino povezav, in ga zaradi simbolnega pomena lahko imenujemo 'prostor dihanja'. Ali univerza izgublja priložnost, da bi še lahko izbirala?

Večina avtorjev s področja trajnosti je prepričanih, da je v razmerah odločanja o načinu življenja in ravnanja ključno poznavanje človeka v kritični situaciji in njegovi povezanosti s pokrajino (domovanjem). 'Človek v kritični situaciji' je sicer domneva, da se lahko v prihodnosti zelo spremenijo splošne razmere življenja oziroma da se ni mogoče zanašati na sedanje razumevanje kakovosti življenja, ki je povezana z energetsko razsipnostjo (McNeill, 2000). To je morda največji izziv trajnostne

kulture, obenem pa pobuda pri razumevanju celovitega univerzitetnega prostora kot dejavnika prenove. Raziskovanje modelov trajnosti na različnih ravneh se posveča razumevanju modelov vmesnika, ki omogočajo človekovo vključenost, preprečujejo izključenost in krepijo zavest o družbeni, ne le gospodarski ali politični pomembnosti znanja. Trajnost v izobraževanju namreč ni orodje tehnologij, pač posredništvo med človeškimi dejavnimi in naravnimi procesi. Ta vidik je pomemben pri vzemanju za univerzo kot zaključen in vključen prostor. UP (ali UK) bi lahko razvila poseben model v slovenskem visokošolskem prostoru in tudi v regiji, in sicer tako zaradi zgodovinskih, geografskih, gospodarskih in družbenih razmer, kot tudi zaradi iniciativ glede prihodnje organiziranosti družbe, ko se bo ta soočala z nujnimi omejitvami. Iz izkušenj na drugih področjih pa je moč sklepati na 'odpornost' kulture zanikanja.

Ad 2) Kaj v tem kontekstu ponujajo modeli kooperativnega, kolaborativnega, transformativnega učenja? Hkratne spremembe od spodaj in od zgoraj (Moore et al., 2005) vključujejo nove načine učenja (kooperativno, kolaborativno, transformativno) in dela (inter- in transdisciplinarnost). Na nujnost sprememb na tem področju namiguje *prevajanje* običajnega pojma trajnosti v družbenega. Novi modeli učenja in dela niso niti tako novi niti ne zahtevni kot kritični do sprememb od zgoraj (menedžment). Vsi modeli se formalno pojavljajo v t. i. kontinuiranem izobraževanju. Že raziskava o percepciji trajnostnega razvoja pa je pokazala na vrzel med teoretičnim znanjem, vrednotenjem želje, (nujno) osredotočenostjo študentov na vsebinski (predmetno-specifici) del izobraževanja in zmanjšano pozornostjo na človeške vire, močnim vplivom (Baconove) povezanosti med znanjem in močjo in velikim pričakovanjem sprememb od zgoraj. Akademska sfera niha med *zmoremo* in *ali-sploh-hočemo* in se izogiba odgovoru na bistveno vprašanje, kaj je trajnost onkraj občutljivosti za okolje, oziroma kako sploh ustrezno prevesti pojem trajnosti na družbenem, kulturnem in osebnem področju. V zadnjih letih se sicer razjasnjuje razlika med 'izobraževanjem za trajnostni razvoj' in 'okoljskim izobraževanjem' (Lukman, 2007: 104 sl.) in se kažejo spremembe na strukturni in deklarativni ravni, po mnenju J. Moore pa bi bila potrebna tudi bolj natančna *družbena* opredelitev trajnosti (Moore, 2004; prim. Orr, 1992; Bowers, 2001), in sicer zlasti spričo avtonomije akademskega prostora. Ključno vprašanje je oblikovanje človeške skupnosti in medsebojnih vezi (Archer, 2009), in sicer *tukaj-in-zdaj* ter na osnovi poznavanja človeka v kritičnih razmerah. Ne gre toliko za menedžment (funkcionalna racionalnost) kot za "substancialno racionalnost" (Orr, 2009, 106), ki zaznava družbene spremembe od spodaj in si ne zakriva oči spričo neprijetne resnice zanikanja (*ecological denial*) (Orr, 2002, 84–90) kot tudi spričo zahtevnosti in razsežnosti sprememb v prihodnosti (Friedman, 2008).

Številne objave s tega področja vzbujajo mešane občutke: nekateri avtorji poudarjajo, da se čas za spremembe izteka (Bowers, 2001; Orr, 2004; Rees, 2003) oziroma da že "živimo v dobi posledic" (Orr, 2009, 147), drugi kombinirajo elemente trajnosti in kontinuiranega izobraževanja z modifciranim sedanjim načinom življenja (O'Sullivan, 1999; Mezirow, 1997). Sporočilo enih in drugih je podobno: potreben je bistven premik, če se želi zaustaviti propadanje naravnega in humanega okolja ter vplivati na percepcijo skupnosti kot temeljne težnje trajnosti (*sustainable community*). Spričo sedanjega izobraževalnega sistema, ki "nadaljuje s proizvodnjo visokega odstotka slabo usposobljenih mladih ljudi za produktivno življenje v kompleksni družbi z majhno sposobnostjo kritičnega razmišljanja" (Orr, 2009, 27), številni avtorji (Zenobia Barlow, Thomas in Wendel Berry, Peter Corcoran, Patricia Cranton, Fritjof Capra, Amory Lovins, Janet Moore, Philip LeVine, David Orr, Edward Wilson in drugi) poudarjajo, da je čas, da se ta vprašanja integrirajo v visokošolski izobraževalni proces kot nova paradigma učenja. Edmund O'Sullivan (1999) meni, da je smiseln le korenit poseg v smeri kompleksnih simultanih sprememb. David Orr (1992) in Chet Bowers (1993; 1995) menita, da je potrebno tudi novo znanje, ki nastaja v vmesnem prostoru oziroma je ta *vmesnik*: vključenost človeških vprašanj v spremenjenih razmerah. Tradicionalni modeli izobraževanja in učenja oblikujejo človeka – delavca (*homo faber*) in potrošnika. V alternativnih modelih znanje ni samo posredovanje, pač pa nastaja kot rezultat človeške senzibilizacije in interakcije. Denominacije alternativnih oblik so sicer prevzete iz koncepta vseživljjenjskega učenja (Cranton, 2006; Mezirow, 2009), a so hkrati izvirne (Moore et al., 2005). Kenneth Bruffee (1998) razume interdisciplinarnost kot razmerje med organsko rastjo študijske skupine in pomenom znanja, ki nastaja v njej, medtem ko si zastavlja težja vprašanja, se pogaja, izpostavlja, ima znanje za skupno dobrino, spodbuja socialno inovativnost. To pa "ni tako enostavno, kot se zdi na prvi pogled. Odkrit pogovor – idealen dialog in kolaborativna konstrukcija znanja – si je lažje predstavljati, če ga vodi močna osebnost z avtoriteto – razmere, ki jih je najtežje spremeniti v večini študijskih okolij" (Moore et al., 2005, 81). Jack Mezirow (1997) in David Orr (2009, 84–108) moč interpretirata v kontekstu *pomoči* oziroma sposobnosti vodenja (*leadership*) in odzivanja. Paolo Freire, ki velja za predhodnika transformativnega modela učenja, je imel ta vzorec za jedro kolaborativne študijske skupine (Freire, 2005), izkušnje od spodaj, da "nas bo večje poznavanje narave čustev in občutja napravilo bolj previdne pred pastmi znanstvenega opazovanja /.../ Izobraževalni sistemi bi lahko izkoristili prednost neizpodbitne povezave med občutjem in videnjem bolj oddaljene prihodnosti ..." (Damasio, 1994, 246–7).

Razmišljjanje o prihodnosti visokega šolstva na temelju trajnosti vidi bistvo sprememb v zavestni udeležbi

pri spremembah, ki vključuje celoten sistem znanosti in hkratno človekovo raziskovanje na samem sebi (poglibitev etične zavesti). Razgrnitev načrtov novega kam-pusa Sonce v Kopru (februar 2010) je pokazala, da UP študentom še ne ponuja izkušnje strukturne interdisciplinarnosti. Mnenje večine avtorjev, ki so sodelovali v tematski številki *Journal of Cleaner Production* (2006, št. 9–11), je, da ideja o uresničevanju trajnosti *od zgoraj* ni prepričljiva, ker deluje na prikriteriu modelu zanikanja

(Kitcher, 2010). O tem priča tudi izkušnja na Univerzi v Mariboru (Lukman, 2007). Tudi nekatere rezultate raziskave o percepiji trajnostnega razvoja na slovenskih univerzah je lahko razumeti z vidika zakrivanja oči pred neprijetnimi rečmi. Ugotovitev Janet Moore in sodelavcev, "da so mnogi študentje povsem zadovoljni z izobraževanjem, osredotočenim na vsebino, in postanejo nestrpni, če se jim v študijski skupini predstavijo alternativni modeli" (2005, 83), zato ni presenetljiva.

PARADIGM OF SUSTAINABILITY AND A UNIVERSITY. THE SURVEY IN SLOVENIAN UNIVERSITIES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO UNIVERSITY OF PRIMORSKA

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SUMMARY

This article analyzes, first, the results of the Survey in Slovenian universities on the perception of sustainable development which was carried out in 2009 in the frame of the project Ethics in education for sustainable development. The survey was originally intended to research ethical dimensions of education for sustainable development (SD), but later focused also on the perception of SD in academic sphere. The research group has assumed that the education for SD in primary school is limited to some aspects of environmental education meanwhile in high school its presence is rapidly falling. Our hypothesis was also that the cause lies in educator's education at universities. The survey should show the presence of sustainability in universities curricula, its position in education and the familiarity of students and teachers with it. Some questions have also inquired about the opportunity that the sustainability becomes a 'grammar' of paradigm shift of work (research, education and learning) and everyday life at university.

Education, which we used to thinking as good in and of itself, which is but identified by principles of sustainability as one of the main causes of huge human impact on natural and human environment, deserves to be reviewed. It is the work of educated people. The education itself is ambiguous. The system of education was for decades subordinated to Cold War mentality and to economical goals of competition and consumerism. The article follows some unambiguous data that climate changes and other dramatic environmental predictions are in great measure consequences of human activity, but all together are only a symptom of much deeper crisis of dispersing between human and environment. Historically, one of the reasons for this situation was the narrow union between knowledge and power (Francis Bacon). Another reason was Descartes' epistemology and radical separation between subject and object. There are many other reasons of recent date as for example that the man with enough knowledge and technology can manage planet Earth, to name but only one.

The article follows the question how to sensitize the university space for complexity systems of biosphere which are still largely unknown. There are represented some basic information about sustainability education as well as some standard perspectives of it already implemented in some universities in the World. The inclusion of sustainability's factors in education and learning is not only a need of the culture of ecological design which asks for what human will respectively what the man enables to act as a human, but it is also a challenge how the man is knowing himself in a difficult situation. The article suggests some structural and organizational changes in educational process with special reference to University of Primorska. The youngest Slovene university has some opportunities which probably could enable long-term and significant changes in Slovenian as well in regional Higher Education Area.

Key words: sustainability education, university, perception of sustainable development, interdisciplinarity, collaborative learning, transformational learning

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BONI PATRES FAMILIAS. H KRITIKI POLITIČNE EKOLOGIJE

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IZVLEČEK

Namen članka je predstaviti sodobni problem ekoloških gibanj kot sistemskih – ki pritičejo kapitalistični logiki. Na podlagi analize enega prvih filmov katastrofe, Waterworld, pokaže, da so grožnje, ki jih ekološki aktivisti navajajo kot vzrok za skrb za okolje, pravzaprav sistemske prisile, ki ustvarjajo novo ideologijo in so lastne kapitalističnemu proizvodnjskemu sistemu. Članek tako odpira vprašanja etike ekologije, ekološke ideologije in kapitalistične ekologije, ki so ključni elementi pri ohranjanju kapitalizma.

Ključne besede: ekologija, filmi katastrofe, Kapital, Marx, sistemsko nasilje, Waterworld

BONI PATRES FAMILIAS. PER LA CRITICA DELL'ECOLOGIA POLITICA

SINTESI

Lo scopo dell'articolo è mostrare il problema contemporaneo dei movimenti ecologici e dell'ecologia come sistematici – tipici della logica capitalistica. Sulla base dell'analisi di uno dei primi film di catastrofe (Waterworld), mostra che le minacce citate dagli attivisti ecologici come causa per la tutela dell'ambiente, sono soprattutto delle coercizioni sistematiche che formano una nuova ideologia e sono proprie del sistema produttivo capitalista. L'articolo apre le domande sull'etica ecologica, l'ideologia ecologica e l'ecologia capitalista; elementi chiave per la conservazione del capitalismo.

Parole chiave: ecologia, film di catastrofe, Capitale, Marx, violenza sistemica, Waterworld

OD KOMUNIZMA DO EKOLOŠKE KATASTROFE

Zgodovinska obdobja so si v zadnjih dveh ali treh stoletjih začela hitro slediti, izmenjavati. Od industrijske revolucije dalje je vedno hitreje in učinkoviteje začel delovati razvoj, spremljali pa sta ga eksponenčna rast prebivalstva in prekomerno onesnaževanje. Prišlo je do tega, da je tako imenovana tretja industrijska revolucija pravzaprav elektronska revolucija, pri kateri gre za prevlado informacij in informacijskih tehnologij. Nič več težkega žezeja.

V petdesetih letih se je v (predvsem ameriški) kulturni industriji pojaviščil žanr atomskih filmov (prim. Blatnik, 1996). Ti filmi so bili produkt in reakcija nastanka in širše uporabe jedrske energije (tako v civilne kot vojaške namene) ter seveda zrcalo hladne vojne, kjer so atomske pošasti, bitja iz vesolja in podobni stvori v prvi vrsti predstavljeni pretečo grožnjo komunizma, ki prav zares ni prihajal iz vesolja, temveč iz vzhodnega bloka. Po njegovem razpadu na koncu osemdesetih let je nastala vrzel, Fukuyamov konec zgodovine (prim. Fukuyama, 2006), in navsezadnje dokončna prevlada politično-ekonomskega sistema, znanega kot kapitalizem. Kmalu po tem, v sredini devetdesetih, se je pojavila vsespološna potreba po novem sovražniku, ki ni več mogel prihajati iz vesolja (tega gledalci-potrošniki ne bi več *kupili*). Ta sovražnik je postal Zemlja sama, planet in Narava sta postala sovražnik, toda tak sovražnik, proti kateremu se ne borimo; sovražnik, ki samo napada in ga ni mogoče napadati nazaj. Tega sovražnika bi bilo mogoče prej primerjati z nekakšnim imunskim sistemom, ki se skuša znebiti tujka v organizmu – človeka. Leta 1996 je Jan de Bont posnel film *Twister*, v katerem prihajajoči tornado obljudbla, da bo zravnal z zemljo ameriško zvezno državo Oklahoma. Kmalu za tem se je v Hollywoodu pojavila cela serija tako imenovanih filmov katastrofe, kot so na primer *Dante's Peak* (1997), *The Perfect Storm* (2000) in *The Day After Tomorrow* (2004). Komunizem zamenja ekološka katastrofa, sovražnik ni več zunanj, temveč notranji, zelo globoko zasidran v nas – narava sama.¹ Po padcu trdnjave, ki je veljala kot edini kontrapunkt kapitalizmu, je moral nastati nov sovražnik, to je novonastali sovražnik, ki ga je proizvedel sistem sam s svojo pretirano produkcijo in onesnaževanjem (vsaj tako o tem ekologi z Al Gorom na čelu).

Kaj to pomeni v kapitalistični sistemski logiki? Je preteča ekološka katastrofa dejstvo ali zgolj še eno sredstvo kontrole, ki si jo izmislil sam sistem?

EKOLOGIJA IN IDEOLOGIJA

Na tej točki se strinjam z Žižkom, ko v svojem eseju *Med strahom in terorjem* pravi, da je grožnja ekološke katastrofe le novo sredstvo za izvajanje kontrole, ki ji on pravi "sistemske nasilje". To ni nasilje, ki je, ki obstaja na fenomenalni ravni, je nasilje, globoko zasidrano v samem sistemu, ni vidno: je nevidni dejavnik. Nič več ideološki aparat (šola, vojska, policaj, ki pretepa sosedja), je aparat, ki mu ni potrebno reagirati v družbi, za to da bi deloval. Funkcionira po inerciji, ki jo poganjajo sami subjekti, ki so sistemskemu nasilju podrejeni, a se letega sploh ne zavedajo. Kapitalizem kot politično-ekonomski sistem je s svojim delovanjem postal "samo-umeven", biti in delovati v takem sistemu pa nekakšna prisila, ki se ji posameznik ne more več ogniti (saj je edini možen). In zato je to sistemsko prisila, sistemsko nasilje ali, kot pravi Žižek: "nihče ni osebno odgovoren zanjo, vsi le čutijo potrebo po tem, da se ji prilagodijo. In isto velja za kapitalizem kot tak: nihče ni odgovoren, vsi smo ujeti v objektivizirano nujo, da tekmujemo in ustvarjamo dobičke, da ohranjamo nenehno kroženje Kapitala. V čem je torej težava danes? Čeprav imajo lahko naša (včasih celo individualna) dejanja katastrofalne (ekološke itd.) posledice, je težava v tem, da te posledice še naprej dojemamo kot anonimne/sistemske, kot nekaj, za kar sami nismo odgovorni, za kar ni jasnega povzročitelja" (Žižek, 2006, 41).

Ekologija je postala (prim. Žižek, 2008) *nov opij za ljudstvo*. Kaj to pomeni v svetu globalnega kapitalizma, kakšne posledice ima ekološki aktivizem in njegova popularnost – je to zgolj modna muha ali je mogoče v tem pojavu poiskati ontološko osnovo, strukturo osveženega ideološkega delovanja kapitalizma?

MARKSISTIČNA EKOLOGIJA

Ne trdim, da je ekološka zavest *a priori* slaba oziroma da je le orodje kapitalizma. Na zadevo je potrebno pogledati od zadaj, če že ne s strani. Vsekakor pritrjujem tezi, da postaja ekološka zavest nek nov tip delovanja ideologije, nek vztrajnostni moment, ki drži skupaj doseženo stanje. Vendar kako je prišlo do te izrabe ekologije *qua* ideologije? Seveda ni na delu neka univerzalna zvijačnost uma, ki poganja stvari po inerciji, temveč bolj nekakšna partikularna zvijačnost sistema samega. Ni celotno delovanje dialektike, temveč mikro-dialektika samega ekonomskega sistema, ki je del univerzalne dialektike sveta. Situacijo je potrebno obravnavati z vidika

1 Narava je seveda nekaj zunanjega, nekaj, čemur se človek zoperstavi zato, da bi sploh lahko postal človek (že pri Heglu, na primer, kjer je eden od korakov k poti do samozavedanja ta, da človek postavi naravo izven sebe, kot predmet in si jo podredi; drugič pa na primer v psihanalizi, kjer je moment ločitve od zunanjega okolja, moment individuacije, ključen za vzpostavitev psihičnega aparata). Kljub vsemu pa ostaja narava nekaj, kar je v nas (genetska pogojenost), nekaj, čemur ne moremo zbežati oz. zamejiti.

metamorfozne sposobnosti kapitalizma. Kapitalska logika je logika požiranja in spreminjanja; sistem, ki dopušča kritiko in svarila, deluje kot sito, ki zadržuje trdo bistvo teh kritik, skozi pa pušča prefiltirano tekočo formo, ki postane tako neškodljiva (za kapitalistično juho, ki se kuha oziroma znova in znova pregrevata).

Če je govor o kapitalizmu in ekologiji, ne morem mimo Marxa. Ta ni sicer nikoli eksplisitno govoril o ekologiji² (o mnogočem ni govoril eksplisitno, a koliko še danes pomembnih vpogledov v družbo je razvidnih v njegovih delih), kljub temu pa je že v svoji analizi kapitalizma uvidel težavo hiperprodukcije in eksploracije zemeljskih dobrin. Tako v tretjem delu *Kapitala* piše: "[s] stališča višje ekonomske družbene formacije se bo privatna lastnina zemlje³ posameznih individuov zdela prav tako nesmiselna kot privatna lastnina človeka po drugem človeku. Niti cela družba, narod, pa celo niti vse istočasne družbe skupaj niso lastniki zemlje. So le njeni posestniki, jo le uživajo in jo morajo kot boni patres familias [dobri družinski očetje] izboljšano zapustiti prihodnjim generacijam" (Marx, 1973, 865).

Torej lahko že pri Marxu govorimo o zavesti in prizadevanju za trajnostni razvoj, za zmerno uporabo zemlje, za nekakšno ekološko misel. Ekologija ni tuja socialistično-komunistični viziji, tudi Lenin, čeprav bolj v smeri vprašanja o privatizaciji in nacionalizaciji kmetijskih površin, tematizira problematiko industrializacije in pretiranega tehničnega napredka kmetijstva (prim. Lenin, 1981).⁴ Tema pa seveda ni tuja niti Engelsu: "nikakor ne gospodujemo nad naravo tako, kakor gospoduje kak osvojevalec nad tujim narodom, kakor da smo izven narave, temveč s svojim mesom, krvjo in možgani pripadamo naravi in bivamo v njej; spominja nas, da je bistvo vsega našega gospodovanja nad naravo v tem, da bolje spoznavamo njene zakone kakor vsa druga bitja in jih znamo pravilno uporabljati" (Engels, 1953, 196).

Pravzaprav pa sta ekologija in ekonomija tesno povezani, to je uvidel že Marx – tudi zemlja je proizvodni sredstvo in okolje je potrebno varovati. Moore celo predlaga, da je ta povezava pravzaprav izvorna: "[a]gro-ekološke spremembe dolgega 16. stoletja niso oznanile le vznik kapitalistične svetovne ekonomije, temveč istočasno vznik kapitalistične svetovne ekologije. Kar predlagam, ni medsebojno delovanje svetovne ekonomije v eni škatli in svetovne ekologije v drugi,

temveč prej razumevanje kapitalizma, v katerem sta ekonomija in ekologija čedalje bolj nemisljivi druga brez druge" (Moore, 2003, 446).

Obstaja torej vez med ekologijo (ali bolje rečeno skrbjo za Zemljo) in kapitalističnim sistemom produkcije. Ta vez očitno ni slaba v startu (Marxova pozicija), lahko pa tako postane, gledano v razvoju, in tako se je tudi zgodilo, ko je prišlo do pojava, ki mu Moore pravi "svetovna ekologija" (Moore, 2003). Biti ekološki aktivist pomeni danes služiti oziroma boriti se za barve kapitalizma, kot bom razvil spodaj. Ekologi nam razlagajo o škodljivih posledicah, ki jih ima človekovo delovanje na Zemljo – a kljub temu so te posledice obravnavane kot sistemski, take, da na njih ne moremo vplivati (ker delujemo znotraj kapitalističnega svetovnega sistema,⁵ ki je izvor negativnih učinkov na okolje – v resnici pa bi rez s temi sistemskimi posledicami bil rez s trenutnim svetovnim sistemom). Paradoks vsega je torej v tem, da bolj kot postaja težava ozaveščena, manj je "vidna", manjši je občutek, da lahko težavo razrešimo, podobno kot Poejevo ukradeno pismo: skrito vsem na očeh. Vendar zakaj bi bila težava sploh rešena?

SVET POD VODO IN PRVA INTERPRETACIJA

Seveda se človeška domišljija ne ustavi samo pri tem, da se sprašuje, kaj bi bilo pa lahko onkraj tega, kako se bo situacija razpletla. Predvsem gre kulturna industrija še dlje – posname film. Leta 1995 nastane veliki projekt *Waterworld*, ena največjih filmskih polomij v zgodovini Hollywooda. Kljub temu, da film ni bil *bestseller*, ga ne gre kar tako zavreči. Zgodba je sila preprosta: v ne tako daljni prihodnosti se svetovno podnebje sesuje pod vplivom učinka tople grede, led na tečajih se stopi, morja poplavijo kopno in človeštvo je obsojeno na življenje na vodi. Tako se izoblikujejo (večinoma) nepovezane skupnosti, ki živijo na tako imenovanih atolih. Kakor se za morje v apokaliptični situaciji spodobi, so prisotni tudi nekakšni pirati, ki se poganjajo z motorji na notranje izgorevanje, črpajoč preostale zaplenjene zaloge naftne. In kot se spodobi za vsak apokaliptični film, obstaja tudi nek cilj, ki drži človeštvo na nogah – *Dryland*, edini nepoplavljen preostanek kopnega na vsem planetu.

2 O Marxovi ekološki misli prim. Bellamy Foster, 2000.

3 V besedilu je pojem "zemlja" uporabljen na različne načine: gre za običajno zemljo (prst), pla net Zemlja ter pojem iz Deleuzove in Guattarijeve filozofije. Ti trije pojmi so uporabljeni v kontekstu, ne gre jih enačiti, vsekakor pa imajo skupne vezi, ki so izpostavljene na ustreznih mestih.

4 Poleg uničujočega učinka na obdelovano zemljo in okolje pa prinaša tak tehnični razvoj tudi znižanje stroškov produkcije, ki povzroči večjo proizvodnjo, slednja pa naposled služi večji akumulaciji kapitala – ta akumulacija pa je bistvo kapitalizma, ki se s tem reproducira (zapomniti pa si velja, da mora biti ta akumulacija vedno večja).

5 Svetovni sistem, v teoriji Immanuela Wallersteina, označuje strukturo, ki se pojavlja kot organizacija sveta. V svoji teoriji svetovnih sistemov tako trdi, da sta obstajali dve obliki svetovnih sistemov: svetovni imperij (rimski imperij, hanovska Kitajska) in svetovna ekonomija. Pri prvi gre za enotno strukturo, ki vlada eni kulturi in je centralizirana. Druga pa je struktura, ki ima več centrov in vlada več kulturam. Trenutni svetovni sistem je svetovna ekonomija (kapitalistični način produkcije). Prim. Wallerstein, 2006.

Kljub vsej svoji zabavljški naivnosti pa film ponuja zanimiv vpogled v razvoj človeka (evolucionistično gledano: glavni junak je mutant, ki ima škrge, da bi lažje preživel v človeku sovražnem novonastalem okolju). Osnovni nastavek, ki ga lahko razberemo iz filma, je namreč, da je človek bitje, ki prvenstveno domuje na kopnem (in se šele naknadno začne potapljati in vzpenjati v atmosfero) in ki ni sposobno preživeti brez zemlje. Nabiralništvo, lov in kmetijstvo so tiste prve tri razvojne stopnje, ki so pogojevale človeški razvoj, tako razvoj vrste kot razvoj družbene organizacije te vrste (nomadstvo, sedentarnost), vse tri pa temeljijo na plovodih in obdelovanju zemlje. *Waterworld* pa je svet brez zemlje, zaradi tega zemlja pridobi neizmerno ceno in vrednost. Zemlja je nekaj neproizvedenega, še vedno tisto naravno, a tokrat postane naravno bogastvo. V svetu pod vodo je zato zlato brez pomena, ker v zlato se ne da posaditi paradižnika, iz zlata ne raste nič užitnega. Če parafraziram Marxa, lahko shemo denarne oblike iz *Kapitala* (prim. Marx, 1961, 82) pretvorim v:

20 vatlov platna	=	}	2 unči zemlje
1 suknjič	=		
10 funtov čaja	=		
40 funtov kave	=		
1 quarter pšenice	=		
½ tone železa	=		
x blaga A	=		

ter tako zamenjam zlato za zemljo; v *Waterworldu* ni več splošni ekvivalent vrednosti zlato, temveč to postane zemlja. Za zlato namreč velja, da "[k]akor hitro je osvojilo monopol tega položaja [splošnega ekvivalenta] v vrednostnem izrazu blagovnega sveta, postane denarno blago, in sicer od trenutka, ko je že postal denarno blago, se začne oblika D razlikovati od oblike C, ali z drugimi besedami, se je splošna oblika vrednosti spremenila v denarno obliko" (Marx, 1961, 82). Kaj pa se dogaja z zemljo? Prav enako kot z zlatom, kakor hitro je osvojila monopol položaja splošnega ekvivalenta, je postala denarno blago,⁶ oz. spremenila se je iz splošne oblike vrednosti v denarno obliko.

Za zemljo, najprej pretvorjeno v tako imenovane *chits*, je tako mogoče izmenjevati kakršno koli blago, in cena blaga se uravna ravno po tem, koliko je zemlje (denarja) v obtoku. Vsi ekonomski mehanizmi ostanejo v

uporabi, le sredstvo menjave in določanja cene se spremeni, in če je vse denar, lahko, z obrnjenim Talesom iz Mleta, za *Waterworld* rečemo: vse je zemlja. Kakšne posledice potegne to za seboj?

V svetu po katastrofi se zaradi redkosti dobrine, ki obstaja kot splošni ekvivalent vrednosti, vrednost vseh obstoječih blag uravnava ravno po redkosti te dobrine, zemlje, za pridobitev katere je potreben ogromen vložek človekovega dela. Nekaj kilogramov zemlje je zato v *Waterworldu* veliko dražjih kot nekaj kilogramov dobrine, ki je prej veljala za splošni ekvivalent vrednosti – zlata.

OPOMBA O FETIŠISTIČNEM ZNAČAJU BLAGA IN DRUGA INTERPRETACIJA SVETA POD VODO

V takem svetu je odnos do privatne lastnine⁷ še bolj izostren kakor v (našem) času globalnega kapitalizma, kar pomeni še večjo alienacijo individuov in še večjo moč blagovnega fetišizma.

Zaostreni odnosi v poplavljenem svetu so odnosi zaostrenega individualizma; skrivnost fetišističnega značaja blaga postane tako še bolj skrita, kajti če so bili intersubjektivni odnosi že v obdobju zgodnjega kapitalizma pogojeni z blagovnimi odnosi, z menjavo blag na trgu, tedaj je v svetu pod vodo fantazmagorična oblika blaga prgnana do mračne stopnje absolutne samoumennosti. Če je resničnost blagovnih odnosov v *Kapitalu* Marx povezoval z meglenim področjem verskega sveta, je tukaj megla še gostejša. Menjalni odnosi blaga, ki delujejo kot osnova za družbene odnose (te odnose pravzaprav pogojujejo, to je menjalni odnosi med blagom dajejo videz predhodnosti, hodijo pred družbenimi odnosi in zato le-te pogojujejo), so pravzaprav delo domišljije, in to delo Marx imenuje fetišizem, "ki se prilepi produktom dela, brž ko se producirajo kot blago, in ki je zato neločljiv od blagovne produkcije" (Marx, 1961, 85).

Kritika kapitalizma z vidika blagovnega fetišizma je prisotna tudi v Deleuzovem in Guattarijevem *Anti-Ojdipu*, kjer je ravno poudarjen odnos med kapitalizmom in zemljo; zemlja⁸ je pred kapitalizmom, a kapitalizem naredi tako, kakor bi le-ta bil prej, kakor bi bil osnovna logika, na kateri se potem gradi družba, ali: "[v]se se kaže kot (objektivno) proizvedeno s strani kapitala kot kvazi-vzroka" (Deleuze, Guattari, 1977, 12). Blagovni fetišizem ni torej samo fantazmagorični prikaz kapitalizma kot osnovne logike delovanja sveta, temveč tudi

6 V filmu sicer ni denarja, obstaja pa njegov približek: *chit*, nekakšen žeton.

7 Iz filmskega dialoga: "To je moje! [...] Ne dotikaj se ničesar mojega."

8 Zemlje tu ne pišem z veliko začetnico, ker ni govora o planetu, temveč o nekakšni imanentni osni vi, predpogoju ustvarjanja ali aktualizacije, kot temu procesu pravi Deleuze, *prim. Deleuze*, 2005. Kapital to "zemljo" deteritorializira/teritorializira in si jo s tem prisvaja – to, v grobih linijah rečeno, pomeni, da omejuje stvaritveni potencial te zemlje in s tem izvaja kontrolo nad kaotično kreacijo te zemlje. Več o de/teritorializaciji v *Anti-Ojdipu*, napisanem s Félixom Guattarijem.

mehanizem, ki ohranja tak sistem pri življenju. Zato delovanje blagovnega fetišizma ni vezano na določeno družbo, njegovo področje delovanja je "perverzni začrani fetišistični svet, ki pripada vsem vrstam družbe kot konstanta družbene reprodukcije" (Deleuze, Guattari, 1977, 13). Vse dokler obstaja blagovni fetišizem, obstaja kapital, in dokler obstaja kapital, obstaja blagovni fetišizem – *circulum vitiosus*.

Toda, kaj pa če *Waterworld* prikazuje možni izid sesutja kapitalističnega sistema, če je ta vizija pogled na drugo stran medalje? Kaj če je kapitalizem po katastrofi zadel ob svojo notranjo mejo (neskončna akumulacija kapitala) in jo spremenil v zunanjo mejo ter jo s tem sesul (to sesutje pa je istočasno sesutje kapitalizma samega)? Kajti kapitalizem je namreč "zunanja meja vsake družbe ravno zaradi tega, ker kar se njega tiče, nima zunanje meje, temveč samo notranjo mejo, to je kapital sam, ki te meje ne sreča, temveč jo reproducira ter tako nenehno prestavlja" (Deleuze, Guattari, 1977, 261). Ali bolj osnovno, z Marxom: "Kapitalistična produkcija stalno teži, da bi premagala te svoje immanentne meje, toda premaguje jih samo s sredstvi, ki ji znova in v še silnejšem merilu postavljajo te meje. *Prava meja kapitalistične produkcije je kapital sam*. Meja je v tem, da se kapital in samopovečevanje njegove vrednosti pojavljava kot izhodišče in konec, kot motiv in smoter produkcije; da je produkcija samo produkcija za *kapital*, ne pa nasprotno, da bi bila produksijska sredstva samo sredstva za čedalje širše oblikovanje življenjskega procesa v korist družbe producentov" (Marx, 1973, 282).

Waterworld in Zemlja po poplavi sta izbrisala to mejo oziroma naredila sta jo za zunanjo mejo, pravo pravcato fizično (materialno) mejo kapitalizmu, ki je s takim izidom izgubil osnovo za njemu lasten produksijski način in neskončno akumulacijo kapitala (brez zemlje, od katere je bila produkcija odvisna že tisočletja, se osnovna oblika kapitalističnega produksijskega načina začne krušiti). Po taki interpretaciji bi lahko sklenil, da je *Waterworld* svet brez kapitalizma, svet po propadu trenutnega cikla svetovnega sistema, ki se je prelevil v eno od možnih variant, ki jih navaja Močnik: trg brez imperija (prim. Močnik, 2006, 142).⁹ Za preživetje kapitalističnega načina proizvodnje je namreč nujna povezava med državo in kapitalom (politiko in trgom), ločitev teh dveh sfer lahko torej privede do neke nove, nezamisljive oblike svetovnega sistema, v tem primeru trga brez velesile, ki bi uravnavala njegovo delovanje.

OD EKOLOGIJE-IDEOLOGIJE H KRITIKI KAPITALIZMA

A naj kljub vsemu obrnem medaljo nazaj na prvo predlagano plat. Kapitalizem kot svetovni sistem obstaja tudi po propadu osnove tega sistema – zemlje. Ekološka kritika kapitalizma (če jemljemo v zakup izid *Waterworlda* kot mogoč in temelječ na nekaterih Žižkovih opazkah) je neučinkovita, ravno nasprotno: pomaga kapitalu.

Uteho pred sistemskim terorjem (to je, da je mogoče kaj narediti) pa najdemo v ekologiji, ki s tega vidika deluje kot mitologija (iz bodočnosti) oziroma kot novi opij za ljudstvo. Obstajajo strokovnjaki, ki z opozarjanjem na katastrofalne učinke človekovega onesnaževanja rešujejo svet; novodobni mesije, ki se (za/namesto nas) borijo za svet z manj toplogrednimi plini. Seveda obstajajo določeni ekologi, ki te težave rešujejo nekapitalsko oziroma aktivistično. Vendar pri tem velja dodati, da so take organizacije (kot na primer Green Peace) izven znanstvenega polja in izven diskurzivne logike "uradne" ekologije in so zaradi tega vselej potisnjene na rob, označene kot "teroristične" in pa daleč stran od velikih medijskih pokrivanj. Na drugi strani pa se nahajajo ekologi-znanstveniki, ki suvereno nastopajo v javnosti in obljudljajo rešitev. Kritizirati gretorej ravno te izpostavljene ekologe, psevdoznanstvenike, ki manifestno zagovarjajo odpravo prekomernega onesnaževanja, ne podajo pa temeljite analize in strukturirane rešitve problema. Ti znanstveniki delujejo kot branik človeštva, vendar za njihovim delovanjem stojijo mnogo bolj kompleksne implikacije. V sodobnih raziskavah o sociologiji znanosti se je pojavil nov koncept: *Mode-2*.¹⁰ V sredini dvajsetega stoletja se je pojavila nova produkcija znanja, imenovana *Mode-2*. Od takrat dalje je ta produkcija odvisna od konteksta, osredotočena na partikularno vprašanje, in je interdisciplinarna. Pri taki produkciji so prisotne ekipe raziskovalcev iz različnih disciplin, ki delajo oziroma raziskujejo težave v "resničnem" svetu. To je seveda v nasprotju s pojmovanjem "klasične" znanosti, ki je bila individualna, univerzalna ter, po mnenju nekaterih, tudi odstranjena od konkretnih problemov (zelo pogosto je to oznako dobila filozofija). "Če je znanost v tradicionalni družbi oblikovala avtonomno sfero, kar pomeni, da je avtonomistična, reduktivna in samo-referenčna, je sedaj postala bolj odprta, kakor tudi populistična in pluriistična" (Ženko, 2007, 105). Ravno tako je ekologija, ki jo tukaj kritiziram. Gre za ekologijo, ki raziskuje težavo v "resničnem" svetu – onesnaževanje. Vendar te ekolo-

9 Več o teoriji svetovnih sistemov prim. Wallerstein, 2006.

10 Za podrobnejši pregled tega pojma glej Ženko, 2007, 99–115.



Sl. 1: Gustave Doré, La déluge (Vesoljni potop), 1866.

Fig. 1: Gustave Doré, The Flood, 1866.

(vir / source: http://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slika:Gustave_Doré_-_The_Holy_Bible_-_Plate_I,_The_Deluge.jpg)

gije ne sproži individualna težja po raziskovanju, temveč od zunaj inducirana zahteva po rešitvi konkretnega problema: "Mode-2 znanje [je] izvedeno v kontekstu posebne uporabe in je namenjeno temu, da je uporabno za nekoga" (Ženko, 2007, 107). Ta zahteva pa je v tem primeru globoko prepletena z ekonomijo: lastniki produkcijskih sredstev se seveda zavedajo težav, ki jih je povzročila množična proizvodnja in različne industrializacije, toda za njihovo težjo po odpravljanju nastalih stanj ležijo ravno vzroki, povezani s profitom (ohraniti je potrebno produkcijska sredstva, v veliki meri povezana z okoljem in naravo, ter seveda obenem utišati tisto peščico kritičnih aktivistov, ki "zares" menijo, da tako onesnaževanje vodi v pogubo).

Podobno uteho najdemo tudi v *Waterworldu*, kjer se transformacija nevzdržne realnosti kaže kot poslednji kotiček zemlje na Zemlji – *Dryland*. Ko bo človeštvo končno prišlo do tega zadnjega kopnega, bo trenutno stanje nepotrebitno, odnosi se bodo spremenili, težka individualistična borba ne bo stvar za ropotarnico zgo-

dovine. Utopija. Film sicer na koncu pade na najmočnejši točki, *Dryland* naposled le najdejo, seveda morajo prej uničiti morske pirate in druge negativce, a vendar. Naj nam to zaenkrat zadostuje za natančen in končni vpogled v odnos med kapitalizmom in ekologijo.

Kaj je torej glavna težava ekologije, ki jo kapital zlorablja? Gre za to, da se (tak) ekološki diskurz gradi na nekem drugem, na analitičnem pogledu naravoslovnih znanosti, gre za prenašanje odgovornosti na nek subjekt, za katerega se predpostavlja, da ve. Ne trdim, da je vidik vpletanja znanosti v ekologijo napačen, napačen je način, na katerega se trenutno (večji del) znanstvenikov-okoljevarstvenikov loteva problema: "[č]lovekovo poseganje v naravo je neločljivo podvrženo dialektiki nemernih posledic, ki jih je naslikal Engels. Po njegovem mnenju bi lahko ljudje ob pomoči naravoslovia odpravili te posledice, ko bi dokazali, da so škodljive. Toda ta proces močno ovira sedanja prevlada kapitalističnih produkcijskih odnosov, ki spodbuja uporabo znanstvenih spoznanj za predstavljanje naravnega sveta (tudi takih

abstraktnih bitnosti, kot so geni) kot vsestransko nado-mestljivega in uporabljivega. Logika konkurenčne akumulacije tako ne povzroča le globokih ekonomskeh kriz; je glavna gonilna sila procesov, ki vedno bolj grozijo z uničenjem okolja. Kapitali, ujeti v konkurenčni boj za prednost pred tekmeci, skupaj drvijo k izidu, ki napoveduje planetarno katastrofo" (Callinicos, 2004, 56).

Problem utemeljevanja ekologije na naravoslovnih znanostih je, da zaradi vse premočnega vpliva kapitala ne samo na politiko, temveč tudi na znanstveno področje, pravzaprav ohranjajo zatečeno stanje, njihovo delovanje je usmerjeno v to, kako ohraniti kapital pri življenju (indirektno, a vendar). Se pravi logika teh znanstvenih ekip ni reševati naravo, temveč prej izjava: narava je zamenljiva, naravo lahko po svoje ponovno in bolje zgradimo. Taka je, na primer, debata okoli genetsko spremenjenih živil: "[n]edvomno obseno prizadevanje biotehnoških korporacij za nadzor nad celotno prehransko verigo razodeva razvoj 'terminatorskih' tehnologij, po zaslugi katerih bi genetsko spremenjena semena lahko ustvarila neplodne rastline, s tem pa bi kmetje postali za vedno odvisni od dobaviteljev teh semen" (Callinicos, 2004, 55). Po drugi strani pa lahko najdemo še en perverzni obrat v tej logiki. Ekologija *qua* ideologija se izvaja v centru; zunanjji sovražnik so tako imenovane nerazvite države (ali v razvoju), tisti na periferiji, ki jim ni mar za ekologijo (onesnažujejo, ker se hočejo razviti). Ekologija je lahko s tega vidika legitimacija zatiranja in izkoriščanja centra teh predelov

sveta, ki jim pravimo periferija. Če se ekološka zavest razvije v tej smeri, da strogo diktira zmanjšanje izpusta toplogrednih plinov, na primer, je to tako tudi oviranje periferije, ki ne more doseči stopnje, ki jo je center že prešel (močna težka industrializacija).

Sklep je torej, da je krivda za tako stanje le v enem momentu, v enem akterju in to je kapital kot tak (prim. Callinicos, 2004, 54, 74). Tudi v *Waterworldu*, kljub temu da se je ekološka katastrofa dejansko zgodila, pa se nek sistem (ki je do takega stanja svet privedel) še vedno jemlje kot samoumeven; zdravorazumsko postane to, da se sedaj živi na vodi in deluje v okolju, kjer ni več zemlja poglavitna baza človeške prakse, temveč je to voda. Kot smo videli, igra pri Mode-2 znanostih veliko vlogo interdisciplinarnost. Ta je seveda prisotna v "uporabni" ekologiji, ki problem onesnaževanja jemlje večstransko in celostno, vendar pa ne smemo pozabiti, da je tudi tako večstransko in celostno zaobjetje problematike – problematično. Gre namreč za to, da ne glede na kakšen način se znanstveniki (ali pa psevdoznanstveniki) spopadajo z določenimi težavami, so ta vprašanja inducirana ravno s strani kapitala v tem, da reševanje teh težav podpira zaradi zgoraj omenjene "lastne" koristi. Ekološka misel onkraj sistemskega nasilja je tako vsekakor potrebna, če nočemo človeštva popolnoma potisniti na rob preživetja, a še bolj potreben je radikalni rez s svetovnim sistemom, v katerem živimo danes, le to nas namreč lahko reši pred negotovo prihodnostjo.

BONI PATRES FAMILIAS. TOWARDS A CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECOLOGY

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SUMMARY

The author of the article considers the contemporary phenomenon of ecologic movements and ecology in relation to ideology. He develops the theory on the analysis of the american movie *Waterworld*, which represents the systemic logic of the threat, described as imminent by the ecologic activists. The analysis goes from the atomic movies, which represent the filmic description of the exterior enemy in the era of the atomic revolution and the cold war (in the fifties of the 20th century), to the so called catastrophe movies, which emerge after the end of the cold war and seek a new enemy, embodied in the Earth/nature. And from there he passes to the analysis of ecology and ecological catastrophes awareness from the point of view of systemic violence (Žižek) and the subtle working of the capitalist systemic logic. From there on he develops the thesis, that such ecology is just a new ideology, performing systemic violence over a vast population to preserve the current world-system (the capitalist mode of production), admirably and overtly shown in the aforementioned movie.

Key words: ecology, catastrophe movies, Capital, Marx, systemic violence, *Waterworld*

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IZBRANI VIDIKI EKOLOŠKEGA KMETIJSTVA V SLOVENIJI S POSEBNIM POUDARKOM NA SLOVENSKI ISTRI

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IZVLEČEK

V članku predstavljamo značilnosti in problematiko ekološkega kmetijstva v Sloveniji s posebnim poudarkom na Slovenski Istri. Za Slovenijo kot celoto lahko rečemo, da je ekološko kmetijstvo v primerjavi s povprečjem EU nadpovprečno razvito. Vendar se v zastopanosti ekološkega kmetijstva pojavljajo velike razlike med posameznimi regijami Slovenije. Poleg razlik v zastopanosti je problematična tudi sestava ekoloških površin, saj v veliki večini prevladujejo travinja (približno 90% vseh ekoloških površin). Razlog za tako stanje je predvsem v tem, da se je ekološko kmetijstvo najbolj razvilo na območjih, kjer so naravne razmere za kmetijstvo težavnejše (hribovitejši predeli) in omogočajo predvsem usmeritev v živinorejo, čemur so namenjene travniške ter pašniške površine. Drugi razlog pa je subvencijska politika, ki (preveč) podpira omenjeno usmeritev. V nadaljevanju so predstavljeni rezultati terenske raziskave o ekološkem kmetovanju v Slovenski Istri, kjer so naravne razmere za razvoj te dejavnosti ugodne, vendar je ekološko kmetijstvo v tej regiji dobitilo "zagon" šele v zadnjih letih, zato je v primerjavi s stanjem v Sloveniji tudi podpovprečno razvito. Za razliko od prevladujoče usmerjenosti ekološkega kmetijstva v Sloveniji (živinoreja, travniške in pašniške površine) je v Slovenski Istri število živine izredno nizko in posledično je tudi travniških ter pašniških površin veliko manj (25% vseh ekoloških površin). Prevladujejo vinogradi (38% vseh ekoloških površin), približno šestina je njivskih površin in petina oljčnikov ter sadovnjakov skupaj. V Slovenski Istri prevladujejo oljkarske in mešane ekološke kmetije.

Ključne besede: EU, Slovenija, Slovenska Istra, (konvencionalno) kmetijstvo, ekološko kmetijstvo

ASPETTI PRESCELTI DELL'AGRICOLTURA ECOLOGICA IN SLOVENIA CON PARTICOLARE RIFERIMENTO ALL' ISTRIA SLOVENA

SINTESI

Nell'articolo vengono presentate le caratteristiche e le problematicità dell'agricoltura ecologica in Slovenia con particolare riferimento all'Istria slovena. Possiamo affermare che in Slovenia l'agricoltura ecologica ha raggiunto un livello superiore alla media dell'UE. Ciò nonostante a livello di regioni slovene si registrano notevoli differenze, non soltanto per quanto riguarda le quote ma anche per la struttura delle superfici, a prevalere sono superfici a prato stabile (circa il 90% delle superfici ecologiche). La ragione va ricercata nelle caratteristiche evolutive dell'agricoltura ecologica che è stata adottata soprattutto in aree dove le condizioni ambientali risultano meno favorevoli (zone montane), facendo prevalere la zootecnia cui sono destinati le superfici a prato e pascolo. Inoltre questo stato delle cose è la conseguenza naturale di una politica delle sovvenzioni che privilegia (eccessivamente) l'attuale indirizzo. Nel prosieguo dell'articolo sono presentati i risultati della ricerca sull'agricoltura ecologica nell'Istria slovena realizzata sul territorio. Le condizioni naturali risultano favorevoli a tale indirizzo, eppure solo negli ultimi anni è "decollata", con un'incidenza ancora limitata sul panorama nazionale, ragion per cui risulta al disotto della media slovena. A differenza della tipologia che prevale nell'agricoltura ecologica slovena (allevamento, superfici a prato e pascolo), nell'Istria slovena si registra un numero modesto di capi di bestiame e conseguentemente anche le superfici a prato e pascolo sono più ridotte (il 25% di tutte le superfici ecologiche). Prevaleggono i vigneti (38% delle aree ecologiche complessive), un sesto circa sono campi coltivati e un quinto è rappresentato da uliveti e frutteti. Nell'Istria slovena la maggior parte delle aziende agricole ecologiche sono o di tipo misto oppure sono specializzate in olivicoltura.

Parole chiave: UE, Slovenia, Istria slovena, agricoltura (convenzionale), agricoltura ecologica

UVOD

Kmetijstvo velja danes poleg industrije, prometa in energetskega sektorja gospodarstva za enega večjih onesnaževalcev okolja, saj negativno vpliva na celotno biosfero, obenem pa so vprašljive kakovosti tudi pridelki ter izdelki, ki so bili pridelani s pomočjo umetnih gnojil in fitofarmacevtskih sredstev, ali pa tisti, ki spadajo v skupino gensko spremenjenih organizmov (GSO). Vedno bolj je razširjeno prepričanje laične in strokovne javnosti, ki povezuje mnoge "novodobne" bolezni med drugim tudi z načinom pridelovanja oziroma uporabe raznih (potencialno) nevarnih kemičnih sredstev v kmetijstvu.

Rejec Branceljeva (2001) poudarja, da sta intenzifikacija in specializacija kmetijstva, ki ju je spodbudila skupna evropska kmetijska politika, pripeljali do negativnih vplivov na okolje v Evropi. Glavni dejavniki so predvsem velika uporaba umetnih gnojil in fitofarmacevtskih sredstev ter širjenje ornih površin na račun travniških. Kmetijstvo je bilo prepoznamo kot pomemben

obremenjevalec tako iz razpršenih virov, v primeru velikih živinorejskih obratov, ribogojnic ter neprimernega shranjevanja in odlaganja sredstev za varstvo rastlin, pa tudi kot točkovni vir obremenitev. V Sloveniji lahko zasledimo podobno stanje. V ravninskih in gričevnatih pokrajinah Slovenije smo priča intenzifikaciji in specializaciji kmetijstva, v hribovitih in kraških območjih pa intenzivnemu zaraščanju kmetijskih zemljišč. Kot odgovor na zgoraj naštete probleme so se pojavili tako imenovani kmetijsko-okoljski programi, s katerimi naj bi zmanjšali obremenitve okolja zaradi kmetijstva (Rejec Brancelj, 2001, 54).

V sklop kmetijsko-okoljskih programov je uvrščeno tudi ekološko kmetijstvo, za katerega velja, da je naravni ter ljudem najbolj prijazna oblika kmetijstva. Za razliko od konvencionalno intenzivnega kmetijstva, ki povzroča veliko že omenjenih negativnih vplivov, so pri ekološkem kmetijstvu ti veliko manjši oziroma minimalni.¹ To je predvsem zaradi prepovedane uporabe umetnih mineralnih gnojil, pesticidov,² herbicidov in omejene uporabe fungicidov (Tabela 1).

Tabela 1: Osnovne razlike med ekološkim in konvencionalnim kmetijstvom (Bavec, 2001, 22).
Table 1: Basic distinctions between ecological and conventional farming (Bavec, 2001, 22).

	Ekološko	Konvencionalno
Izboljšanje rodovitnosti tal	s pravilnimi postopki obdelave, z organskim gnojenjem, s kolobarjenjem	z uporabo mineralnih gnojil
Prehrana rastlin	posredna (sproščanje hranil iz tal)	direktna (z uporabo lahko topnih mineralnih gnojil)
Varstvo rastlin	odprava vzrokov, preprečevanje nastanka bolezni in škodljivcev, rasti plevelov	odprava znamenj z uporabo fitofarmacevtskih sredstev
Živinoreja	živalim primerna reja (izpusti, prostor, svetloba)	baterijska reja perutnine, privezana reja brez izpustov ...
Prehrana živali	optimalna kakovost doma pridelane krme	optimalno dopolnilno krmljenje (beljakovinski in drugi dokupljeni dodatki)
Zdravljenje živali	povečanje odpornosti	zdravljenje bolezenskih znamenj

1 Študij, ki preučujejo vplive ekološkega kmetijstva na okolje in primerjajo te vplive z vplivi konvencionalnega kmetijstva, je sicer kar nekaj. Velika večina avtorjev dokazuje, da so negativni vplivi pri ekološkem kmetijstvu manjši. Se pa rezultati študij razlikujejo v tem, v kolikšni meri so ti negativni vplivi manjši, kar je predvsem posledica različno izbranih metodoloških pristopov. Za primerjavo glej npr. kompleksno interdisciplinarno študijo "The Environmental Impacts of Organic Farming in Europe" skupine raziskovalcev z različnih področij znanosti (Stolze et al., 2000).

2 Pesticidi so najbolj nevarni za kmetovalce, njihove družine in potrošnike. Toksičnost in škodljivost pesticidov, ki se v kmetijstvu uporabljajo za zatiranje škodljivcev, plevelov in rastlinskih bolezni, za ljudi in okolje je odvisna od njihovih lastnosti (kemična sestava, stopnja razgradljivosti, mutagenost, sposobnost vključevanja v prehranjevalno verigo) ter koncentracije in načina uporabe. Laboratorijske študije dokazujejo, da pesticidi lahko povzročajo različne zdravstvene težave, kot so: okvare ob rojstvu, poškodbe živčnih sistemov, rak in druge bolezni oz. problemi, ki se lahko pojavijo v daljšem časovnem obdobju. Te negativne posledice so odvisne od toksičnosti pesticidov in njihove količinske porabe (EPA, 2009). Posebna rizična skupina so kmetovalci, ki so več let v neposrednem stiku s pesticidi, saj študije dokazujejo, da so bolj podvrženi nekaterim boleznim, npr. astmatskim obolenjem (Hoppin et al., 2009), nevrološkim problemom (Science Netlinks, 2009) in povečanemu tveganju za rakom na prostatni (Alavanja et al., 2003).

Bavčeva sicer opredeljuje ekološko kmetijstvo kot način trajnostnega kmetijstva, ki v pridelavi hrane temelji na ravnoesju v sistemu tla-rastline-živali-človek in sklenjenem kroženju hranil v njem (Bavec, 2001, 9). Osnovna predpostavka ekološkega kmetijstva je po Lampkinu (1994) trajnost, ki poleg ohranjanja neobnovljivih virov zajema tudi okoljsko in socialno trajnost. V Evropi se uporabljajo izrazi ekološko, biološko oziroma organsko kmetovanje, v Sloveniji pa smo se odločili za izraz ekološko kmetovanje. Za pridelke in živila je ohranjena predpona *bio*- (Kocjan Ačko, 2002).

Temeljni cilj ekološkega kmetijstva je tako pridelava zdravih, kakovostnih rastlinskih in živalskih pridelkov oziroma izdelkov v skladu z naravo in njenimi zakoni (Bavec, 2001). Druge glavne cilje, ki jih zasleduje ekološko kmetijstvo, pa lahko strnemo v naslednje točke (Štancar Poprask, 2008):

- ohranjanje rodovitnosti tal,
- kroženje hranil,
- primerna reja in krmljenje živali,
- zaščita naravnih življenjskih virov (voda-tla-zrak),
- minimalna obremenitev okolja,
- aktivno varovanje okolja in biotske raznovrstnosti,
- varstvo energije ter surovin in
- zagotavljanje delovnih mest v kmetijstvu.

Kot osnovne prepovedi v ekološkem kmetijstvu lahko izpostavimo naslednje (Bavec, 2001):

- uporaba kemičnosintetičnih sredstev za varstvo rastlin,
- uporaba razkuženega semena,
- uporaba lahko topnih gnojil,
- uporaba sintetičnih dodatkov v krmilih,
- uporaba surovin živalskega izvora v krmilih,
- uporaba gensko spremenjenih organizmov in
- preventivno zdravljenje živali s kemoterapeutiki (kokcidiostatiki, antibiotiki).

Po Lampkinu (1994) ima ekološko kmetijstvo tudi potencial za zagotavljanje različnih koristi: od zaščite okolja, ohranitve neobnovljivih virov, boljše kakovosti hrane, zmanjšanja presežkov produkcije pa vse do preusmeritev kmetijstva k zahtevam trga.³ Ob kmetijsko-okoljevarstvenih vidikih ima ekološko kmetijstvo tudi ekonomsko-socialno plat, saj je obenem tudi gospodarska panoga, ki vedno večjemu številu ljudi prinaša zaslužek in boljše življenjske razmere ter predstavlja t. i. tržno nišo.

Če je problematika ekološkega kmetovanja v Sloveniji relativno dobro raziskana, pa to ne velja za območje Slovenske Istre. Predstavitev rezultatov raziskave med ekološkimi kmeti v Slovenski Istri je v tem smislu eden prvih znanstvenih prispevkov.

METODOLOGIJA

Pri predstavitvi stanja in značilnosti ekološkega kmetijstva v Sloveniji ter primerjavi med Slovenijo in drugimi članicami EU smo uporabili zbiranje, analize in primerjave pisnih ter spletnih virov in sekundarnih statističnih podatkov. Pri analizi vloge ekološkega kmetijstva v razvojnih planih Slovenske Istre smo pregledali obstoječe regionalne razvojne dokumente: Regionalni razvojni program Južne Primorske (RRP, 2006), Razvojni program podeželja (RPP, 2006) in Program varstva okolja za Slovensko Istru (PVO, 2006). Ker smo želeli pridobiti dodatne informacije o izvajanju programov, povezanih z ekološkim kmetijstvom, in poglede na razvojno vlogo ekološkega kmetijstva v obravnavani regiji, smo se prek elektronske pošte neposredno obrnili na Regionalni razvojni center Koper (RRC).

Zaradi pomanjkanja podatkov o ekološkem kmetijstvu v Slovenski Istri je bila v juniju in juliju 2008 opravljena terenska raziskava (Anketa, 2008), katere namen je bil popis in pogovor z vsemi ekološkimi kmeti, ki so vključeni v eno izmed kontrolnih organizacij. Se stavili smo anketni vprašalnik s šestindvajsetimi vprašanji in z njim poskušali čim širše zajeti različne značilnosti in vidike ekološkega kmetovanja v Slovenski Istri. Vzorec anketne raziskave predstavljajo kmetijski pridelovalci iz Slovenske Istre, ki so vključeni v kontrolno ekološkega kmetijstva. Od skupno sedemintridesetih ekoloških kmetovalcev, vključenih v kontrolno, smo celotno anketo opravili s triintridesetimi. Dobljene odgovore smo interpretirali in s pomočjo Geografskih informacijskih sistemov (GIS) oziroma programa Arc map prikazali na karti. Opravili smo tudi intervju z Borisom Frasom (Fras, 2008), ekološkim kmetom iz Ankarana in predsednikom Zveze združenj ekoloških kmetov Slovenije.

RAZVOJ EKOLOŠKEGA KMETIJSTVA V SVETU IN PRIMJERI

Tate (1994) razdeli razvoj ekološkega kmetijstva na tri glavna obdobja:

- obdobje med 1924–1927 zaznamujejo borba in finančne težave za utemeljevanje ekološkega kmetijstva zaradi odklonilnega in tudi sovražnega odnosa okolja, takrat so bila napisana tudi temeljna dela,
- v obdobju med 1970–1980 začne naraščati okoljska zavest, vzporedno z njo pa tudi povpraševanje po ekoloških pridelkih oz. izdelkih, vzpostavijo se glavne simbolne sheme ekološkega kmetijstva in

3 "Preusmeritev v ekološko kmetijstvo lahko pomeni ob hkratni spremembi načina trženja rešitev iz začaranega kroga neprenehnega povečevanja obsega pridelave. Poleg tega je lahko za določeno število kmetij tudi resnična priložnost za ohranitev kmetije in delovnega mesta na njej." (Bavec, 2001, 21)

- v obdobju po letu 1980 dobi ekološko kmetijstvo širše priznanje in veljavo, vzpostavijo se nacionalni in mednarodni standardi.

Začetki ekološkega kmetijstva segajo v zgodnja leta 20. stoletja, ko se je v kmetijstvu začelo uporabljati mineralna gnojila in kemikske snovi. Med očete ekološkega kmetijstva se uvršča Rudolf Steiner s posebno vejo ekološkega kmetijstva – kmetijstvom po biološko-dinamični metodi. Večje zanimanje za ekološko kmetijstvo se je začelo v petdesetih letih predvsem v Švici, Avstriji in Veliki Britaniji, kjer so to vrsto kmetovanja poimenovali organsko-biološko kmetovanje. Z naraščanjem povpraševanja po ekološko pridelani hrani in števila ekoloških kmetovalcev se je pojavila potreba po določitvi pravil ter standardov in posledično tudi nadzora. Tako je bila leta 1972 ustanovljena Mednarodna zveza gibanj za ekološko kmetijstvo (IFOAM), ki je povezala biološke pridelovalce pod enotno okrilje, leta 1982 pa so bili sprejeti Temeljni standardi za ekološko kmetijstvo in predelavo živil. Večje preusmerjanje v ekološko kmetijstvo se je v Evropi začelo v osemdesetih letih, še posebej pa v devetdesetih, ko so se tako med uporabniki hrane kot med pridelovalci uveljavila številna okoljska gibanja, kmetje in vlade pa so se ubadali s presežki hrane in negativnimi posledicami preobremenitve okolja z intenzivnim kmetijstvom (Bavec, 2001).

V Sloveniji ima ekološko kmetijstvo dokaj kratko zgodovino, saj se je zanimanje zanj pojavilo šele ob koncu osemdesetih oz. v začetku devetdesetih let. Tako so se začela razna predavanja, seminarji in izobraževanja v zvezi z zdravo prehrano in ekološkim kmetijstvom. Za začetnike "praktičnega" ekološkega kmetijstva lahko štejemo društvo Mikrokozmos, ki je delovalo v Pomurju in je bilo usmerjeno v pridelovanje raznih kultur (predvsem žit) po biološko-dinamični metodi. Ustanovljena je bila tudi Vrtičarska univerza ter društvo Ajda, ki se je navezovalo na biološko-dinamično kmetijstvo. To je bila prva tovrstna organizacija, ki je združevala večje število ljudi in je bila tudi povezana s tujimi pridelovalci. Večji razvoj ekološkega kmetijstva se je začel sredi devetdesetih, ko se je zgodilo kar nekaj prelomnih dogodkov. Ministrstvo za kmetijstvo je leta 1997 pripravilo Priporočila za ekološko kmetovanje, ki so veljala tudi za prve standarde. V spodbujanje ekološkega kmetovanja so se bolj aktivno vključile tudi nekatere območne kmetijske svetovalne službe in zavodi. Ustanovljeni sta bili Združenje ekoloških kmetov Slovenije in Združenje za ekološko kmetovanje SV Slo-

venije. Tudi med potrošniki se je pojavilo večje zanimanje za ekološko pridelano hrano. Leta 1998 so bile v kontrolo, ki so jo na začetku opravljali avstrijski nadzorniki, vključene prve slovenske kmetije. Kasneje pa je to vlogo prevzel Kmetijski zavod Maribor z domačimi nadzorniki, ki so se izobraževali v Avstriji. S strani pridelovalcev so bila ustanovljena nova združenja, med drugim tudi Združenje ekoloških kmetov Obala (ZEK Obala). Vsa območna združenja so se leta 1999 povezala v krovno združenje – Zvezo združenj ekoloških kmetov Slovenije (Bavec, 2001).

STANJE IN PROBLEMI EKOLOŠKEGA KMETOVANJA V SLOVENIJI

V Sloveniji se je od vzpostavitve kontrole in državnih subvencij število ekoloških kmetij in površin zelo povečalo, nasprotno pa število konvencionalnih kmetijskih gospodarstev iz leta v leto upada.⁴ Ekoloških pridelovalcev oz. kmetij je bilo 1998. leta 41, leta 2007 pa že 2.000. Od tega je bilo kmetij z že pridobljenim certifikatom 1.610, kmetij v preusmerjanju pa 388. Delež ekoloških kmetij v letu 2007 v primerjavi s številom vseh kmetij v Sloveniji znaša 2,7%. Povprečna velikost ekološke kmetije je 14,7 ha, kar je veliko več kot pri konvencionalnih kmetijah (6,5 ha) (MKGP, 2009a; Statistični letopis, 2008).

Do podobno velike rasti je prišlo tudi pri kmetijskih površinah, ki so bile vključene v kontrolo. Tako je bilo leta 1999 v ekološko kontrolo vključenih 2.400 ha, leta 2007 pa že 29.322 ha površin.⁵ Delež ekoloških kmetijskih površin v primerjavi z vsemi kmetijskimi površinami v uporabi v letu 2007 znaša 6,0% (MKGP, 2009a; Statistični letopis, 2008).

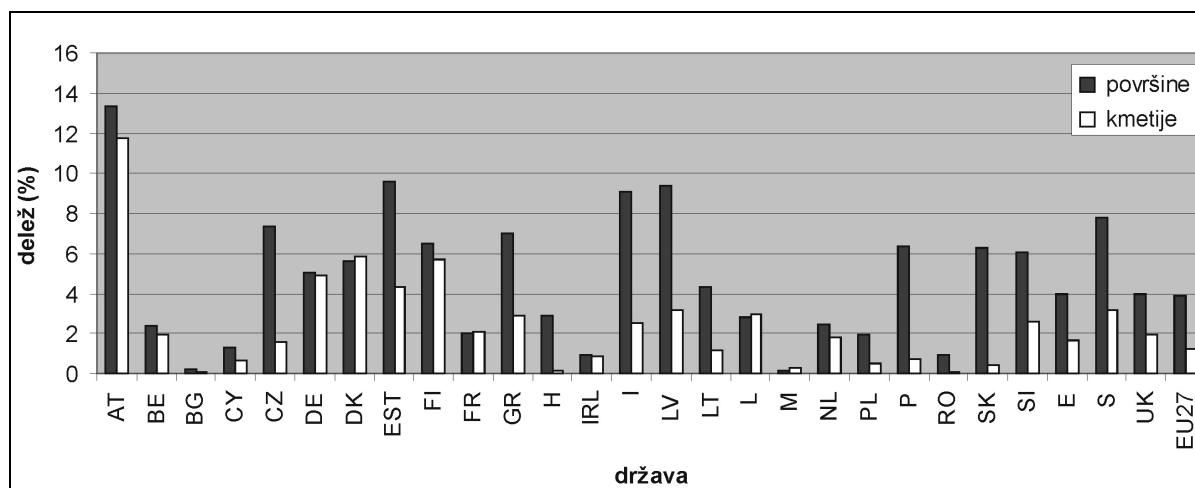
Po sestavi obdelovalnih površin, ki so vključene v kontrolo, daleč največji delež (88,7%) pripada travinju. Sledijo njive s 7,9% in sadovnjaki z 2,3% deležem. Skupni delež ekoloških površin z vrtninami, vinogradi in oljčniki je še manjši (1,1%) (MKGP, 2009a). V ekološki živinoreji prevladuje reja drobnice, govedi in perutnine (ANEK, 2005).

Primerjava stanja ekološkega kmetijstva med Slovenijo in ostalimi članicami EU

Za "objektivnejšo" sliko o ekološkem kmetijstvu v Sloveniji in za ovrednotenje zgoraj navedenih podatkov je potrebna primerjava z ostalimi članicami EU (Slika 1).

⁴ Leta 2007 je bilo v Sloveniji registriranih 75.340 kmetijskih gospodarstev, skoraj 2.000 manj kot leta 2005 in več kot 11.000 manj kot leta 2000 (Statistični letopis, 2008). Po podatkih MKGP je bilo leta 2007 v integrirano pridelavo vključenih 6.041 kmetij (MKGP, 2009b).

⁵ Istega leta je bilo v Sloveniji registriranih 488.774 ha kmetijskih zemljišč v uporabi (Statistični letopis, 2008). V integrirano pridelavo pa je bilo leta 2007 vključenih 56.877,59 ha kmetijskih zemljišč (MKGP, 2009b).



Sl. 1: Primerjava deležev ekoloških kmetijskih površin in ekoloških kmetij v članicah EU (%), 2007 – podatki za Ciper, Luxemburg, Portugalsko in Slovaško so za leto 2006 (Organic Europe, 2008).

Fig. 1: Proportions of ecological farming areas and ecological farms, comparison between EU member states (%), 2007 – data for Cyprus, Luxembourg, Portugal and Slovakia from 2006 (Organic Europe, 2008).

Iz gornjih podatkov je lepo razvidno, da med državami članicami EU izrazito izstopa Avstrija, ki ima najbolj razvito ekološko kmetijstvo. Slovenija je s 6,04-odstotnim deležem ekoloških površin in 2,59-odstotnim deležem ekoloških kmetij nad povprečjem EU. Če upoštevamo samo delež ekoloških kmetijskih površin, so (pričakovano) pred Slovenijo nekatere bolj razvite države z daljšo tradicijo ekološkega kmetijstva: Avstrija, Italija, Danska, Finska in Švedska. Nekoliko pa preseča dejstvo, da so pred Slovenijo tudi Češka, Estonija, Latvija, Portugalska in Slovaška. Omenjene države (razen Češke) so po razvitosti ekološkega kmetijstva še pred leti močno zaostajale za Slovenijo, a so v zadnjih letih dosegle zelo veliko rast, tako da so sedaj prehitite Slovenijo. Najbolj je narasel delež ekoloških površin v Latviji – od 2,98% leta 2003 do 9,35% v letu 2007 (Organic Europe, 2008).

Povprečna velikost ekološke kmetije v EU je leta 2005 znašala 38,7 ha, kar je skoraj trikrat več kot v Sloveniji. Češka in Slovaška sta državi, v katerih je povprečna velikost ekoloških kmetij daleč največja (305 ha oziroma 462 ha). Po velikosti ekoloških kmetij je Slovenija na repu držav članic EU, a je še primerljiva z Avstrijo (Eurostat, 2008).

Češka, Islandija in Slovenija so države z največjimi deleži travinja (okoli 90%), kar je dvakrat več od povprečja EU - 27%. Največje deleže ornih površin (njive, vrtovi ...) imajo Švedska (80%), Estonija (79%), Litva (73%) ter Latvija (70%). Trajni nasadi imajo pomembno vlogo oziroma so nadpovprečno zastopani na Cipru (58%), v Bolgariji (38%), Grčiji (23%), Poljski (22%), Italiji (18%) ter Španiji (17%); štiri od šestih naštetih držav so v Sredozemlju (Willer, 2008).

Ekološko kmetijstvo po statističnih regijah Slovenije

Dosegljivi statistični podatki MKGP in SURS kažejo na precejšnje razlike med posameznimi statističnimi regijami Slovenije. Zanimalo nas je število ekoloških kmetij in njihova povprečna velikost glede na obseg ekološko obdelanih površin v kontroli ter primerjava z vsemi kmetijskimi gospodarstvi in kmetijskimi zemljišči v uporabi (Tabela 2).

Največ ekoloških kmetij je v Savinjski regiji (362), nad 200 pa jih je registriranih še v Koroški, Osrednjeslovenski in Goriški regiji. Največ ekološko obdelanih površin v kontroli pa je v Jugovzhodni statistični regiji in Notranjsko-kraški regiji (v obeh s preko 4.000 ha). Opazimo lahko tudi velike razlike v povprečnih velikostih ekoloških kmetij po regijah. Odstopajo kmetije iz Obalno-kraške in Notranjsko-kraške regije ter Regije JV Slovenije. V okviru slovenskega povprečja so ekološke kmetije iz Goriške regije, medtem ko so ekološke kmetije iz vseh ostalih statističnih regij podpovprečno velike (okrog 10 ha). Še večja so odstopanja po statističnih regijah glede na delež ekoloških kmetij in ekološko obdelanih površin v primerjavi z vsemi kmetijskimi gospodarstvi in s skupnimi kmetijskimi površinami v uporabi. Regija z največjim deležem ekoloških kmetij je Koroška (9%), sledijo ji Zasavska (6%) in Notranjsko-kraška regija (dobrih 5%), najmanjši delež po številu ekoloških kmetij v regiji pa s pol odstotka dosega Pomurska regija. Pri deležu ekološko obdelanih površin od vseh kmetijskih površin v uporabi je slika nekoliko drugačna. Na prvih mestih sta Notranjsko-kraška (skoraj 19%) in Obalno-kraška regija (skoraj 16%), medtem ko je daleč najmanjši delež (manj kot 1%) ekološko obdelanih površin prav tako zabeležen v Pomurski regiji.

Tabela 2: Število ekoloških kmetij in njihova povprečna velikost glede na obseg ekološko obdelanih kmetijskih površin po statističnih regijah, 2008 (MKGP, 2009c; SURS, 2009).

Table 2: Number of ecological farms and their average size with respect to the area used for ecological farming in individual statistical regions, 2008, (MKGP, 2009c; SURS, 2009).

Statistična regija	Št. eko. kmetij	Delež* (%)	Povprečna velikost eko. kmetije (ha)	Eko. obdel. površine v kontroli (ha)	Delež* (%)
Pomurska regija	52	0,53	10,57	549,58	0,84
Podravska regija	196	1,54	9,86	1.931,91	2,35
Koroška regija	244	9,03	10,81	2.637,57	12,93
Savinjska regija	362	3,16	9,87	3.574,01	5,27
Zasavska regija	57	6,05	10,73	611,64	11,23
Spodnjeposavska regija	54	1,06	11,54	622,94	2,51
Regija JV Slovenija	196	2,41	20,73	4.063,74	8,22
Osrednjeslovenska regija	239	2,79	11,67	2.785,83	4,29
Gorenjska regija	190	4,24	9,79	1.861,00	5,52
Notranjsko-kraška regija	153	5,43	26,33	4.027,74	18,70
Goriška regija	240	4,21	15,64	3.754,43	11,84
Obalno-kraška regija	84	2,86	34,24	2.876,03	15,69
SKUPAJ	2.067	2,74	14,17	29.296,42	5,99

* Deleži so preračunani glede na število vseh kmetijskih gospodarstev in vseh kmetijskih zemljišč v uporabi po statističnih regijah v Sloveniji v letu 2007.

Problemi ekološkega kmetijstva v Sloveniji in kritičen pogled na politiko

Dokumenti oziroma programi, ki so jih pripravili na Ministrstvu za kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo in prehrano, naj bi bili po besedah predstavnikov Koalicije za trajnostni razvoj podeželja, ki jo sestavljajo različne nevladne organizacije (Inštitut za trajnostni razvoj, Zveza združenj ekoloških kmetov Slovenije, združenje AJDA) preveč splošni ter premalo konkretni, vloga ekološkega kmetijstva je v njih zajeta zelo postransko (v predlogu je ekološkemu kmetijstvu namenjeno le nekaj vrstic). Že prvi osnutek Nacionalnega strateškega načrta razvoja podeželja 2007–2013 (v nadaljevanju NSN), ki je izhodišče za pripravo Programa razvoja podeželja 2007–2013 (PRP), je pokazal odsotnost želje po spremembah in po strategiji, ki bi bila v skladu z nenehno javno deklariranimi cilji ("sonaravno", usmerjeno ekološko in v kakovost, Natura 2000). Koalicija je še posebej zaskrbljena zaradi dejstva, da v NSN ni razvidno, kako bo upoštevan Akcijski načrt razvoja ekološkega kmetijstva do leta 2015, ki ga je vlada sprejela novembra 2005, ter obveznosti v zvezi z doseganjem ciljev za Naturo 2000 (ZZEKS, 2008).

Ob tem v koaliciji opozarjajo tudi, da je besedo ekološko v večini dokumentov zamenjala beseda sonaravno, v katero je vključena tudi integrirana pridelava, ki nima nič skupnega z ekološko pridelavo in predstavlja le kontrolirano obliko uporabe kemičnih sredstev in umetnih gnojil.⁶ S tem se posredno omogoča, da bo denar, ki naj bi bil v celoti namenjen minimizirjanju negativnih okoljskih in socialnih posledic intenzivnega konvencionalnega kmetijstva, znova porabljen za podporo uporabnikov fitofarmacevtskih sredstev in umetnih gnojil (ZZEKS, 2008).

Enega največjih problemov ekološkega kmetijstva predstavlja izrazita prevlada travinja, saj se na teh zemljiščih pridelava zelo malo ekoloških pridelkov. Delež travinja v Sloveniji je dvakrat večji od povprečja EU. Tukaj je lepo vidna problematičnost politike državnih subvencij, na kar je že pred leti opozarjala tudi Vadnalo (2000), saj je po njenem posestna sestava slovenskih ekoloških kmetij izrazito polarizirana, obenem pa način javnega podpiranja spodbuja k ekološkemu kmetovanju večje kmete z veliko travnatega sveta (Vadnal, 2000, 303). Tudi Slabetova (2005) kasneje ugotavlja, da so neposredna plačila za površine v nadzoru ekološke pridelave v absolutnem smislu sicer najvišja

6 Mnenja o namenu in upravičenosti integrirane pridelave so med strokovnjaki deljena. V primerjavi s konvencionalnim kmetijstvom je integrirana pridelava zaradi omejene uporabe kemičnih sredstev in njihove kontrole manj škodljiva za okolje kot konvencionalna. Po našem opažanju se "problematičnost" integrirane pridelave kaže predvsem v višini subvencij, ki jih lahko pridobijo kmetje, vpisani v integrirano pridelavo (v primerjavi z ekološkimi), ter dejstvu, da lahko prihaja do zavajanja potrošnikov s strani pridelovalcev oziroma prodajalcev.

med kmetijsko-okoljskimi plačili za ukrepe slovenskega kmetijsko okoljskega programa (KOP), a da kmetija tudi s kombinacijo dveh ali treh drugih ukrepov v okviru KOP, ki vsak zase in tudi skupaj od kmeta zahtevajo manj napora in dodatnih stroškov od ekološkega kmetovanja, že doseže najvišje možno plačilo na ha letno. Zato se mnogo kmetij raje odloči za druge ukrepe oziroma njihove kombinacije in ne za preusmeritev v ekološko pridelavo (Slabe, 2005).

Posledica vsega tega je tudi, da v Sloveniji primanjuje ekoloških izdelkov in pridelkov in da moramo veliko teh uvažati. Torej kljub rasti števila ekoloških kmetij ponudba ne raste dovolj hitro. V SWOT analizi, ki so jo naredili predstavniki nevladnih organizacij v okviru projekta "Prispevek NVO k akcijskima načrtoma za ekološko kmetijstvo (EU in nacionalni)", so kot najbolj pereče slabosti oz. pomanjkljivosti navedli (ITR, 2008):

- zelo slaba organiziranost ekotrga v Sloveniji,
- neposredna plačila kmetijskega ministrstva niso ustrezna (SKOP),
- neustrezna razvojna (strateška) usmeritev države (vidik ekološkega kmetijstva),
- kmetijski lobi ne vidi priložnosti v ekološkem kmetijstvu in
- ni investicijsko-infrastrukturnih podpor za ekološko kmetijstvo.

EKOLOŠKO KMETIJSTVO V SLOVENSKI ISTRI: STANJE IN PERSPEKTIVE

V Slovenski Istri je po podatkih vseh treh delajočih kontrolnih služb sedemintrideset ekoloških pridelovalcev oziroma kmetij, od tega je štiriintrideset t. i. družinskih kmetij. Pet (družinskih) kmetij je takih, ki imajo del zemljišč v integrirani pridelavi, del zemljišč pa v ekološki pridelavi.⁷ Delež družinskih ekoloških kmetij v primerjavi z vsemi družinskim kmetijami v Slovenski Istri⁸ znaša le 1,6% in je približno enako razporejen med vsemi tremi obalnimi občinami (Bureau Veritas, 2008; IKC, 2008; KON-CERT, 2008; PKG, 2002).

Ekološke kmetije v Slovenski Istri so relativno majhne.⁹ saj jih več kot polovica obsega do največ pet hektarjev kmetijskih zemljišč v uporabi. Več kot deset hektarjev površin ima okoli petina kmetij. Povprečna velikost vseh ekoloških kmetij znaša 6,96 ha, medtem ko je to povprečje za družinske ekološke kmetije še nekoliko nižje: 5,66 ha. Daleč največji obseg z nekaj več kot 40 ha (večinoma vinogradov) ima posestvo Brič, d.o.o., največja družinska kmetija pa se nahaja v Lukinih in obsega 26 ha obdelovalnih površin (večinoma njiv). Najmanjša družinska kmetija obsega 0,47 ha (Slika 2).

Po podatkih iz opravljene ankete (Anketa, 2008) je v ekološko kontrolo vključenih približno 231 ha kmetijskih površin.¹⁰ Površin, ki so v lasti družinskih kmetij, je 170 ha ali 4% vseh kmetijskih površin v uporabi v lasti družinskih kmetij v Slovenski Istri. Največ je vinogradov, in sicer 87 ha, od tega jih je skoraj 83 ha v občini Koper. Tukaj je treba poudariti, da kar 37 ha oziroma slaba polovica ekoloških vinogradov pripada posestvu Brič, d.o.o. (Tabela 3).

Tabela 3: Obseg obdelovalnih kmetijskih površin, vključenih v kontrolo v Slovenski Istri po posameznih občinah (ha) (Anketa, 2008).

Table 3: Extent of agricultural areas (ha) in individual municipalities in Slovenski Istri included into the supervision system (Questionnaire, 2008).

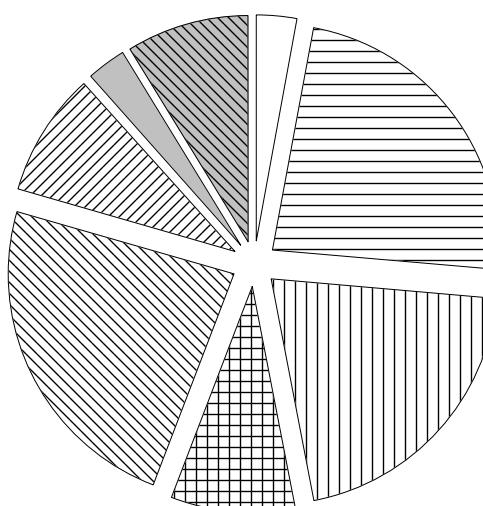
Občina	Oljčniki	Vinogradi	Travinja	Sadovnjaki	Njive	Vrtovi	Rastlinjaki	Drugo (okrasne rastline)	Skupaj
Koper	14,6	82,7	36,8	6,4	29,8	0,42	0,11	2,5	173,3
Izola	2,8	4,2	1	13,6	2,9	0	0	0	24,5
Piran	7	0,15	22	0	3,8	0,11	0,05	0	33,1
Skupaj	24,4	87	59,8	20	36,5	0,53	0,16	2,5	230,9

7 Kljub temu, da gre za t. i. mešane kmetije, smo jih pri naši analizi obravnavali enako kot čiste ekološke kmetije. Seveda pa so bile pri takih kmetijah upoštevane samo površine, ki so v ekološkem nadzoru.

8 Podatke o stanju celotnega kmetijstva v Slovenski Istri, ki so služili kot podlaga za primerjavo in izračun deleža ekoloških površin ter ekoloških kmetij, smo črpali iz Popisa kmetijskih gospodarstev 2000 (PKG, 2002).

9 To lahko pripisemo predvsem dedičini nekdanjega (italijanskega) dednega prava ter specifičnim naravnim pogojem.

10 Ker v naši raziskavi nismo zajeli vseh ekoloških pridelovalcev v Slovenski Istri, je obseg vseh ekoloških površin v uporabi še nekoliko višji kot navajamo.

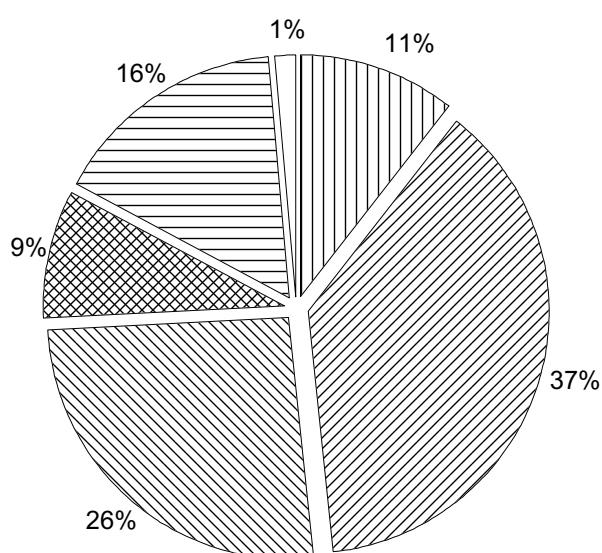


- < 0,5 ha
- 0,6-1,5 ha
- 1,6-3 ha
- 3,1 -5 ha
- 5,1-10 ha
- 10,1-15 ha
- 15,1-20 ha
- >20 ha

Sl. 2: Velikostna sestava ekoloških kmetij v Slovenski Istri (KZU v ha) (Anketa, 2008).

Fig. 2: Size distribution of organic farms in Slovene Istria (KZU in ha) (Questionnaire, 2008).

Prevladujoči usmerjenosti kmetij sta oljkarska, čeprav oljčniki obsegajo (le) okoli 10% vseh ekoloških površin, in mešani tip. Čisto vinogradniško usmerjenih ekoloških kmetij je pet, ena kmetija je poljedelsko in prav tako ena zelenjadarsko usmerjena, sadjarsko in živinorejsko usmerjenih ekoloških kmetij pa ni. Na ekoloških kmetijah živine skorajda ni. Skupaj je okoli 60 kokoši, 20 konjev, dve kozi ter po en prašič in osel, medtem ko ni niti ene glave govedi (Anketa, 2008). Minimalna prisotnost živine pa sproža tudi vprašanje oziroma problematiko gnojenja površin. V ekološkem kmetijstvu velja, da naj bi kmetovalci stremeli k uporabi gnoja in komposta, pridelanega na kmetiji. Dobra polovica anketiranih ekoloških pridelovalcev svoje površine gnoji izključno ali v večini samo s kupljenimi gnojili, ki so po predpisih dovoljena v ekološkem kmetijstvu. Približno petina pridelovalcev gnoji svoje površine izključno ali v večini z gnojem in/ali kompostom, pridelanim na kmetiji. V oči pa bode podatek, da več kot četrtina



- oljčniki
- travinje
- njive
- vinogradi
- sadovnjaki
- drugo (vrtovi, rastlinjaki, okrasne rastline)

Sl. 3: Sestava obdelovalnih ekoloških kmetijskih površin v uporabi v Slovenski Istri (Anketa, 2008).

Fig. 3: Composition of active organic agricultural areas in Slovene Istria (Questionnaire, 2008).

pridelovalcev površin sploh ne gnoji. Med temi je največ (novih) olkarjev in vinogradnikov. Pri tem velja omeniti, da gre pri vinogradih in še posebej pri oljčnikih za površine, ki ne zahtevajo vsakoletnega intenzivnega gnojenja, poleg tega pa so bila zemljišča pri nekaterih kmetih, ki so na novo vpisani v ekološko pridelavo, prejšnja leta intenzivneje gnojena. Pravih kmetov je malo, saj ekološko kmetijstvo pomeni glavni vir zasluga le petim anketiranim. Vendar je velika večina (27) vseh anketiranih tržno usmerjenih in, kar je zelo pomembno, v večini nimajo problemov s prodajo. Ponekod se pojavlja tudi presežno povpraševanje po pridelkih oziroma izdelkih. Skoraj polovica vprašanih trži svoje pridelke in izdelke izključno na domu. Tretjina pa jih trži na več načinov: na domu, (ekološki) tržnici, raznih prireditvah ter sejmih, v trgovinah, supermarketih, tujini, gostilnah oziroma restavracijah, hotelih in vinotekah (Anketa, 2008).

Tabela 4: Vrednotenje ekološkega kmetijstva v Slovenski Istri (Podmenik Adam, 2008).
Table 4: Evaluation of ecological farming in Slovène Istria (Podmenik Adam, 2008).

Pozitivno	Negativno
Sestava ekoloških kmetijskih površin	Razvitost (delež ekoloških kmetijskih površin in ekoloških kmetij)
Izobrazbena sestava gospodarjev ekoloških kmetij	Majhno število živine
Starostna sestava družin na ekoloških kmetijah	Premalo površin namenjenih (zgodnji) pridelavi zelenjave in sadja
Velika večina ekoloških kmetov je tržno usmerjenih	Geografska razporeditev (prisotnost) ekološkega kmetijstva
Večina ekoloških kmetov nima problemov s prodajo	Način gnojenja
	Majhen delež takih, ki jim ekološko kmetijstvo pomeni glavni vir zasluga
	Slaba povezanost med ekološkimi kmeti

Na koncu lahko izpostavimo še zelo ugodne socio-demografske kazalce ekološkega kmetijstva v Slovenski Istri. Tukaj imamo v mislih predvsem ugodno starostno sestavo družin in izobrazbo gospodarjev na ekoloških kmetijah. Prav izredno visoka izobraženost gospodarjev kmetij, več kot polovica jih ima višjo ali visoko izobrazbo, je v tem smislu zelo pozitivna (Anketa, 2008).

Problematika neenakomerne prostorske razmestitve ekološkega kmetijstva v Slovenski Istri

Geografsko gledano prihaja do velikih razlik v zastopanosti ekološkega kmetijstva znotraj Slovenske Istre, še posebno med vzhodnim zalednim delom in drugimi deli (Slika 4 in Slika 5). Kot centre oziroma območja, kjer je ekološko kmetijstvo najbolj zastopano, lahko opredelimo dve samostojni oziroma ločeni enoti (k. o. Truške in Sočerga) ter tri sklenjene enote:

- površine oziroma katastrske občine okoli Ankarana vključno z Bertoki in Dekani,
- površine nad Izolo (k. o. Cetore) in Koprom (k. o. Gažon) in
- JZ del zaledja ob dolini reke Dragonje (k. o. Koštabona, Krkavče, Raven in Sečovlje).

V kar štiriindvajsetih katastrskih občinah pa ni niti ene ekološke kmetije ali ekoloških površin. Večina takih katastrskih občin se nahaja v vzhodnem zalednem delu Slovenske Istre, kjer ekološko kmetijstvo sploh ni prisotno, z izjemo k. o. Sočerga (Slika 4 in Slika 5). To je nekoliko presenetljivo, saj smo pričakovali večjo zastopanost ekološkega kmetijstva na teh območjih, in sicer zaradi naslednjih predpostavk:

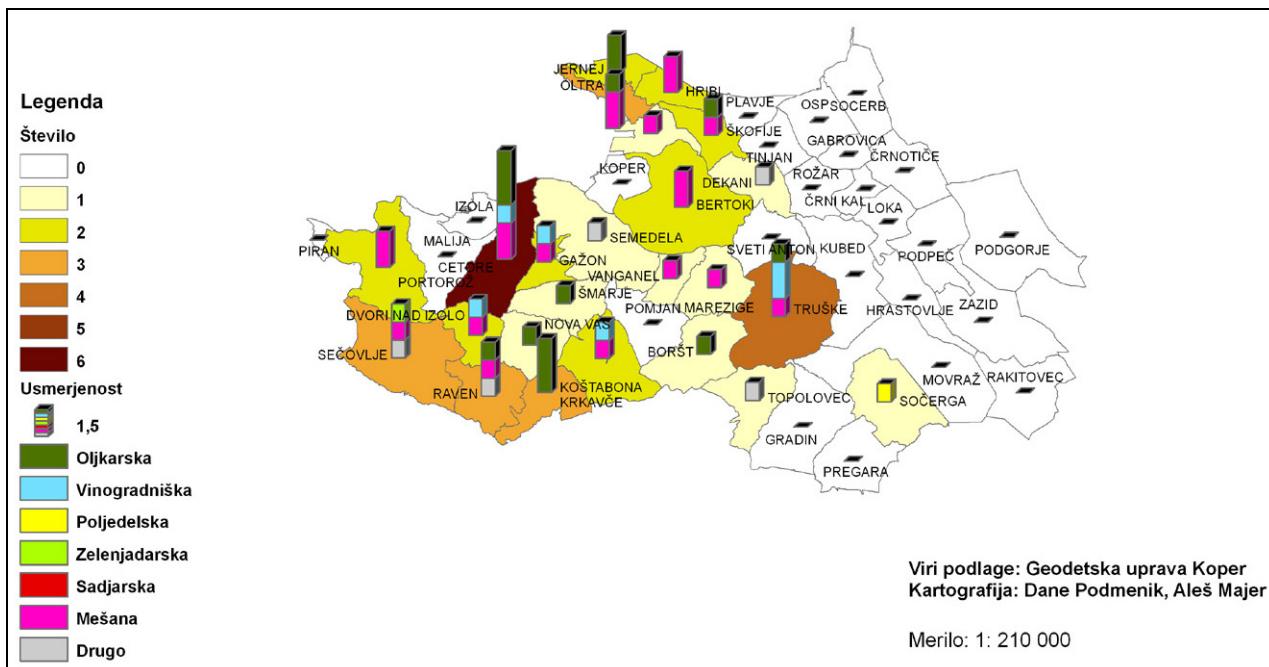
- v teh predelih je večji delež kmetijskih površin zaradi nižje stopnje urbanizacije,

- boljši so pogoji za razvoj večjih ekoloških kmetij, ki bi lahko imele večje travniške ter njivske površine,
 - intenzivnost konvencionalnega kmetijstva je na večini območja nizka.

V prihodnje bi bilo potrebno raziskati vzroke za tako stanje, saj gre za najbolj nerazvit del Slovenske Istre, ki se ubada z mnogimi problemi in po našem mnenju je prav ekološko kmetijstvo ena od razvojnih priložnosti za to območje.

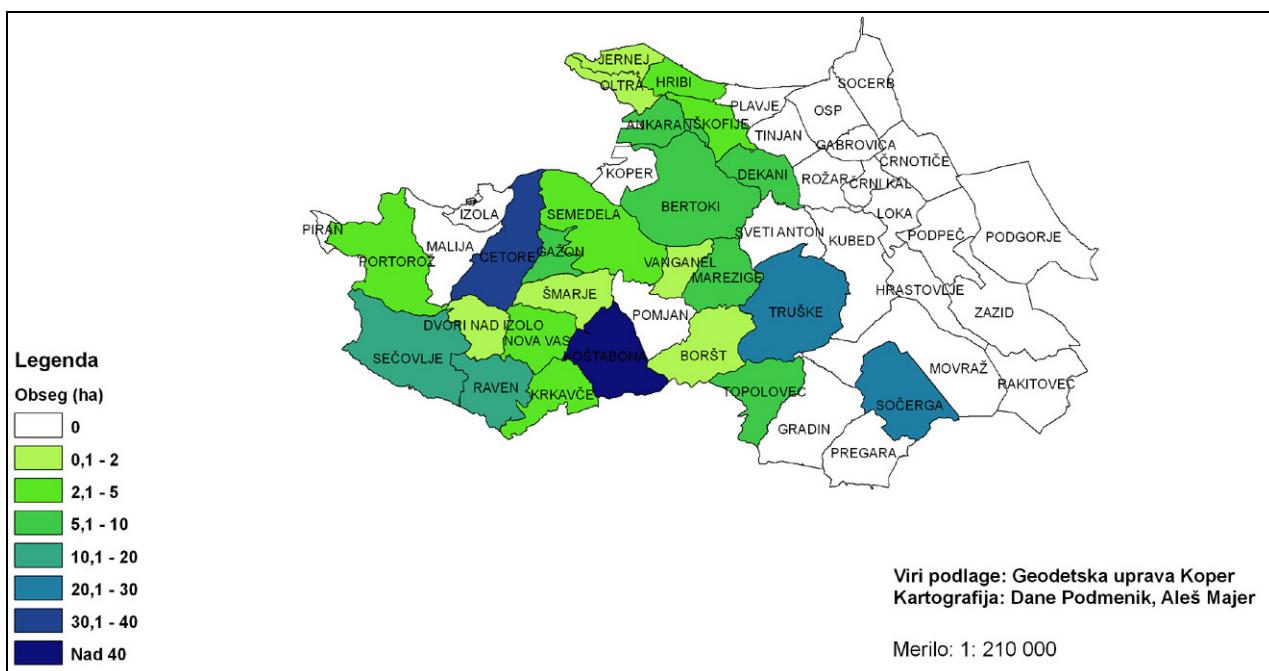
To naloge v določeni meri že izpolnjuje ZEK Obala, ki je spomladvi 2009 pripravilo projekt z naslovom "Strategija razvoja ekološkega kmetijstva za Slovensko Istro", ki je bil prijavljen na razpis LAS Istre – program LEADER Evropskega kmetijskega sklada za razvoj podeželja. Projekt je bil s strani upravljalca potrjen in se tako že pol leta uspešno izvaja. Glavni cilji projekta so:

- definirati ekološko kmetijstvo kot trajnostno rešitev (z ekonomskega, socialnega in okoljevarstvenega vidika) za podeželje oz. zaledje Slovenske Istre;
- hitrejši razvoj ekološkega kmetijstva v Slovenski Istri (porast števila ekoloških kmetij in kmetijskih površin, vključenih v sistem nadzora ekološkega kmetijstva);
- določitev smernic razvoja ekološkega kmetijstva (glede na geografske danosti oz. razmere);
- izobraževanje in ozaveščanje lokalnega prebivalstva o prednostih ekološkega kmetijstva in ekološko pridelane hrane;
- vzpodbujanje in razvoj trajnostnega turizma v povezavi z ekološkim kmetijstvom oz. na ekoloških kmetijah in navezavi na ohranjanju in ozivljanju kulturne, zgodovinske in etnološke dediščine območja;
- vzpostavitev ekološke tržnice v Kopru (ta od junija 2009 že deluje);
- vzpodbuditi lokalne oblasti k večji podpori ekološkemu kmetijstvu (ZEK Obala, 2009).



Sl. 4: Število ekoloških kmetij oz. pripadajočih ekoloških kmetijskih površin v uporabi in njihova usmerjenost po katastrskih občinah v Slovenski Istri (Anketa, 2008).

Fig. 4: Number of active ecological farms and the belonging ecological farming areas and their orientation according to cadastral municipalities of Slovène Istria (Questionnaire, 2008).



Sl. 5: Obseg ekoloških površin po katastrskih občinah v Slovenski Istri (Anketa, 2008).

Fig. 5: Extent of ecological areas in individual cadastral municipalities of Slovène Istria (Questionnaire, 2008).

SKLEP

Ekološko kmetijstvo v Sloveniji je v zadnjih desetih letih doživel velik razvoj. Po deležu ekoloških kmetij in deležu ekoloških kmetijskih površin se uvrščamo nad povprečje EU, kar je zagotovo pozitiven podatek. Vendar je potrebno opozoriti, da v zadnjih letih število na novo vključenih v ekološko kmetijstvo raste počasneje, saj so nas prehitite nekatere države EU, ki so še pred časom imele podoben oziroma celo veliko manjši delež ekoloških površin.

Ekološko kmetijstvo se je v Sloveniji najbolj razvilo v hribovitih predelih oziroma tam, kjer so pogoji za kmetovanje še težji. Prav to je botrovalo dejstvu, da je največ kmetij usmerjenih v živinorejo in da obenem v sestavi ekoloških površin izrazito prevladujejo travniške in pašniške površine. Zastopanost njivskih površin in trajnih nasadov je zelo nizka in je veliko pod povprečjem ekološkega kmetijstva v EU.

Za ekološko kmetijstvo v Slovenski Istri lahko podamo oceno, da je glede na slovenske razmere podpovprečno razvito in hkrati zelo specifično. Ta specifika oziroma razlika (v primerjavi s slovenskim ekološkim kmetijstvom) se kaže predvsem v velikosti ekoloških kmetij, njihovi usmerjenosti ter sestavi kmetijskih površin. Večji razvoj je ekološko kmetijstvo v tej regiji doživel šele v zadnjih letih, kar dokazujejo podatki o

časovni vključenosti kmetovalcev v sistem kontrole. Skoraj polovica vprašanih kmetovalcev je v kontrolo vključenih od enega do treh let, medtem ko je (le) petina takih, ki so v nadzor vključeni že več kot pet let.

V Slovenski Istri lahko naravne razmere za ekološko kmetijstvo označimo kot dobre, čeprav znotraj regije prihaja do kar velikih razlik. Pozitivno je tudi dejstvo, da na večini območja ni prisotna zelo intenzivna kmetijska pridelava, kar govorji v prid razvoja ekološkega kmetijstva. Zato menimo, da bi lahko bilo ekološko kmetijstvo bolj razvito. Takega mnenja je tudi velika večina anketiranih ekoloških pridelovalcev in intervjuvani Boris Fras. Tukaj pogrešamo večjo angažiranost oziroma podporo s strani območne pospeševalne službe in pa predvsem lokalne politike, ki bi lahko s pravo usmerjenostjo in vizijo veliko pripomogli k razvoju ekološkega kmetijstva. Mnenja smo, da bi ekološko kmetijstvo lahko pripomoglo k razvoju zalednega dela regije, ki velja za veliko slabše razvito od obalnih delov. Po našem mnenju je zaledni del predvsem primeren za pridelavo poljščin in nekaterih vrst žita ter zelenjave in rejo drobnice. Analiza razvojnih programov za območje Slovenske Istre pa je pokazala, da ekološko kmetijstvo v razvojnih načrtih nima večje vloge. Pojavljajo se sicer nekateri projekti, ki so neposredno ali posredno povezani z ekološkim kmetijstvom, vendar večinoma niso konkretnje opredeljeni in je zato tudi njihova izvedba vprašljiva.



Sl. 6: Utrinek z ekološke kmetije Borisa Frasa (foto: D. Podmenik).
Fig. 6: Scene from the organic farm of Boris Fras (photo: D. Podmenik).

Ocenujemo, da je celotni zaledni del Slovenske Istre območje z visoko naravno in kulturno vrednostjo, zato menimo, da ima to območje zelo dobre potenciale za razvoj zaščitenih območij in okolju prijaznih dejavnosti (ekološko kmetijstvo, podeželski (ekološki) turizem, različne oblike t. i. "mehkega" turizma ...), ki pa so hkrati tudi vedno bolj tržno zanimive in ustvarjajo nova de-

lovna mesta ter višjo dodano vrednost. Prav kombinacija zgoraj naštetih dejavnosti oziroma oblik trajnostnega razvoja bi lahko veliko prispevala k ustreznemu (trajnostnemu) razvoju zalednega dela in njegovi uveljavitvi kot "naravne" alternative razvoja obalnega dela Slovenske Istre.

SELECTED ASPECTS OF ECOLOGICAL FARMING IN SLOVENIA WITH AN EMPHASIS ON SLOVENE ISTRIA

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SUMMARY

During the last decade ecological farming in Slovenia underwent considerable development. With respect to the proportion of ecological farms and ecological agricultural area, Slovenia is above the EU average, which is surely an advantageous fact. However, we must point out that during the last few years, the number of farmers involved in ecological farming has been growing rather slowly, so some other EU member states, which only recently recorded a similar or even lower proportion of ecological agricultural areas, have gotten ahead of Slovenia.

Ecological farming in Slovenia is most developed in the highlands or in places where the general circumstances for farming are difficult. This explains the statistics evidencing that the majority of ecological farms are oriented towards breeding stock and that grasslands and pastures are markedly predominant in the structure of ecological areas. The fields and permanent plantations are poorly represented and far below the EU average for ecological farming.

As far as Slovene Istria is concerned, we can assess that ecological farming is very specific and developed to a degree below the Slovene average. The specific character (in the context of Slovene ecological farming) is evident particularly in the size of ecological farms, their organisation and the structure of farming areas. A significant development of ecological farming in this region has only been recorded during the last few years as is demonstrated by a short time interval since most farmers have joined the supervision system. Almost one half of the farmers we interviewed have entered this system one to three years ago and (only) one fifth of them have been included for over five years.

The natural circumstances for ecological farming in the Slovene Istria can be characterised as good, although the level of variations within the region is considerable. Another favourable circumstance, advantageous for the development of ecological farming, is that most of this area has not been affected by highly intensive agricultural production. For these reasons we believe that ecological farming could develop further. This view is shared by the majority of ecological farmers included in our inquiries and was also expressed by Boris Fras in his interview. What is missing is a higher level of commitment and support from the part of the regional Centre for the Promotion of Agriculture and particularly of the local administration, which could contribute significantly to the development of ecological agriculture by following a consistent orientation and pursuing a proper vision. We are of opinion ecological farming could contribute to the development of the hinterland, which is considered to be underdeveloped in comparison to the coastal areas. According to our judgement the coastal hinterland is particularly suitable for growing produce, some sorts of cereal, and vegetables as well as for breeding stock. An analysis of the developmental programmes for Slovene Istria has shown that ecological farming has not been assigned a significant role in those plans. Though some projects have emerged, which are directly or indirectly linked to ecological farming, they are usually not accurately defined, so their realisation is questionable.

We assess that the entire hinterlands of Slovene Istria is an area possessing distinct natural and cultural qualities and we are of opinion that it possesses a substantial potential for the development of protected areas and environmentally friendly activities (ecological farming, rustic (ecological) tourism, various forms of the so called "soft" tourism ...). At the same time these activities are increasingly interesting in terms of marketing, creating new jobs, and producing higher added value. The combination of activities or sustainable development forms listed above could contribute importantly to the appropriate (sustainable) developmental scenario of the hinterland and its establishment as a "natural" developmental alternative to the coastal part of Slovene Istria.

Key words: EU, Slovenia, Slovene Istria, (conventional) farming, ecological farming

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POKRAJINSKOEKOLOŠKA OZNAKA JADRANSKEGA POVODJA V SLOVENIJI S POUDARKOM NA KAKOVOSTI VODNIH VIROV

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IZVLEČEK

Prispevek obravnava pokrajinskoekološke značilnosti jadranskega povodja v Sloveniji s poudarkom na kakovosti voda. Za predstavitev geografskih značilnosti je uporabljeno različno kartografsko gradivo, dostopni digitalni podatki o vodah ter podatki o padavinah, vodnih količinah ter kakovosti vodotokov in izvirov, ki jih spremljajo na Agenciji Republike Slovenije za okolje. Analiza pokrajinskoekoloških značilnosti jadranskega povodja sloni na podatkih o vodnih količinah za obdobje 1971–2000. Ločeno na pet po pokrajinskoekoloških značilnostih homogenih območij je predstavljena pokrajinska raba v jadranskem povodju Slovenije ter njene posledice. V primerjavi s črnomorskim je pokrajinska raba v jadranskem povodju manj intenzivna, kar se odraža tudi v relativno dobrem kakovostnem stanju vodotokov in kraških izvirov, ki je prikazano za obdobje 2001–2006; zadovoljivo je tudi kakovostno stanje slovenskega morja.

Ključne besede: povodje, porečje, pokrajinskoekološke značilnosti, jadransko povodje

INDICAZIONE ECOLOGICO-TERRITORIALE DEI FIUMI SLOVENI DEL VERSANTE ADRIATICO CON RIFERIMENTO ALLA QUALITA' DELLE FONTI IDRICHE

SINTESI

L'articolo analizza le caratteristiche ecologico- territoriali dei fiumi sloveni del versante adriatico, in primis la qualità delle acque. Per la rappresentazione delle caratteristiche geografiche viene utilizzata varia documentazione cartografica, accessibili informazioni digitali sulle acque e dati sulle precipitazioni, la quantità dell'acqua e la portata e la qualità dei corsi d'acqua e delle sorgenti raccolti dall'Agenzia della Repubblica di Slovenia per l'ambiente. L'analisi delle caratteristiche paesaggistiche ed ecologiche dei fiumi del versante adriatico è basata sui dati relativi alla quantità dell'acqua nel periodo 1971–2001. Separatamente, per cinque aree omogenee dal punto di vista ecologico e delle caratteristiche del suolo, viene illustrato l'utilizzo delle acque slovene del versante adriatico e le sue conseguenze. Paragonata ai fiumi del versante del Mar Nero, lo sfruttamento dell'acqua è meno intenso per cui la qualità dei corsi d'acqua e delle sorgenti carsiche risulta relativamente buona come si può evincere dai dati per il periodo 2001–2006; soddisfacente anche la qualità delle acque della porzione slovena del mare Adriatico.

Parole chiave: sistema idrografico adriatico, bacino fluviale, caratteristiche ecologico-territoriali, fiumi del versante adriatico

UVOD

V prispevku obravnavamo pokrajinskoekološke značilnosti zahodnega dela Slovenije, ki pripada jadranskemu povodju. Jadransko povodje je ozemlje, s katerega padavine bodisi površinsko bodisi podzemno odtekajo v vodne tokove, ti pa se izlivajo v Jadransko morje. Jadransko povodje v Sloveniji obsega 19% ali 3.850 km^2 ozemlja, ostalo ozemlje pripada čnomorskemu povodju. Razmejuje ju večinoma določena topografska razvodnica, ki poteka po slemenih in vrhovih Julijskih Alp, predalpskega in dinarskega hribovja, meja pa je težko določljiva na kraških območjih, kjer se odtekanje padavin v porečja spreminja ob različnih vodnih stanjih in smo priča kraški bifurkaciji (porečja Reke, Pivke, Ljubljance in Vipave). Največja reka jadranskega povodja v Sloveniji je Soča s pritoki, katere porečje obsega skupaj s porečjem Vipave skoraj 2.200 km^2 , kar je 57% celotne površine jadranskega povodja. Ostalo ozemlje povodja pripada manjšim vodnim tokovom. Nekateri, kot so npr. Nadiža, Idrija, Reka v Goriških Brdih, Osapska reka, podobno kot Soča in Vipava, odtekajo v Italijo in se tam izlivajo v Jadransko morje, drugi, kot so Rižana, Dragonja z Drnico in Badaševica pa se izlivajo v slovenski del Jadranskega morja. Podzemne kraške vode jadranskega povodja v Sloveniji odtekajo v Tržaški in Kvarnerski zaliv, del jih napaja kraške izvire v zgornjem porečju Mirne. Najbolj poznana je ponikalnica Reka, ki izginja v Škocjanskih jamah in prihaja na dan v izvirih Timave. Jadransko povodje v Sloveniji sega od alpskega sveta v povirnem delu Soče, preko predalpskega hribovja v večjih porečjih Idrijce in Bače s pritoki, visokih dinarskih planot, ki polnijo izdatne kraške izvire, do sredozemskih pokrajin v porečjih Vipave in vodnih tokov Slovenske Istre. Skupni odtok jadranskega povodja je ocenjen s $170 \text{ m}^3/\text{s}$ in absolutni letni odtok s $5,4 \text{ km}^3$ vode, kar je petina odtoka v čnomorskem povodju (Uhan, Bat, 2003, 10). Pokrajinske značilnosti povodja bodo predstavljene s pomočjo pokrajinskoekološke tipizacije Slovenije, ki so jo izdelali Špesova in sodelavci (Špes et al., 2002). Povodje je razčlenjeno v pet pokrajinskih tipov, ki odražajo naravnogeografske značilnosti pomembne tako glede voda kot glede pokrajinske rabe (kmetijska in urbana raba zemljišč, samočistilno zmogljivost okolja). Slednja pa spreminja naravne hidrološke lastnosti in obremenjuje okolje, kar se odraža na pokrajinski občutljivosti in kakovosti voda.

METODE DELA

Geografske značilnosti jadranskega povodja so predstavljene na osnovi analize kartografskega gradiva, kot

so Državne topografske karte v merilu 1 : 25.000 (Atlas okolja, 2009), Osnovne geološke karte v merilu 1 : 100.000 (Geološke karte, 2009), kartografsko gradivo v Geografskem atlasu Slovenije (Fridl et al., 1998), digitalne informacije o slovenskih vodah (Eionet, 2006) in drugo. Najpomembnejši vir podatkov je Agencija republike Slovenije za okolje, kjer so pridobljeni podatki o padavinah (ARSO, 2009a), vodnih količinah (Hidrološki letopis, 1995–2006) in kakovosti vodotokov in izvirov (ARSO, 2009b) v jadranskem povodju. Za prikaz pokrajinskih tipov smo uporabili kartografski prikaz, objavljen v Geographici Slovenici (Špes et al., 2002). Jadransko povodje je naravnogeografsko raznoliko območje, kar kažejo različne hidrogeografske značilnosti porečij, različna intenzivnost pokrajinske rabe, geotopska pestrost in naravni viri okolja. V sklopu hidrogeografskih značilnosti so prikazane razlike v bilanci večjih porečij (količina padavin, izhlapevanje, odtok padavin) ter razlike v odtočnih značilnostih (specifični odtok, odtočni količnik, pretočni režim). Pri oceni intenzivnosti pokrajinske rabe smo pozornost namenili naseljem in prevladujoči rabi zemljišč, pri naravnih virih predvsem vodnim virom. Na osnovi poznavanja naravnogeografskih razmer smo skušali opozoriti na občutljivost voda in na posledice obremenjevanja okolja, ki se odražajo v kakovostnem stanju vodnih virov.

NARAVNOGEOGRAFSKE ZNAČILNOSTI IN VODNI TOKOVI JADRANSKEGA POVODJA V SLOVENIJI

Za jadransko povodje so značilni naslednji naravnogeografski dejavniki: velika količina padavin, ki večinoma presega povprečno količino padavin v Sloveniji, velika horizontalna in vertikalna reliefna razgibanost, pestra kamninska zgradba s prevladujočimi karbonatnimi kamninami, nadpovprečna gozdnatost, raznolikost naravnega rastlinstva, pogojena s podnebnimi in talnimi pogoji, z izjemo manjših območij tudi manj intenzivna kmetijska raba zemljišč, ki je med vsemi pokrajinskimi rabami najbolj odvisna od naravnih dejavnikov, ter bogati vodni viri (Perko, Orožen Adamič, 1998).

V jadranskem povodju v Sloveniji je zastopanih devet pokrajinskih tipov, ki so skupni odraz naravnogeografskih dejavnikov (Sl. 3). V večjem obsegu so zastopani naslednji: visokogorski svet (1), hribovja v pretežno nekarbonatnih kamninah (4), visoke in nizke kraške planote in hribovja v karbonatnih kamninah (3, 7), v manjšem obsegu pa širše doline v visokogorju, hribovju in na krasu (2), širše doline in poplavne ravnice v primorskem delu Slovenije (6), gričevje v primorskem delu Slovenije (5) ter kraška polja in podolja (8) (Špes et al., 2002, 34).

Tabela 1: Členi vodne bilance izbranih rek jadranskega povodja v obdobju 1971–2000 (vir podatkov: Frantar et al., 2008).**Table 1: Water balance elements of the selected Adriatic Sea basin rivers in period from 1971–2000 (data source: Frantar et al., 2008).**

Vodni tok	Vodomerna postaja	Padavine (mm)	Izhlapevanje (mm)	Odtok (mm)
Soča	Kršovec 1	2.868	666	2.202
Soča	Kobarid I 2	2.999	689	2.310
Soča	Solkan I 3	2.424	739	1.685
Koritnica	Kal – Koritnica 4	2.769	680	2.089
Učja	Žaga 5	3.235	727	2.508
Tolminka	Tolmin 6	3.084	692	2.392
Idrijca	Hotešk 7	2.269	739	1.530
Trebuščica	Dolenja Trebuša 8	2.339	743	1.596
Bača	Bača pri Modreju 9	2.604	736	1.868
Vipava	Vipava I 10	2.173	743	1.430
Vipava	Miren 11	1.689	735	954
Nadiža	Potoki 12	3.042	751	2.291
Reka	Cerkvenikov mlin 13	1.677	738	939
Rižana	Kubed II 14	1.639	749	890
Badaševica	Šalara 15	1.172	715	457
Drnica	Pišine I 16	1.131	740	391
Dragonja	Podkaštel I 17	1.208	766	442

1 – lega vodomerne postaje na Sl. 1

Skupna dolžina površinskih vodnih tokov v jadranskem povodju znaša 4.076 km, v porečju Soče jih je 1.727 km ali 42,4%, v porečju Vipave 667 km ali 16,3%, 1.682 km pa pripada ostalim površinskim vodnim tokovom. Povprečna gostota vodnih tokov znaša 1,11 km/km² površja, kar je opazno manj od povprečne gostote vodnih tokov v Sloveniji, ki znaša 1,4 km/km². Znotraj povodja pa obstajajo tudi velike razlike v gostoti rečne mreže, kar je pogojeno z že omenjeno raznolikostjo kamninske zgradbe in reliefsa povodja. Najmanjšo gostoto vodnih tokov imajo reke z zakraselimi porečjem, kot sta Koritnica, Rižana, največjo pa reke, ki zbirajo padavine z območij manj prepustnih kamnin, kot so Idrijca, Cerknica, Badaševica, Dragonja. Slednja ima gostoto vodnih tokov kar 2,47 km/km² (Kolbezen, Prstov, 1998, 141). Na vodnih tokovih v jadranskem povodju deluje 31 vodomernih postaj, po več delujejočih vodomernih postaj imajo daljši vodni tokovi: Soča 4, Vipava 4, Idrijca 3 in Reka 2, ostali pa po eno. Zaradi dolgega časovnega niza meritev, te potekajo na Soči od leta 1928, so značilnosti vodnih bilanc in odtočne značilnosti porečij dobro poznane. S pomočjo navedenih podatkov pa si lahko pomagamo tudi pri analizi naravnogeografskih dejavnikov in spoznavanju pokrajinskih značilnosti porečij oziroma povodij.

V večini jadranskega povodja v Sloveniji letna vsota padavin presega 2.000 mm, izjemi sta porečji Vipave in Reke ter Kras in Slovenska Istra (Tabela 1). Izhlapevanje padavin je za večino območja ocenjeno med 650 in 750

mm in v primerjavi z letno vsoto padavin razlike niso tako velike (Frantar, 2007). Najmanjše izhlapevanje padavin je ocenjeno za zgornji del porečja Soče, kjer so povirja rek najvišje, nakloni pobočij veliki, večja zakanraselost ter večji obseg površin brez prsti in rastlinske odeje. Največji odtoki padavin so tako ocenjeni v zgornjem delu porečja Soče (vodomerni postaji Kršovec in Kobarid I) ter v porečjih njenih pritokov Koritnice, Uče in Tolminke, najmanjši pa za vodne tokove v Slovenski Istri z izjemo Rižane, kjer na odtok padavin pomembno vpliva njeno obsežno kraško vodozibirno zaledje.

Za različno velika porečja oziroma vodozibirna zaledja vodomernih postaj, ki sestavljajo jadransko povodje, sta primerljiva kazalca odtočnih značilnosti specifični odtok in odtočni količnik, ki ju prikazuje Tabela 2. Specifični odtok nam pove količino vode (v litrih), ki povprečno v sekundi odteče s površinske enote (km²) porečja, odtočni količnik pa delež padavin, ki je vključen v vodni odtok.

Specifični odtoki vodozibirnih zaledij večine vodomernih postaj v jadranskem povodju v Sloveniji so nadpovprečni glede na povprečni specifični odtok v Sloveniji v obdobju 1971–2000, ki znaša 27 l/s/km² in prav za porečje Tolminke je izračunan največji specifični odtok, to je 105,2 l/s/km² (Frantar et al., 2008, 61). Zelo visoki specifični odtoki so značilni za zgornji del porečja Soče (vodomerne postaje Kršovec, Log Čezsoški in Kobarid) s pritokoma Koritnico in Učjo. Izrazito nadpovprečni so specifični odtoki Idrijce, Trebuše, Bače in

Tabela 2: Specifični odtoki, odtočni količniki in karakteristični srednji letni pretoki izbranih vodozbirnih zaledij vodnih tokov v jadranskem povodju v obdobju 1971–2000 (vir podatkov: Frantar et al., 2008).**Table 2: Specific runoffs, runoff coefficients and characteristic mean annual discharges of selected watercourses catchment areas in the Adriatic Sea basin in the period from 1971–2000 (data source: Frantar et al., 2008).**

Vodni tok	Vodomerna postaja	Površina vodozbirnega zaledja (km ²)	Specifični odtok * (l/s/km ²)	Odtočni količnik* (%)	Srednji letni pretok (m ³ /s)
Soča	Kršovec	157,90	71,9	79,0	11,37
Soča	Kobarid I	437,02	76,9	80,9	33,15
Soča	Solkan I	1.572,80	39,5	51,4	89,77
Koritnica	Kal – Koritnica	86,04	76,2	86,8	6,98
Učja	Žaga	50,21	67,1	65,4	3,37
Tolminka	Tolmin	73,08	105,2	107,5	7,71
Nadiža	Potoki	94,76	40,7	42,2	3,85
Idrijca	Hotešk	442,83	59,3	82,5	23,28
Trebuščica	Dolenja Trebuša	54,70	50,4	68,0	2,82
Bača	Bača pri Modreju	142,31	47,0	57,0	6,72
Vipava	Vipava I	131,90	49,6	72,0	6,54
Vipava	Miren	589,96	16,2	30,3	17,29
Reka	Cerkvenikov mlin	377,89	17,3	32,5	7,84
Rižana	Kubed II	204,50	18,5	35,6	3,78
Badaševica	Šalara	21,30	15,2	41,0	0,32
Drnica	Pišine I	29,77	8,4	23,4	0,25
Dragonja	Podkaštel I	92,71	13,2	34,5	1,23

Op.: Ležeče izpisani pretoki niso karakteristični pretoki obdobja 1971–2000, temveč so izračunani za krajše obdobje.

* Specifični odtok in odtočni količnik sta določena na osnovi izmerjenih pretokov.

Tabela 3: Mesečni pretočni količniki izbranih vodomernih postaj v obdobju 1971–2000 (vir podatkov: Frantar et al., 2008).**Table 3: The monthly discharge regimes of the selected gauging stations in the period from 1971–2000 (data source: Frantar et al., 2008).**

Vodni tok	Vodomerna postaja	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Soča	Kršovec	0,47	0,40	0,51	1,09	1,86	1,66	1,10	0,63	0,88	1,36	1,26	0,74
Soča	Solkan I	0,85	0,72	0,82	1,24	1,30	1,14	0,78	0,53	0,81	1,33	1,44	1,05
Učja	Žaga	0,69	0,58	0,89	1,53	1,46	1,06	0,69	0,51	0,84	1,40	1,36	0,98
Idrijca	Hotešk	1,03	0,90	1,07	1,37	0,93	0,85	0,56	0,48	0,74	1,26	1,51	1,31
Vipava	Vipava I	0,90	0,79	1,00	1,26	0,85	0,80	0,45	0,40	0,66	1,08	1,27	1,19
Reka	Cerkvenikov mlin	1,29	1,22	1,17	1,29	0,87	0,61	0,26	0,22	0,41	1,33	1,78	1,57
Rižana	Kubed II	1,34	1,23	1,23	1,34	0,87	0,66	0,28	0,21	0,47	1,24	1,54	1,61

zgornjega dela porečja Vipave, ki presegajo 40 l/s/km². Manjši so specifični odtoki v spodnjih delih porečij Soče in Vipave ter v porečjih vodnih tokov, ki se izlivajo neposredno v Jadransko morje. Pogojeni so z manjšo letno vsoto padavin, intenzivnejšim izhlapevanjem in počasnejšim odtekanjem padavin. Podobne značilnosti kot specifični odtok kažejo odtočni količniki porečij, ki so najvišji v visokogorskem delu porečij Soče in Tolminke, v hribovitih porečjih Idrijce in njenih pritokov ter

v zgornjem delu porečja Vipave. Izrazito nizkih odtočnih količnikov porečij oziroma vodozbirnih zaledij vodomernih postaj v jadranskem povodju ni, med najnižjimi pa so odtočni količniki v spodnjem delu porečja Vipave, v porečju Reke in v porečjih vodotokov Slovenske Istre.

Najbolj vodnate reke jadranskega povodja v Sloveniji glede na srednji letni pretok v obdobju 1971–2000 so: Soča s 33,15 m³/s na vodomerni postaji

Kobarid I in z $89,77 \text{ m}^3/\text{s}$ na v. p. Solkan I, Idrijca v spodnjem toku s $23,48 \text{ m}^3/\text{s}$ na v. p. Hotešk in Vipava v spodnjem toku s $17,29 \text{ m}^3/\text{s}$ na v. p. Miren. Srednji letni pretok večji od $10 \text{ m}^3/\text{s}$ v obdobju 1971–2000 je bil izmerjen tudi na obeh vodomernih postajah v zgornjem toku Soče: Kršovec in Log Čezsoški ter na vodomerni postaji Vipava Dornberk. Med 5 in $10 \text{ m}^3/\text{s}$ so zabeleženi pretoki na vodomernih postajah Kal – Koritnica na Koritnici, Tolmin na izlivu Tolminke v Sočo, Podroteja I na zgornjem toku Idrijce, Bača pri Modreju na spodnjem toku Bače, Vipava I na zgornjem toku Vipave ter Cerkvenikov mlin na spodnjem delu Reke. Na ostalih vodomernih postajah v jadranskem povodju so bili v obdobju 1971–2000 srednji letni pretoki nižji od $5 \text{ m}^3/\text{s}$ (Frantar et al., 2008, 99–100).

Mesečni pretočni količniki rek jadranskega povodja (Tabela 3) kažejo značilnosti treh tipov pretočnih režimov: snežno-dežnega, dežno-snežnega in dežnega. Značilnosti prvega kažejo podatki za vodomerno postajo Soča Kršovec, kjer so zaradi snežnega zadržka najvišje vrednosti pretoka v maju in juniju, najnižje pa od januarja do marca. Podpovprečni pretok glede na srednjo letno vrednost je tudi v juliju in avgustu, kot drugotni nižek, in nadpovprečni v mesecih od oktobra do decembra, kot drugotni višek. Navedene značilnosti veljajo tudi za naslednje reke: Koritnico, Učjo in Tolminko. Takšen režim se pojavlja pri vodotokih s povirji v visokogorju, zato je učinek snežnega zadržka na njihove pretoke posebej izrazit. Podatki za Sočo (v. p. Solkan I), Idrijco (v. p. Hotešk) in Vipavo (v. p. Vipava I) kažejo značilnosti dežno-snežnega pretočnega režima, kjer se izrazitejše podpovprečne vrednosti pretokov pojavljajo v poletju in večmesečne nadpovprečne vrednosti pretoka v jeseni. Navedene značilnosti veljajo še za reke Bačo, Trebušo, Cerknico in Nadižo. Na osnovi vodne bilance v letih 1971–2000, Frantar in Hrvatin (2005) uvrščata Sočo na v. p. Kršovec v alpski snežno-dežni režim, Učjo in Sočo na v. p. Solkan I v alpski dežno-snežni režim, Idrijco na v. p. Hotešk ter Vipavo na v. p. Vipava I v dinarski dežno-snežni režim, ki je z jesenskim viškom in poletnim nižkom zelo podoben dežno-snežnemu režimu. Mesečni pretočni količniki za Reko na v. p. Cerkvenikov mlin in Rižano na v. p. Kubed II kažejo značilnosti dežnega pretočnega režima s podpovprečnimi pretoki od maja do septembra in z nadpovprečnimi od oktobra do aprila. Značilnosti dežnega pretočnega režima kažejo tudi Vipava na v. p. Miren, Badaševica in Dragonja. Isto skupino vodotokov Frantar in Hrvatin (2005) uvrščata v sredozemski dežni režim z enakimi značilnostmi.

PODZEMNE VODE V JADRANSKEM POVODJU

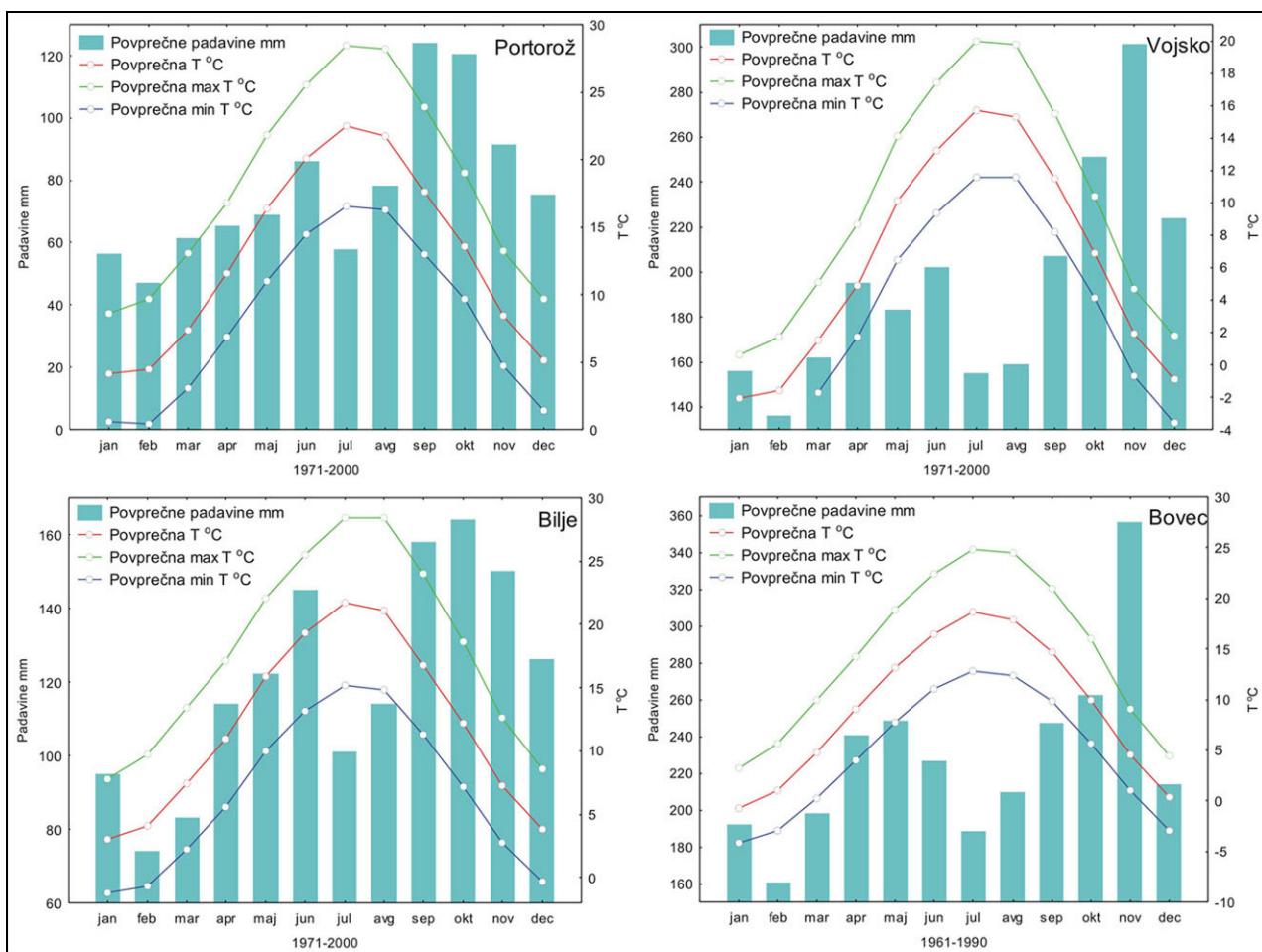
Glede na tip poroznosti v jadranskem povodju v Sloveniji prevladujejo kamnine s kraško razpoklinsko poroznostjo, ki prekrivajo približno 57% ozemlja. Vsi po-

membnejši kraški izviri jadranskega povodja so vezani na ta tip vodonosnikov. Približno 10% ozemlja gradijo dolomiti, v katerih so oblikovani razpoklinski vodonosniki, kar 22% ozemlja pa odpade na mešani medzrnsko-razpoklinski tip poroznosti majhne izdatnosti, ki je v veliki meri vezan na območja s flišnimi kamninami. Približno 11% ozemlja prekrivajo kamnine z medzrnsko poroznostjo. Gre za vezane in nevezane sedimente, nastale z odlaganjem gradiva kot rezultat delovanja pobočnih procesov, rek ali ledenikov. V vodonosnih kamninah jadranskega povodja se nahaja 15% vseh zalog podzemne vode v Sloveniji, v porečju Soče 10% in v povodju z neposrednim odtokom v morje 5%. V jadranskem povodju se domala vse zaloge podzemne vode nahajajo v vodonosnikih s kraško razpoklinsko poroznostjo, v porečju Soče pa manjše količine tudi v medzrnskih vodonosnikih ob Vipavi in Soči (Uhan, Bat, 2003, 56).

Na območju jadranskega povodja v Sloveniji je registriranih preko 1.180 izvirov (Eionet, 2006), manjka pa podatki o srednjih pretokih večine kraških izvirov. Najbolj vodnati so kraški izviri v porečju Soče, kot recimo njen izvir, Koritnica, Boka idr. Značilnosti teh izvirov so pogojene z veliko količino padavin, prevladujočim podzemnim odtokom v zakraselih povirjih (kraški zadržek), taljenjem snega v višjih predelih zaledja (tudi snežni zadržek), majhnim izhlapevanjem in majhnim zadržkom padavin v površinskih plasteh. Med izvire z velikim pretokom se poleg tistih v zgornjem porečju Soče uvrščajo tudi izviri Podroteja, Mrzlek, Lijak, Hubelj ($3,03 \text{ m}^3/\text{s}$) in Vipava ($6,78 \text{ m}^3/\text{s}$), ki se nahajajo v porečjih Idrijce in Vipave in se napajajo z območja visokih dinarskih kraških planot (Janež et al., 1997), v pasu od Banjšic na severozahodu do Hrušice na jugovzhodu. Tudi zahodni predeli visoke dinarske planote Snežnik se podzemeljsko odmakajo v jadransko povodje, izvira Bistrica ($1,8 \text{ m}^3/\text{s}$) (Kovačič, 2003a) in Podstenjšek ($0,14 \text{ m}^3/\text{s}$) (Ravbar, Goldscheider, 2007) sta desna pritoka Reke. Na zahodnih obročnih planot Snežnik, Javorniki ter na Zgornji Pivki prihaja do kraške bifurkacije, kjer se v odvisnosti od hidroloških razmer vode z istega območja podzemeljsko stekajo tako v jadransko kot črnomorsko povodje (Habič, 1989), zato je tudi potek razvodnice med povodjem tukaj nejasen in težko določljiv. Velika količina podzemne vode se pretaka tudi v območju Krasa, Podgrajskega podolja in Čičarije, ki se na površini pojavi v vodnatih izvirovih Timave in Rižane ter nekaterih manj izdatnih izvirov (npr. Osapska reka). Kras je primer čezmejnega kraškega vodonosnika, za katere je značilno, da se vsaj del hidrografskega zaledja kraškega izvira nahaja na območju druge države. Tipično takšno območje v Sloveniji je njen jugozahodni del, ki se razteza v krasu med Snežnikom, Podgrajskim podoljem in Krasom. Tu kraški vodonosniki prečkajo državno mejo in se raztezajo tudi na ozemlje sosednje Italije in Hrvaške.



Sl. 1: Jadransko povodje v Sloveniji.
Fig. 1: The Adriatic Sea basin in Slovenia.



Sl. 2: Klimadiagrami izbranih meteoroloških postaj v jadranskem povodju (vir podatkov: ARSO, 2009a).
 Fig. 2: Climatograms of selected meteorological stations in the Adriatic Sea basin (data source: ARSO, 2009a).

Značilnosti kraških izvirov, ki se napajajo z območja visokih dinarskih planot, sta poleg kraškega zadržka, ki pridruži največje pretoke vodotokov, tudi njihova stalnost in s tem povezana sposobnost ohranjanja nizkih pretokov skozi daljše sušno obdobje, kar je zlasti pomembno za vzdrževanje biološkega minimuma omenjenih vodotokov v poletnih mesecih. Zaradi omenjene lastnosti ter dejstva, da so njihova tudi do več 100 km² obsežna vodozbirna območja redko poseljena in so zato izviri za onesnaženje manj ogroženi, predstavljajo pomemben vir pitne vode. Izviri Hubelj, Rižana, Mrzlek, Bistrica in Vipava so zajeti za regionalne vodooskrbne sisteme, številni manjši, kot so Hotešk, Zadlaščica in drugi, pa za lokalne sisteme. Za oskrbo Brd je pomembno vodno črpališče Prilesje ob Soči pri Plavah, za oskrbo dobršnega dela Krasa pa črpališče Klariči pri Brešovici, od koder se v času največje porabe vode poleti oskrbujejo tudi naselja v Slovenski Istri.

Količine podtalnice s prosto gladino so v jadranskem povodju v Sloveniji skromne in se nahajajo v aluvialnih vodonosnikih ob Vipavi in Soči. Hidrološke meritve nihanja gladine podtalnice izvajajo na območju Ajdovščine, kjer so tri vodomerne postaje, in ob spodnjem toku Vipave na območju med Šempetrom pri Gorici in Dornberkom, kjer je sedem vodomernih postaj. V zgornji Vipavski dolini gladino podtalnice spremljajo pri Gradišču, kjer se zabeleženi vodostaji podtalnice gibljejo med 200 in 400 cm globine pod koto "0", pri Ajdovščini med 400 in 500 cm in pri Vipavskem Križu med 150 in 200 cm. V spodnji Vipavski dolini se gladina podtalnice giblje med 150 in 250 cm na vodomernih postajah Renče in Volčja Draga, velika nihanja gladine med 50 in 450 cm beleži postaja Prvčina, na vodomernih postajah Šempeter, Vrtojba, Miren in Orehovlje pa je gladina podtalnice precej globlja, med 1500 in 2200 cm (Hidrološki letopis, 1995–2006).

POKRAJINSKA RABA IN NJEN VPLIV NA VODNE VIRE V JADRANSKEM POVODJU

Pod pojmom pokrajinska raba razumemo rabo vseh virov okolja, pogosto imenovanih kar okoljski viri, ki poleg rabe zemljišč vključuje tudi rabo različnih naravnih virov in storitev okolja. Pokrajinska raba tako obsega kmetijsko in urbano rabo zemljišč, rabo vodnih, mineralnih in bioloških virov ter rabo ekosistemskih storitev okolja (obnavljanje prvin okolja, zmogljivosti okolja, da nevtralizira negativne učinke onesnaževanja okolja idr.).

V jadranskem povodju v Sloveniji je intenzivnost pokrajinske rabe precej različna, večinoma pa je, v primerjavi s porečji, ki pripadajo černomorskemu povodju, manj intenzivna. Pogojena je z naravnimi dejavniki okolja in s prisotnostjo človeka oziroma gospodarskim in družbenim razvojem. Za porečje Soče in njenih pritokov je značilno, da se intenzivnost pokrajinske rabe vzdolž toka stopnjuje, kar je pogojeno z ugodnejšimi reliefnimi značilnostmi (nižje nadmorske višine, manjši nakloni, več ravnega površja), večjo gostoto površinskih vodnih tokov in ugodnejšim podnebjem. V večjem delu povodja sta pomembna omejevalna dejavnika intenzivnejše pokrajinske rabe strmina pobočij in zakraselost površja. Slednja je s kamnitostjo površja, neenakomerno debelino prsti, s podzemnim odtekanjem padavin in pomanjkanjem vodnih virov že v preteklosti pogojevala

manjšo intenzivnost kmetijske rabe zemljišč in razvoj poselitve v hribovitih predelih ter na kraških planotah. Dna dolin v povodju so bila v preteklosti pogosto izpostavljena poplavam ali pa mokrotva in neprimerna za kmetijstvo. Obsežnejši regulacijski in melioracijski posegi so bili izvedeni v dolinah Vipave, Reke, Rižane in Dragonje. Danes intenzivnost pokrajinske rabe v večji meri omejujejo: velika občutljivost kraških območij za onesnaženje voda in varovanje vodnih virov, nezdružljivost različnih rab vodnih virov in pomanjkanje primernih prostih površin v obalnem območju. Za večino manjših porečij v jadranskem povodju je značilna naravno pogojena večja občutljivost voda, ki je posledica velikih razlik v vodnem odtoku med letom, zelo nizkih pretokov poleti, majhnih strmcov in antropogene preoblikovanosti vodnih tokov. Zaradi velikih naklonov pobočij, manjše odpornosti kamnin in hudourniškega značaja vodnih tokov se predvsem flišna območja sočajo z intenzivnimi pobočnimi procesi in erozijo (Janež et al., 1997; Špes et al., 2000; Zorn, 2008a). V Tabeli 4 so navedeni kazalniki intenzivnosti pokrajinske rabe, občutljivost voda kot pokrajinske sestavine in posledice pokrajinske rabe. Ocena občutljivosti voda kot pokrajinske sestavine izhaja iz že predstavljenih hidrogeografskih značilnosti porečij. Tako je velika občutljivost površinskih voda pogojena z izrazitimi nihanji v rečnem pretoku, z nizkimi vodnimi stanji in majhnim strmcem vodnega toka, za občutljivost podzemnih voda je po-

Tabela 4: Kazalniki intenzivnosti pokrajinske rabe in posledice.

Table 4: Parameters of the landscape use intensity and its consequences.

Območje	Urbana naselja	Prevladujoča raba zemljišč	Občutljivost voda kot pokrajinske sestavine	Posledice pokrajinske rabe
porečje Soče nad Kobaridom	Bovec, Kobarid	gozd	zelo velika	niso izrazite
porečje Soče od Kobarida do državne meje	Tolmin, Kanal, Idrija, Deskle, Nova Gorica	gozd	velika	preoblikovanost in onesnaženost vodnih tokov
porečje Vipave	Vipava, Ajdovščina, Šempeter, Miren	kmetijstvo	velika	preoblikovani vodni tokovi, degradacija ekosistemov, onesnaženost površinske in podzemne vode
porečje Reke, povirje Timave, povirje Rižane	Ilirska Bistrica, Divača, Sežana, Kozina	gozd	zelo velika	preoblikovanost in onesnaženost površinskih vodnih tokov v povirjih nista izrazita
porečja Rižane, Badaševice in Dragonje	Dekani, Koper, Izola, Piran, Portorož	kmetijstvo, urbanizacija	velika	preoblikovanost in onesnaženost površinskih vodnih tokov, degradacija ekosistemov, zlasti v obalnem pasu

membna zakraselost in prepustnost kamnin nad vodo-nosnikom, globina podzemne vode in hitrost pretakanja (Špes et al., 2002). Posledice prekomerne intenzivnosti pokrajinske rabe se kažejo kot degradacija pokrajinskih sestavin in naravnih ekosistemov ter slabšanje kakovosti okolja, vključno z vodami.

Za zgornji del porečja Soče nad Kobaridom je značilna manj intenzivna pokrajinska raba, ki je posledica že omenjenih naravnih omejitvenih dejavnikov. Zaradi prevladajoče visoke nadmorske višine, velike strmine pobočij, majhnega obsega ravnega površja in po-manjkanja prsti, primerne za obdelavo, pripada kmetijskim površinam majhen delež zemljišč, med rabo tal pa so najbolj zastopani travniki in pašniki. Prevladujejo manjša podeželska naselja, med večjimi sta le Bovec in Kobarid, kjer so v večji meri prisotne tudi neagrarse dejavnosti. Pomembna gospodarska dejavnost je turizem. Raba naravnih virov obsega predvsem rabe vodnih virov in gozda, slednji ima tudi zelo pomembno varovalno vlogo. Na občutljivost voda pomembno vplivajo zakraselost, kraški značaj podzemnih voda, povirnost vodnih tokov in njihov hudourniški značaj. Obremenitve okolja ne presegajo zmogljivosti obnavljanja, zato so naravni ekosistemi dobro ohranjeni in pokrajinske sestavine niso degradirane.

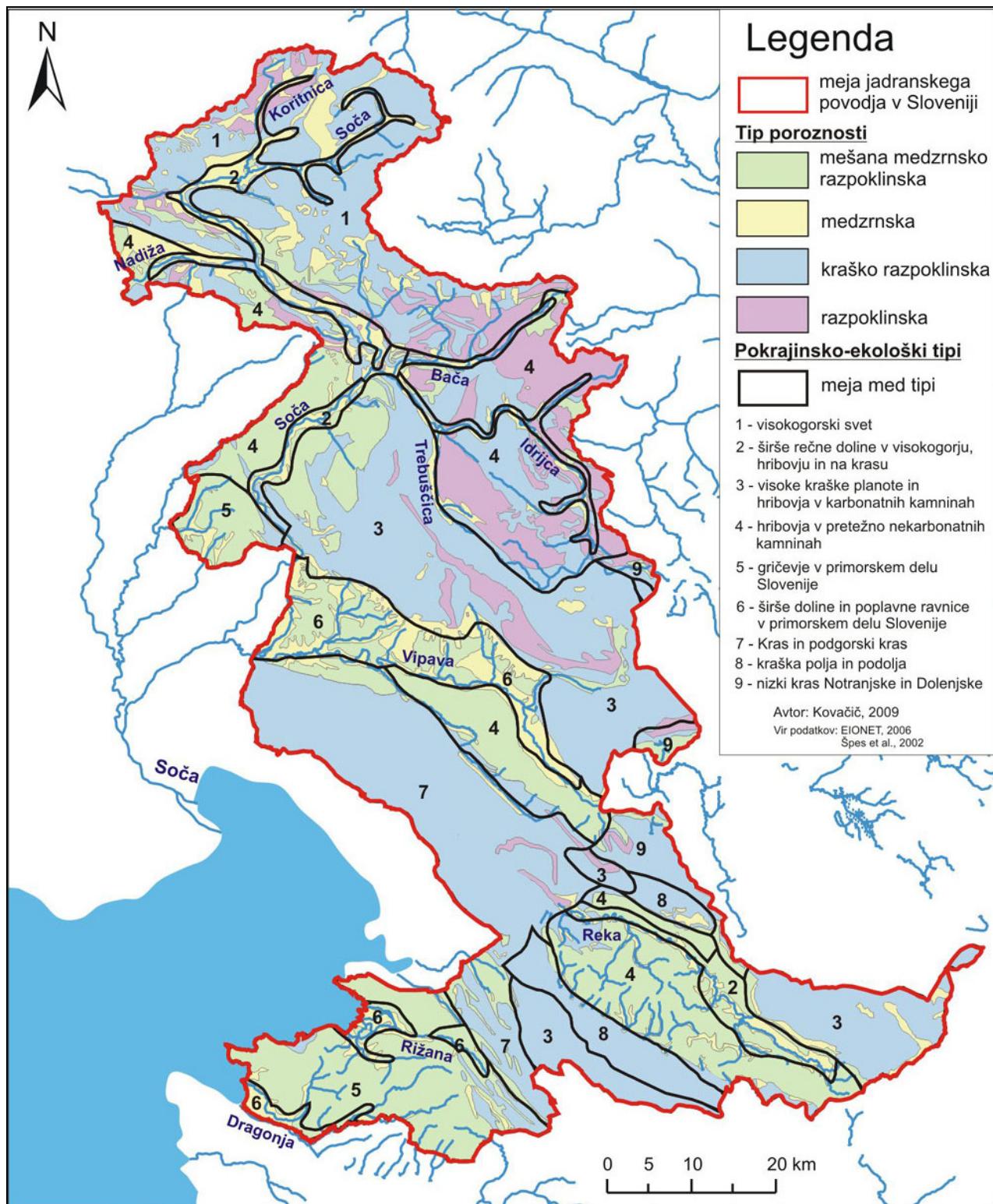
V spodnjem delu porečja Soče v Sloveniji je pokrajinska raba predvsem zaradi urbane rabe veliko bolj intenzivna. Pogoji za kmetijsko rabo so v hribovitih porečjih pritokov Soče, kakor tudi v spodnji Soški dolini, zelo omejeni. Tudi v tem delu porečja prevladujejo manjša podeželska naselja, v dnu dolin vodnih tokov pa večja suburbana ali urbana naselja, katerih razvoj je pogojen z razvojem neagrarnih dejavnosti in izrabo naravnih virov (mineralnih in vodnih). Zaradi hudourniškega značaja vodnih tokov in kraškosti nekaterih povirij smo občutljivost voda ocenili kot veliko. Zaradi občutljivosti okolja imajo pretekle in obstoječe gospodarske dejavnosti in naselja opazen negativni vpliv na kakovost vseh pokrajinskih sestavin. Posledice se kažejo tudi na lastnostih vodnih virov (onesnaženost voda s težkimi kovinami, spremenjen vodni odtok) in degradiranosti naravnih ekosistemov v rečnih dolinah (območja poselitve, prometna infrastruktura, regulacije vodnih tokov, zaježitve idr.).

V porečju Vipave so naravne danosti okolja omogočile prav tako intenzivno pokrajinsko rabo, kjer se prepletata urbana in kmetijska raba zemljišč. Odločilni dejavniki so: nižji in bolj uravnan relief, rodovitna prst in bogati vodni viri. Občutljivost vodnih virov smo označili kot zelo veliko zaradi kraškega značaja podzemnih voda, plitve podtalnice v spodnji Vipavski dolini ter skromne vodnatosti oziroma nizkih pretokov v poletju in majhnih strmcev večine površinskih vodnih tokov. Ravnina v Vipavski dolini, gričevje s položnejšimi pobočji v Vipavskih Brdih in na vznožju Krasa ter kraških planot, debelejša prst, nastala na flišni podlagi

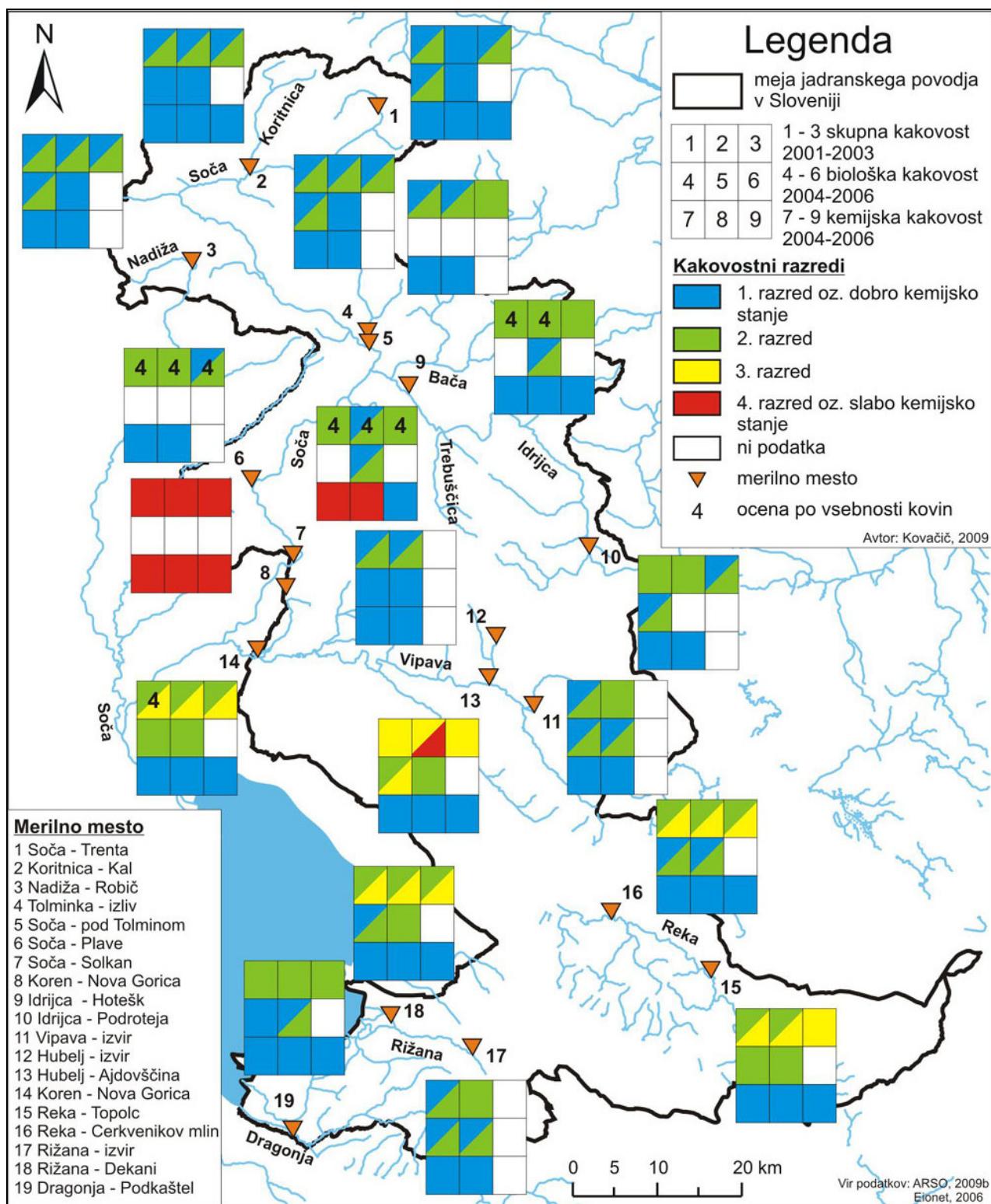
ali rečnih usedlinah, izdatni podzemni kraški vodni viri, ki se na površju pojavljajo kot zelo vodnati izviri Vipave, Hublja, Lijaka, ter podtalnica v Vipavski dolini so omogočili razvoj gospodarskih dejavnosti, rast naselij in njihovo preobrazbo v suburbana in urbana naselja. Zaradi kmetijske rabe zemljišč ter v ta namen izvedenih regulacij vodnih tokov, hidro- in agromelioracij zemljišč je bilo veliko naravnih ekosistemov uničenih, spremenil se je videz pokrajine in povečalo obremenjevanje okolja, zlasti vodnih tokov in območij podtalnice. Podzemne in površinske vode sta najbolj obremenjeni pokrajinski sestavini, kot posledica pa se kaže njihova onesnaženost.

Pokrajinsko rabo v porečju površinskega toka Reke, na Krasu in v povirnem delu Rižane obravnavamo združeno iz dveh razlogov. Prvič, pretakanje podzemnih voda v Krasu je deloma nadaljevanje površinskega toka Reke in tudi povirje Rižane je kraško. Drugi razlog je podobna pokrajinska raba v omenjenih območjih. Za vsa tri območja je značilna manj intenzivna pokrajinska raba, kar se kaže v velikem deležu gozdnih oziroma zaraščajočih se površin in prevladajočih manjših podeželskih naselij. Zaradi neugodnih naravnih pogojev za obdelavo zemljišč kmetijstvo nima pomembnejše vloge. Neugodni sta tako kamnitost površja in neenakomerna debelina prsti na Krasu in Podgorskem Krasu kot močnost in občasne poplave v dolini Reke. Zaradi opuščanja kmetijske rabe na manj primernih območjih se ponovno razvijajo in oblikujejo drugotni naravni ekosistemi. V celotnem območju imamo le štiri urbana središča: Ilirska Bistrica v zgornjem delu porečja Reke ter Kozino, Divača in Sežano na Krasu, ki skupaj z manjšimi naselji povzročajo obremenitve v okolju, v katerem so najbolj občutljiv pokrajinski element prav vode, med njimi še posebej podzemne kraške vode (Kovačič, 2003b; Ravbar 2006).

V Slovenski Istri je pokrajinska raba v primerjavi z območji, ki jo obkrožajo s severne strani, bolj intenzivna. Govorimo o dvojni pokrajinske rabe, ki se kaže v gozdnatem in podeželskem gričevnatem zaledju ter intenzivni kmetijski in urbani rabi v obalnem pasu. V zaledju Slovenske Istre prevladujejo majhna naselja, kmetijstvo je večinoma ekstenzivno, nekdaj obdelane kmetijske površine, vključno s terasami na pobočjih, se krčijo in zaraščajo. Kot posledico intenzivnejše kmetijske rabe zemljišč in krčenja gozda v preteklosti se pojavlja erozija pobočij, ki je na različnih območjih flišnega gričevja zelo intenzivna (dolina Dragonje, Rokave, zgornja Rižanska dolina) (Zorn, 2008b). Nasprotno se v spodnjih delih rečnih dolin Rižane, Badaševic, Dragonje in v ožjem obalnem pasu naselja širijo, število prebivalcev se povečuje in razvoj različnih gospodarskih dejavnosti skupaj s poselitvijo povzroča veliko obremenjevanje okolja. Obalni del Slovenske Istre je med najgosteje poseljenimi območji v Sloveniji, zaradi izražito sezonskega značaja turizma pa se v poletnih me-



Sl. 3: Hidrogeološke enote in pokrajinskoekološki tipi v jadranskem povodju.
Fig. 3: Hydrogeological units and landscape ecological types in the Adriatic Sea basin.



Sl. 4: Kakovost vodotokov in kraških izvirov v Jadranskem povodju (vir podatkov: ARSO, 2009b).
Fig. 4: Quality of watercourses and karst springs in the Adriatic Sea basin (data source: ARSO, 2009b).

secih število ljudi močno poveča, kar se kaže v veliki porabi pitne vode, veliki količini odpadkov in odpadnih voda ter veliki obremenjenosti prometne infrastrukture. Poleg naselij in turizma so za okolje obremenjujoči tudi pristanišče, nekatere proizvodne dejavnosti in intenzivno kmetijstvo, zlasti vinogradništvo (Cigale, 2000). Najbolj občutljiva pokrajinska sestavina v obalnem območju je voda. Slovenska Istra se sooča s količinsko zelo omejenimi in nezadostnimi vodnimi viri, za površinske vodne tokove je značilno izrazito nihanje vodnih stanj, na občutljivost morja pa pomembno vplivajo njegova zaprtost, plitvost in šibki tokovi. Intenzivnost pokrajinske rabe se najbolj odraža v degradiranih naravnih ekosistemih v spodnjih delih rečnih dolin, kjer so bili vodni tokovi regulirani, zemljišča hidro- in agromeliorirana ter namenjena kmetijstvu in urbanizaciji. Izjemno velikim spremembam smo priča v ožjem obalnem pasu morja, kjer je le 12% slovenske obale povsem naravne, 80% pa močno in trajno spremenjene zaradi pristanišč, marin in urbanizacije, ki segajo tudi v pas plimovanja in obrežnega morja (Kolega, 2010). Prekomerna intenzivnost pokrajinske rabe se kaže v onesnaženosti vodnih tokov, npr. spodnjega toka Rižane in Badaševice, v onesnaženosti obalnega morja, npr. v Semedelskem zalivu, in v občasno slabem ekološkem stanju slovenskega morja.

KAKOVOST VODA V JADRANSKEM POVODJU

Kakovost površinskih in podzemnih voda je odraz prepletanja naravnih samočistilnih (nevtralizacijskih in regeneracijskih) sposobnosti vodozbirnih območij, ki vplivajo na njihovo občutljivost ter stopnje obremenjenosti s strani različnih človekovih dejavnosti, ki vplivajo na slabšanje kakovostnega stanja vode. Kakovost voda v jadranskem povodju Slovenije prikazuje Sl. 4. Prikazani so podatki o kakovosti voda na 17. merilnih mestih v obdobju 2001–2006 (ARSO, 2009b). Za obdobje 2001–2003 prikazujemo skupno kakovost vodotokov in kraških izvirov na osnovi štirih kakovostnih razredov, kot jih določuje metodologija ocenjevanja kakovosti. Leta 2004 je prišlo do spremembe metodologije ocenjevanja kakovosti površinskih tokov, skupna kakovost se od tedaj dalje ne ocenjuje, zato za obdobje 2004–2006 ločeno prikazujemo biološko in kemijsko kakovost. Biološka kakovost se prikazuje na osnovi štirih, kemijsko stanje pa na osnovi dveh kakovostnih razredov (dobro in slabo kemijsko stanje). Podatki o biološki kakovosti vodotokov za leto 2006 niso dosegljivi, saj kriteriji za določanje ekološkega stanja površinskih vodotokov takrat še niso bili izdelani.

Naravnogeografske danosti jadranskega povodja vplivajo na dokaj visoke samočistilne sposobnosti večine rek, kar se odraža v relativno dobrem kakovostnem stanju vodnih tokov. Izjema so porečja Rižane, Dražonje, Badaševice, Reke, Vipave ter Soče v spodnjem

toku. Občutljivost vodotokov za onesnaženje v jadranskem povodju zmanjšujejo veliki vodni odtoki, ki so rezultat prepletanja geoloških, reliefnih in podnebnih značilnosti jadranskega povodja. Večina rek jadranskega povodja se vsaj deloma napaja tudi iz kraških vodonosnikov. Ti so zaradi svojih značilnosti (odsotnost zaščitnih slojev, visoke hitrosti pretakanja) še posebej občutljivi za onesnaženje. K sreči je večina kraških območij, izjema je Kras, redko poseljenih in s tega vidika je obremenjevanje majhno. Zaradi stalnosti vodnega toka kraški izviri dejansko prispevajo k večanju kakovosti vodotokov, kar je zlasti pomembno v času poletnih pretočnih nižkov, ko povečujejo vodnatost rek.

Naravnogeografske razmere v severnem delu jadranskega povodja vplivajo na večje samočistilne sposobnosti rek s povirjem v visokogorskem svetu in hkrati pogojujejo manj intenzivno pokrajinsko rabo. Poselitev in druge človekove dejavnosti v prostoru ne predstavljajo znatnega pritiska na vodne vire, zato je kakovost rek v severnem delu jadranskega povodja v Sloveniji zelo dobra. Skupna kakovost vode Soče (Trenta), Koritnice (Kal), Nadiže (Robič) ter Tolminke (izliv v Sočo), vsa merilna mesta ležijo pred večjimi naselji, je v 1. ali 1.–2. razredu, vse omenjene reke dosegajo dobro kemijsko stanje. Soča pod Tolminom je podobne kakovosti, vendar se v letu 2003 uvršča v 2. razred. Porečje Idrijce se razteza v hribovitem in planotastem svetu, ki je z vidika poselitve manj ugoden, zato pokrajinska raba, z izjemo večjih naselij v dolini, ni intenzivna. Na kakovost vodotokov v porečju Idrijce vplivajo gospodarske dejavnosti v večjih urbanih središčih, kot sta Cerkno in Idrija. Skupna kakovost Idrijce na merilnem mestu Hotešk je bila v letih 2001–2003 sicer v 2. razredu, vendar pa se je glede na vsebnost kovin, ki izvirajo iz rudarske dejavnosti, deloma pa tudi iz naravnega okolja, v tem obdobju uvrščala v 4. kakovostni razred (Horvat et al., 2001). Kakovost Idrijce na merilnem mestu Podroteja se uvršča v 1.–2. in 2. razred. V obdobju 2004–2006 je bilo kemijsko stanje Idrijce na obeh merilnih mestih dobro.

Na Soči se kakovost meri še v Plavah in Solkanu. Podatki za prvo postajo kažejo, da se je skupna kakovost v letih 2001–2003 gibala med 1.–2. in 2. razredom, enako velja za merilno mesto Solkan. Podobno kot velja za reko Idrijco v spodnjem toku, je bila tudi Soča v spodnjem delu v obdobju 2001–2003 prekomerno onesnažena s kovinami (4. razred). V obdobju 2004–2006 je bilo kemijsko stanje Soče v Plavah dobro, na merilnem mestu Solkan pa je bilo v letih 2004 in 2005 zaradi prekomerne vsebnosti težkih kovin slabo. Najslabšo kakovost med vodotoki z merilnim mestom v jadranskem povodju izkazuje Koren, ki teče skozi Novo Gorico in odvaja neprečiščene komunalne odpadke. Pri vseh analizah kakovosti se uvršča v zadnji, 4. kakovostni razred, kemijsko stanje vodotoka je slabo.

V porečju Vipave obstajajo bistvene razlike v kakovosti med merilnimi mesti na kraških izvirih Hublja in Vipave ter merilnimi mesti dolvodno na vodotokih. Hidrografska zaledja kraških izvirov Hublja in Vipava sta redko poseljeni, zato je njuna kakovost relativno visoka, tako kot pri vseh kraških izvirih je občasno slabša biološka kakovost. Kakovost Hublja na izviru je visoka, v glavnem se uvršča v 1. in 1.–2. razred. Nekoliko slabša je kakovost Vipave na izviru (1.–2. in 2. razred), razlog je lahko sekundarno napajanje s ponornicami s Spodnje Pivke, ki neposredno prenašajo onesnaženje proti izviru. Kemijska kakovost obeh izvirov je dobra. Kakovost Hublja se na kratki razdalji od izvira dolvodno zelo poslabša in na merilnem mestu Ajdovščina se je Hublja v letih 2001–2003 po skupni kakovosti že uvrščal v 3. in celo v 3.–4. razred. V letih 2004 in 2005 je bila biološka kakovost Hublja v Ajdovščini za razred boljša, kemijsko stanje v obdobju 2004–2006 je bilo dobro. Zaradi naravnih danosti, ki so ugodne za razvoj kmetijske in tudi drugih gospodarskih dejavnosti, je pokrajinska intenzivnost v spodnjem delu porečja Vipave velika, kar vpliva na onesnaženje vodotokov. Skupna kakovost Vipave na merilnem mestu Miren se je v letih 2001–2003 uvrščala v 2. do 2.–3. razred, v letu 2001 se je po vsebnostih kovin uvrščala v 4. kakovostni razred. V obdobju 2004–2005 je bila glede na biološko kakovost v 2. razredu, kemijsko stanje vodotoka pa je bilo v enakem obdobju dobro.

Skupna kakovost Reke na merilnem mestu Topolc, ki se nahaja takoj za Ilirsko Bistrico, kjer je skoncentrirana večina neagrarnih dejavnosti v porečju Reke, je bila v obdobju 2001–2003 v 2.–3. razredu. Biološka kakovost vodotoka v letih 2004–2005 je bila v 2. razredu, kemijsko stanje v obdobju 2004–2006 pa je bilo dobro. Podobni so rezultati meritev kakovosti Reke na merilnem mestu Cerkvenikov mlin. Razlike obstajajo v izmerjeni biološki kakovosti v letih 2004–2005, ko se je reka na slednji uvrščala v 1.–2. razred. Porečje Reke med omenjenima vodomernima postajama je redko poseljeno, zato boljša biološka kakovost na postaji dolvodno ni presenetljiva.

Skupna kakovost kraškega izvira Rižana z obsežnim zaledjem se je v letih 2001 in 2002 uvrščala v 1.–2. in 2. razred. Kemijsko stanje v letih 2004 in 2005 je bilo 2. razred. V dolini Rižane je pokrajinska raba zaradi ugodnih pogojev in bližine Kopra velika, zato je kakovost Rižane na vodomerni postaji Dekani temu primerno slaba in se je v letih 2001–2003 uvrščala v 2.–3. razred. Kemijsko stanje Rižane v obdobju 2004–2006 na omenjenem merilnem mestu je bilo dobro, glede na biološko kakovost se je vodotok v letih 2002 in 2005 uvrščal v 1.–2. in 2. razred. Tudi dolina Dragonje je kmetijsko zelo intenzivno obdelana, kakovost vode na merilnem mestu Podkaštel pa je kljub temu dokaj dobra. V obdobju 2001–2003 se je skupna kakovost na omenjenem merilnem mestu uvrščala v 2. razred. Biološka

kakovost v letih 2004 in 2005 pa celo v 1.–2. in 1. razred, dobro je bilo tudi kemijsko stanje Dragonje.

Program monitoringa kakovosti morja spremlja ekološko in kemijsko stanje obalnega in teritorialnega morja ter podaja ocene doseganja okoljskih ciljev za vodna telesa površinskih voda. Kakovost morja se redno ugotavlja z vzorčenji in analizami vode, sedimentov in mesa morskih organizmov. Vsebnost klorofila a se spremlja kot kazalec prekomerne obremenjenosti vode s hranilnimi snovmi, in sicer v poletnem obdobju od maja do septembra, ko je primarna proizvodnja fitoplanktona največja. Vsebnost klorofila a v poletnem obdobju je dober pokazatelj vnosa hranilnih snovi iz človekovih dejavnosti, ker so naravni vnosi zaradi majhne količine padavin zanemarljivi. Povprečne vrednosti klorofila a, merjene na globini od 0–10 metrov na treh merilnih mestih, od katerih je eno bližje obali pri Piranu, so bile v obdobju 1997–2006 zelo spremenljive. Najvišje vrednosti klorofila-a so v letih 1998 in 1999 presegale 10 µg/l, v letu 2001 in 2002 pa 6 µg/l. Večina povprečnih vrednosti je bila pod 2,5 µg/l (Rejec Brancelj, 2006). Pomemben kazalec ekološkega stanja morja je tudi vsebnost kisika v globinski vodi, ki se v slovenskem delu Jadranskega morja sistematično spremlja od 90. let preteklega stoletja. Zaradi zaprtosti in plitvosti morja ter razslojenosti vode se od poznega poletja do jeseni v globljih plasteh vode zelo zmanjša vsebnost raztopljenega kisika. Izjemno pomanjkanje kisika v Tržaškem zalivu, ki je bilo ugotovljeno v letih 1974, 1983, 1987 in 1990, je povzročilo pegin bentoških organizmov na različno obsežnih predelih osrednjega dela zaliva. Podatki za dve merilni mesti v osrednjem in jugozahodnem delu slovenskega morja za obdobje od maja do novembra v letih 1989–2006 kažejo, da so bile le občasno ugotovljene biološko kritično nizke vrednosti kisika pod 2 ml/l. Pogosteje so bile nizke vrednosti ugotovljene v pridnenem sloju v osrednjem delu zaliva (globina 22 m), kjer je bila leta 1995 najnižja vrednost 0,29 ml/l. Na merilnem mestu v jugozahodnem delu pa so bile vsebnosti raztopljenega kisika v pridnenem sloju (globina 24 m) samo v letih 1989 in 1990 pod 2 µg/l (Rejec Brancelj, 2006). Trofični indeks (TRIX) je sintezni kazalec obremenjenosti vode, ki upošteva vsebnost dušika, fosforja, klorofila ter zasičenost s kisikom in prozornost. V letu 2005 so se vrednosti trofičnega indeksa gibale med 4,5 in 6, kar kaže na zmerno evtrofne vode. Kemijsko stanje vode je bilo za leto 2005 ocenjeno kot dobro, ustrezna pa je bila tudi kakovost vode za življenje morskih školjk in polžev (Rejec Brancelj, 2007).

Kazalec kakovosti kopalnih voda obalnega morja nam daje vpogled v mikrobiološko ter fizikalno-kemijsko kakovost vode. V slovenskem obalnem morju je bilo v monitoring kopalnih voda do leta 2003 zajetih 32 odvzemnih mest, od leta 2004 pa se, skladno z zahtevami direktive o kopalnih vodah, redno spremlja higienska ustreznost 6 območij kopalnih voda in 13

naravnih kopališč. Skupno kakovostno stanje kopalnih voda v obdobju od 1996 do 2003 lahko označimo kot dobro, saj je večina vzorcev vode ustrezala fizikalno-kemijskim zahtevam, mikrobiološko ustreznih pa je bilo 72–90% vzorcev. Podatki po letu 2004 zaradi spremenjene metodologije niso primerljivi s predhodnimi, kakovost kopalnih voda pa je bila v letih 2004 in 2005 prav tako dobra (Rejec Brancelj, 2006). V letu 2006 je bila na vseh 19 lokacijah kakovost kopalnih voda skladna z obvezujočimi zahtevami, 16 kopalnih voda pa je ustrezalo celo strožjim priporočenim zahtevam (Rejec Brancelj, 2007).

SKLEPNE MISLI

S pestrostjo naravnogeografskih dejavnikov, kot so geološka zgradba, relief in podnebje, je pogojena velika pokrajinska pestrost jadranskega povodja v Sloveniji, ki obsega manjši del Alp in predalpskega hribovja, večji del dinarsko kraških planot in v celoti sredozemski del Slovenije. Porečja, ki pripadajo jadranskemu povodju, se zaradi pestrosti naravnogeografskih dejavnikov med seboj zelo razlikujejo, razlike pa so precejšne tudi znotraj večjih porečij (npr. Soče, Vipave, Reke), kar je bil razlog, da smo v prispevku pokrajinske značilnosti jadranskega povodja predstavili po območjih, kot so zgornje in spodnje porečje Soče, porečje Vipave, porečje Reke s Krasom in s povirjem Rijane ter porečja vodnih tokov v Slovenski Istri. Večini jadranskega povodja v Sloveniji so skupne ugodne odtočne značilnosti (specifični odtoki in odtočni količniki večine porečij ali vodozbirnih zaledij so nad slovenskim povprečjem) in bogati vodni viri (zlasti kraški izviri). Naravnogeografski dejavniki pa niso odločilni le za hidrografske lastnosti, ampak tudi za pokrajinsko rabo, kar še zlasti velja za kmetijsko rabo zemljišč in poselitev. V primerjavi s porečji v čnomorskem po-

vodju Slovenije se je pokrajinska raba v obravnavanem povodju pokazala kot večinoma manj intenzivna, kar se odraža v relativno dobrem kakovostnem stanju vodo-tokov in pripadajočih kraških izvirov. Kraški izviri predstavljajo pomemben vir pitne vode v jadranskem povodju, saj je količina podtalnice v aluvialnih vodonosnikih zelo skromna, zato smo izpostavili njihovo občutljivost. Rezultati meritev vsebnosti klorofila a v morju v poletnih mesecih kažejo v splošnem zadovoljivo kakovostno stanje morja, občasno so ugotovljene kritično nizke vrednosti raztopljenega kisika v morju. Vrednosti trofičnega indeksa kažejo na zmerno evtrofne vode, kemijsko stanje morja je ocenjeno kot dobro. Kot dobro lahko ocenimo tudi mikrobiološko in fizikalno-kemijsko kakovost kopalnih voda v slovenskem morju.

V prispevku smo skušali predstaviti osnovne hidrogeografske značilnosti jadranskega povodja v Sloveniji in prikazati naravnogeografske dejavnike, ki vplivajo na pokrajinsko občutljivost okolja, zlasti občutljivost vodnih virov. V nadaljevanju smo izpostavili prevladajočo rabo zemljišč, ki je, odvisno od intenzivnosti, vir obremenitev okolja, in kakovost vodnih virov, ki je pokazatelj razmerja med obremenjevanjem okolja in samocistilno (regeneracijsko in nevtralizacijsko) zmogljivostjo okolja in pokrajinskih sestavin. Jadransko povodje v Sloveniji, ki se je pokazalo kot pokrajinsko zelo pestro območje, bi za natančnejo predstavitev zahtevalo podrobnejšo analizo pokrajinskih sestavin in pokrajinske rabe. Zavedajoč se pomanjkljivosti holističnega pristopa smo se v prispevku osredotočili na prikaz razlik in tistih elementov okolja, ki najbolje ponazarjajo pokrajinske značilnosti povodja in območij znotraj njega. Poglobljena analiza pokrajinskoekoloških lastnosti jadranskega povodja z vidika voda bi namreč zahtevala natančnejo obdelavo tudi številnih drugih naravno- in družbenogeografskih dejavnikov.

LANDSCAPE ECOLOGICAL CHARACTERIZATION OF THE ADRIATIC SEA BASIN IN SLOVENIA WITH AN EMPHASIS ON WATER RESOURCES QUALITY

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SUMMARY

The Adriatic Sea basin in Slovenia extends over 3,850 km² (19%). The rest of Slovenia belongs to the Black Sea basin. The total runoff from the Adriatic Sea basin is estimated at 170 m³/s or 5.4 km³ annually, which is about one fifth of the Black Sea runoff amount. In a physical geographical sense the Adriatic Sea basin is a diverse region. The

most important physical-geographical factors characterizing the Adriatic Sea basin are large amounts of precipitation, which in general exceeds the average value for Slovenia; great horizontal and vertical relief fragmentation; heterogeneous geological setting with prevailing carbonate rock; above-average forest cover, natural vegetation diversity and with the exception of some smaller areas also less intensive agricultural use of land.

The total length of superficial watercourses in the Adriatic Sea basin is 4,076 km, of which 1,727 km or 42.4% belongs to the drainage basin of the Soča River. Due to the high portion of carbonate rock, the average watercourse density in the Adriatic Sea basin is under the state's average and reaches 1.11 km/km². Thirty-one working gauging stations in the basin allow us a good estimation of the water balances and runoff characteristics of individual catchment areas. In the major part of the basin, the mean annual amount of precipitation exceeds 2,000 mm, the exceptions being the catchment areas of the Vipava and Reka Rivers, Kras plateau and Slovene Istria. The mean annual evapotranspiration rate in the basin is estimated at 650–750 mm. Specific runoffs calculated for the majority of the gauging stations in the Adriatic Sea basin are above the state's average, which is 27 l/s/km². For the Tolminka basin, the maximum specific runoff in Slovenia is calculated (105.2 l/s/km²) (Tab. 2). Similar characteristics also show the runoff coefficients of the individual gauging stations. The maximum average runoff coefficients are calculated for the high-mountainous part of the Soča and Tolminka basins and for the mountainous parts of the Vipava and Idrijca basins. According to the mean annual discharge, the most abundant is the Soča River at the Kobarid I gauging station (33.15 m³/s) and with 89.77 m³/s at the Solkan I gauging station, the Idrijca River at the Hotešk gauging station (23.48 m³/s) and the Vipava River at the Miren gauging station (17.29 m³/s) follow (Tab. 2). At all of the rest gauging stations the mean annual discharges are lower than 10 m³/s. The watercourses of the Adriatic Sea basin are classified into three discharge regime types: nival-pluvial regime (the Soča in the upper course, the Koritnica, Učja and Tolminka Rivers), pluvial-nival regime (the Soča in the lower course, the Vipava in the upper course, the Idrijca, Bača, Trebuša, Cerknica and Nadiža Rivers) and pluvial regime (the Vipava in the lower course, the Reka, Rižana, Dragonja, and Badaševica Rivers).

In the Adriatic Sea basin, rock with karst-fissured porosity dominates, covering over 57% of the area (Fig. 3). Over 1,180 springs are registered in the basin, the most important being Soča, Koritnica, Boka, Zadlaščica, Tolminka, Mrzlek, Lijak, Podroteja, Divje Jezero, Kajža, Hubelj, Vipava, Bistrica and Rižana. The majority of them are captured for the drinking water supply. 22% of the Adriatic Sea basin is characterized by rock with mixed intergranular-fissured porosity (flysch). 10% of the basin is characterized by fissured porosity and 11% of the region belongs to intergranular aquifers. The quantity of groundwater in intergranular aquifers in the Adriatic Sea basin is small and the extent is limited to the alluvial aquifers of the Soča and Vipava Rivers.

In comparison to the Black Sea basin, the intensity of landscape use in the Adriatic Sea basin is less intensive, though noticeable differences between individual river basins can be observed. Due to the unfavorable natural conditions (high altitude, steep slopes, sharp climate, absence of flat land, surface water and fertile soils) for the upper course of the Soča drainage basin less intensive landscape use is typical. Due to the urban use, in the lower course of the Soča River in Slovenia, the landscape use is more intensive. The natural conditions in the Vipava basin enabled even more intensive landscape use (agriculture and other economic activities). This results in negative impact on subsurface and superficial waters. The landscape use in the Reka basin, on the Kras karst plateau and in the karstic catchment of the Rižana River basin is not intensive, which is indicated by a large portion of forest cover and overgrowing areas and by the absence of larger settlements. In Slovene Istria, landscape use is very intensive, but a significant difference is present between the forested and traditional agriculture hinterland in the hills and the intensive modern agriculture and urban landscape use in the coastal part. Intensive landscape use is the cause of serious impact on the quality of air and water bodies (rivers, sea) in this region.

In this paper, data on water quality from 17 sampling points in the Adriatic Sea basin is analyzed. The natural conditions in the basin, such as a large amount of precipitation and runoff, and steeper river gradients influence first on a high self-cleaning capacity of the watercourses and second on a low population density, especially in the upper sections of the rivers. Both reasons contribute to the high quality of watercourses in the upper sections of the Adriatic Sea basin. The quality of the water in the southern part of the basin is a bit lower than in the northern part, the reasons are higher population density and concentration of agricultural and other human (e.g. economy, traffic) activities in the area. Nevertheless, beside the Koren Stream (Nova Gorica), the quality of rivers and karst springs in the Adriatic Sea basin is rather high. The results of the Chlorophyll-a concentration in the sea water during the summer period show a rather sufficient quality state of the sea. In some years critically low values of dissolved oxygen in sea water were recorded. The values of TRIX index of the sea correspond to moderate eutrophic waters; chemical quality of the sea is good, as well as the overall microbiological and physical-chemical quality of bathing waters in the Slovenian sea.

Key words: sea basin, drainage basin, landscape ecological characteristics, the Adriatic Sea basin

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EDUCATIONAL TOURISM AND ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS: A FRAMEWORK FOR EXPERIENTIAL ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

A brief investigation into the issue of environmental degradation reveals that environmental ethics is indispensable in successfully addressing environmental issues. Environmental ethics, as advocated by A. Leopold, should widen our moral sensibility to non-human subjects and develop a more viable attitude towards the environment. However, when practically trying to widen our moral sensibility we run onto an obstacle – environmental denial. Because our personal identities are intimately bound with our materialist consumption habits, and because these identities give our lives meaning, we are not prone to give them up. In order to change our environmental impact it is thus necessary to reconstruct our identities on a more sustainable basis. A useful tool in this reconstruction could be educational tourism. In this way, we may begin to shift our view of tourism as simply an environmentally destructive practice, and see its promise as a significant contributor in solving environmental issues.

Key words: environmental ethics, environmental denial, environmental education, educational tourism,
Aldo Leopold, Richard Rorty

TURISMO DIDATTICO E L'ETICA AMBIENTALE: IL QUADRO D'INSERIMENTO PER IL PERCORSO SPERIMENTALE DI EDUCAZIONE AMBIENTALE

SINTESI

Già un rapido sguardo ai problemi di carattere ambientale ci fa capire per la soluzione dei problemi legati all'ambiente non è più possibile prescindere dall'etica ambientale. L'etica ambientale come sostenuta da A. Leopold, cerca di estendere la nostra sensibilità morale a soggetti non umani e configurare una visione diversa rispetto al concetto di sostenibilità ambientale. Eppure nei tentativi pratici di ampliare la nostra sensibilità morale ci scontriamo con l'ostacolo del diniego ambientale. Le nostre identità sono fondate su consumi materiali, pertanto non siamo disposti semplicemente a rinunciare alle abitudini che danno un senso alla nostra vita. Se vogliamo modificare la nostra influenza sull'ambiente dobbiamo ripensare la nostra identità su fondamenta più sostenibili. Il turismo didattico potrebbe rivelarsi un utile strumento e il turismo settore da non considerare solo come problematico per l'ambiente ma che potrebbe, al contrario contribuire in modo significativo alla soluzione dei problemi ambientali.

Parole chiave: etica ambientale, diniego ambientale, educazione ambientale, turismo didattico, Aldo Leopold,
Richard Rorty

INTRODUCTION

The human relationship with nature is determined by technology as well as by a set of beliefs – 'rules of action' as pragmatists would have it – that inform and guide our conduct. Although this statement may sound self-evident, its potential and relevance for our attitude towards nature are often overlooked. It implies that environmental issues will not be addressed thoroughly if we do not consider our ethical dispositions towards the natural environment. Were we to have at our disposal technological tools sufficient to address our most pressing environmental problems, these tools would still stand in need of proper handling. Let us not forget that science and technology are political and social by their very nature (cf. Kleinman, 2005, 5–14). Or, as Aristotle said in *Nicomachean Ethics*: "Virtue makes the goal right, practical wisdom the things leading to it" (1144a7–8). This much is an illustration that environmental ethics – the study of our moral relationship and attitude towards nature and non-human moral subjects – is as necessary for managing our environment as technology and science. As outlined by S. R. Carpenter, the role of environmental ethics in the debate on sustainability can be at least threefold: 1) "Ethical discussion can contribute positively to sustainability discussions by addressing the tradeoffs between the intergenerational human interests and the intragenerational requirements that human populations are faced with in a world of scarce resources." 2) "Ethics can also provide methods of articulating current values reflective of the human/nature interaction." 3) "Additionally, ethics can draw attention to unsustainable human practices by formulating systematic sanctions for anthropogenic activities directly implicated in a loss of human cultures, nonhuman flora and fauna, as well as geological processes and cycles" (Carpenter, 1998, 277).

But if environmental ethics are to be properly implemented, they stand in need of environmental education. The importance of the latter was acknowledged in 1977 at the Tbilisi Conference:

"The role of education in the face of environmental problems and opportunities is therefore a crucial one. Environmental education should be integrated into the whole system of formal education at all levels to provide the necessary knowledge, understanding, values and skills needed by the general public and many occupational groups, for their participation in devising solutions to environmental questions" (Tbilisi Conference Final Report, 1978, 12).

However, despite the efforts of educators, governmental and non-governmental institutions and various groups and engaged individuals, our global ecological footprint continues to rise. Based on data collected by

the UN, the ecological footprint is an indicator which shows the amount of land a society needs in order to support its current life-style; i. e., how much area is needed in order to provide for a society's resources and absorb its waste. The current global footprint (which takes into account humanity as a whole) is 1.4, which means that it now takes the Earth roughly one year and five months to regenerate what we use in a year (Global Footprint Network, 2009). This implies that we are in fact dealing with something which we might call 'environmental denial' – a refusal to acknowledge the impact of our consumerist habits on the natural environment even *though* information to this end is readily available and has been concisely presented to us. Recently, researchers in the field of social psychology have proposed that environmental inaction and a lack of practically undertaken green measures could be attributed to massive public denial of the severity of environmental problems (Feygina, Jost, 2010). If this is so, then environmental education responsible for teaching environmental ethics must be viewed from a new perspective, and its methods must be reconsidered and reevaluated.

Such a reconsideration may well propose an experiential educational approach, taking more fully into account the role that personal experience plays in the learning process. As observed by J. Dewey, "Education in order to accomplish its ends both for the individual learner and for society must be based on experience – that is always the actual life experience of the individual" (Dewey, 1938, 89). Here a connection could be established between educational tourism and experiential education for environmental ethics: educational tourism (or 'edu-tourism') could be invoked in order to provide experiences upon which environmental education – the advocating of more concrete pro-environmental habits – could be based. Thus, tourism as such need not be written off as an inevitably polluting factor of our modern society and contemporary life-style, but could actually be viewed as a potentially useful tool with the ability to bring us a step closer to a more sustainable way of life.

In what follows, the environmental ethics of some of the most influential environmental thinkers is briefly presented. We shall then examine further evidence which suggests that we may indeed be confronted with the problem of 'environmental denial.' From this consideration, the need for experiential education in environmental ethics will be inferred. The phenomenon of tourism will then be linked to this idea and briefly elaborated. This paper should thus be read as a theoretical and practical framework out of which edu-tourism's attractions and its management could be deduced in an effort to foster greater environmental awareness and concomitant personal growth.

EXTENDING ETHICS

Environmental degradation caused by man is a fact that has been long observed, and one described in Plato's *Critias* (111. a–d) from the 4th century BCE in ancient Greece, as well as in Montaigne's essays, which date back to the 16th century, and represent one of the first environmental ethical statements in the West. In his essay *On Cruelty* Montaigne states that "there is a kind respect and a duty in man as genus which links us not merely to the beasts, which have life and feelings, but even to trees and plants." (Montaigne, 2004, 185). We can refer to this widening of our moral sensitivity as an 'extension of ethics,' a concept introduced by forester, philosopher-writer, and early conservationist A. Leopold.

In his *Land Ethic* Leopold speaks of 'steps in a sequence of ethical extension.' For Leopold, ethics have, from a historical perspective, undergone a sequence of 'extensions.' Whereas Odysseus viewed his slave-girls as tools, as a dispensable property judged in 'terms of expediency only,' later times witnessed the development of a more inclusive moral attitude towards all humans. Drawing from the history of Christianity, Leopold says that: "The first ethics dealt with the relation between individuals; the Mosaic Decalogue is an example. Latter accretions dealt with the relation between individuals and society. The Golden Rule tries to integrate the individual to society; democracy to integrate social organization to the individual" (Leopold, 1949, 202–203). However, Leopold's truly original and groundbreaking idea is the advocated 'third step' in this sequence:

"There is as yet no ethic dealing with man's relation to land and to the animals and plants which grow upon it. Land, like Odysseus' slave-girls, is still property. /.../ The extension of ethics to this third element in the human environment is, if I read the evidence correctly, an evolutionary possibility and an ecological necessity. It is the third step in a sequence" (Leopold, 1949, 203).

Exciting as it is and definitively more inclusive than the first steps in the development of human morality, this step – of course – still needs to be carried out. When exploring the realization of such a step, R. Rorty's neopragmatist ideas may prove useful.

Rorty's ethics, to be sure, are in important ways very similar – if not almost identical – to Leopold's: moral

progress for him is the ability to increasingly see that differences between ourselves and others are morally irrelevant. More specifically, *moral progress* for Richard Rorty consists of something which he – after the title of Baier's book – calls '*a progress of sentiments*', a phrase that clearly echoes the philosophy of Hume. As Rorty states, 'This progress consists in an increasing ability to see the similarities between ourselves and people very unlike us as outweighing the differences' (Rorty, 1998a, 181). Moreover, even the *purpose of Christianity*, as Rorty sees it, is 'the alleviation of cruelty' (Rorty, 1989, 55; 1999, xxix) via the promotion of Catholic and cosmopolitan idea of universal brotherhood among fellow suffering human beings. Thus perceived, the progress of morals is simply the recognition of increasing numbers of human beings as similar to ourselves in the sense that they are vulnerable to suffering and humiliation; it requires the inclusion of more and more people under the pronoun 'we'; it actually entails – in Emersonian terms – a widening of our circle of moral experience so as to expand the domain of our compassion to more and more human beings.¹

However, Rorty has very specific ideas about the status of our moral beliefs (as well as their justification) and the means by which the previous ethical extension can be achieved. For Rorty all attempts to secure morals in the realm of Immutable Truths, or in the logical space of ahistorical Universal Reasons, will prove to be much less successful than the attempts to widen our moral responsibility by manipulating our feelings. We will be much more successful in developing moral intuitions if we will think about ourselves as 'flexible, protean, self-shaping animal(s)' than if we conceive of ourselves as 'rational animal(s)' containing a special ingredient called 'Reason' (Rorty, 1998a, 170). The difference between two 'parties': the Universalists (who think that there exists an immutable rational human nature from which universally valid moral intuitions can be deduced) and the Historicists (who contend that there are no moral intuitions apart from those of the historical societies from which they emerge) in matters of ethics is one of philosophical approach. Whereas Universalists will be engaged by investigation into our *true nature*, thereby attempting to peek behind the shroud of 'mere appearances' and disclose Nature as it *really* is, the Historicists (as they are not prone to view humans outside of

1 It is, however, important to stress one important difference between Leopold and Rorty: Rorty stops short of actually extending ethics to non-human subjects and of thus including Leopold's third step. This is somewhat odd, as Rorty maintains that: "The position put forward in Part I of this book is incompatible /.../ with the idea that there is a 'natural' cut in the spectrum of similarities and differences which spans the difference between you and a dog, or you and one of Asimov's robots – a cut which marks the end of the rational beings and the beginning of the nonrational ones, the end of moral obligation and the beginning of benevolence. My position entails that feelings of solidarity are necessarily a matter of which similarities and dissimilarities strike us as salient, and that such salience is a function of a historically contingent final vocabulary" (Rorty, 1989, 191–192). Moreover, in one of his important essays he writes: "The relevant similarities are not a matter of sharing a deep true self that instantiates true humanity, but are such little, superficial similarities as cherishing our parents and our children – similarities that do not distinguish us in any interesting way from many nonhuman animals" (Rorty, 1998a, 181).

contingent historical circumstances, and as they do not presuppose a common, fixed human nature) will be more open to future possibilities and to exploring what we can *make of ourselves* (Rorty, 1998b, 205). Rorty in his writings clearly favours the latter party, which explains, at least in part, why his ideas of moral progress consist in the manipulation of feelings instead of the discovery of foundations and things 'as they really are'.

In addition, Rorty conceives of spreading solidarity through narratives, typically through story-telling. By abandoning traditional philosophical vocabularies, he argues, we can 'cultivate our sentiments,' and thus become more sensitive to our environment. "To stuff off an obsolete terminology makes us more sensitive to the life about us," he writes, "for it helps us to stop trying to cut new, recalcitrant material to fit old patterns" (Rorty, 1998c, 6). This is why, for Rorty, 'strong poets' are more welcome in the morality debate than traditional philosophers: in Rorty's view a 'strong poet' is capable of inducing a moral Gestalt-switch by redescribing known things in a previously unimagined way.

Nevertheless, stories and imagination still need hinges upon which to be affixed. If we are to spread solidarity and widen our moral sensitivity – if we are to 'extend' our ethics – through story-telling and compelling narratives, we still need to understand which narratives will be accepted and which will fail to make an impact on readers. If we wish to 'manipulate' public sentiments and – as J. Bruner may call it – narratively create new, extended selves, we must find a way to interweave the fabric of our new stories with our world-view. This paper suggests that relevant experience – including new habits and new behaviours – may indeed be such a way. And this experience could be provided by edu-tourism.

ENVIRONMENTAL DENIAL

In Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*, Dr. Thomas Stockmann is a popular citizen of a small coastal town. With the help of the mayor – his brother – he leads a project (financed by the community) to develop a spa. The spa is said to be beneficial for health but Dr. Stockmann soon realizes that the water in the baths is contaminated. He reports his findings to the mayor and proposes a solution, only to discover that authorities do not wish to acknowledge this problem publicly, as the suggested solution would cost a considerable sum. When Dr. Stockmann goes directly to the public he again faces a refusal to acknowledge his claims, and is in fact met with vitriol for having made them. Ibsen's fictional plot seems to be curiously similar to the current real-life experiences of scientists and journalists who have chosen

to speak publicly about global warming. A recent documentary about global warming's messengers, entitled *Everything's Cool*, shows that Ross Gelbspan's decade of writing about environmental problems has had minimal impact; and Rick Piltz, who presented scientific reports covering the latest research on climate change to the US Congress is described as 'repressed and depressed' due to political censorship.² Indeed, as has been recently proposed by researchers in the field of social psychology, we may be dealing with the massive public denial of environmental problems. Feygina and Jost (2010) suppose that environmental inaction is the result of 'system justification tendencies': inclinations to defend and justify the societal status quo.

From a more humanistically oriented perspective, this 'environmental denial' might – in Stanley Cavell's words – be called 'a skeptical refusal to acknowledge truths about oneself and one's relations to others.' In light of the above mentioned events, which seem unfortunately similar to Ibsen's masterpiece, we may say that *we do not face a lack of information or the poor education of the general public* regarding practical measures towards greater sustainability. We are confronted instead, as Cavell would put it, with a problem of 'avoiding the knowledge' (in this case, avoiding the recognition of consequences resulting from our impact on the natural world). In his discussion of slave owners, Cavell claims that they avoid the recognition of their 'property' as human, when in point of fact they 'know, or all but know, (their slaves) to be human beings' (Cavell, 1979, 377). The refusal to acknowledge this information is precisely what allows for the justification of slavery. Thus Cavell diagnoses the inability to widen our moral sensibility – to make Leopold's third, or even second step (acknowledging slaves as human beings) in a sequence of extending ethics – as a 'refusal to acknowledge'; an 'avoidance of knowledge.'

But how could such a denial occur in the first place? As we have seen, Feygina and Jost cite a 'system justification tendency.' An additional, perhaps complementary, explanation for environmental denial could be the role consumerism plays in our contemporary life-style. The importance of material possessions and the role they play in constructing our identities is pointed out by William James, and is confirmed more than a hundred years later by consumer behaviour researchers, who tell us that consumer choices fulfill a social-identity function (Wänke, 2009). Similarly, C. T. Allen, S. Fournier, and F. Miller (Allen et al., 2008) show how consumers actually infuse brands with meaning(s), a process somewhat akin to the well known hermeneutical cycle. They say that "(within an alternative perspective in consumer research) consumer products were re-cast from simplifying infor-

2 More information about the documentary can be found at: <http://everythingscool.org/index.php>.

mational vehicles to meaning-rich tools for personal and social identity construction. Consumers were re-conceptualized as active meaning makers rather than passive recipients of marketing products and communications" (Allen et al., 2008, 784). Moreover, in their monograph *Status, Growth, and the Environment*, K. A. Brekke and R. B. Howarth contest that consumption must be understood within a social context and argue that identity is, again, based on possessions:

"Examples like the enamel bowls of the Ibadan housewives, Rolex watches and SUVs may leave readers with the impression that status preferences are somewhat esoteric, focusing primarily on a few special commodities. If this were the case, the impact on aggregate economic activity would be relatively small. We argue, however, that *most* consumption behavior is influenced by the socially constructed meanings of goods. If this assertion is correct, then the economic impact extends well beyond the status-induced demand for diamonds, fancy watches and the 'trophy homes' of the highly affluent. Instead, the social contingency of preferences has pervasive effects on everyday economic behavior" (Brekke, Howarth, 2002, 15–16)

But how could consumerism play such a central role in providing identity in our contemporary lives? That consumerism is important in providing an identity for us because it serves as a Frommian 'escape from freedom' and replaces more traditional institutions that used to provide meaning in our lives was argued by Å. Daun (1983). Daun maintained that the materialistic life-style offered by consumerism functions as a stand-in for declining 'ambitions' such as religion, tradition, and collective ambitions.

It is perhaps easier to see now that we may be wrestling with denial regarding the recognition of the severity of environmental degradation and the necessity of taking action. One may be reluctant to give up specific consumption habits, despite the environmental detriment they entail, out of fear for the loss of personal identity. If consumerism provides us with our contemporary identities then – in relinquishing it in its present form – we would be confronted with a crisis of identity, and with ensuing existential anxiety. In order to preserve identity and avoid anxious situations and uncertainty, we thus refuse to acknowledge the seriousness of our current environmental situation.

If materialist consumer habits and practices provide identities for us and if we cling to them because we would otherwise have to face anxiety ridden-situations

than change in our attitude towards the natural environment cannot be brought about except with a reconstruction of our identities around practices which are more sustainable. If we want to lessen our environmental impact and dissolve the link between identity and materialist-consumerist habits, we have to provide new, more environmentally friendly habits which offer a similarly strong foundation upon which to base our identities. If we take something away, we must offer something in its place, otherwise the large-scale behavioural shifts necessary to affect significant environmental change cannot occur.

EDUCATIONAL TOURISM IN ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

How, precisely, could tourism turn out to be a useful tool in overcoming our somewhat debilitating environmental situation? As shown in the introduction, the role of environmental ethics, and especially of education in environmental ethics – more generally: environmental education – is indispensable if we are to fashion more sustainable life-styles which minimize our impact on the natural environment. Environmental education's significant role in this regard was recognized as early as 1977 at the Tbilisi conference. However, our lifestyles – despite the efforts of many educators, organizations, and activists – have not changed significantly since this time. In fact, the rate of our environmental damage continues to accelerate. Perhaps one of the reasons for the evident inefficacy in traditional education is the environmental denial previously mentioned: we are not prone to give up our damaging habits, because they serve to provide us with identity. When confronted with the severity of our current environmental situation, we clearly – as was the case involving the aforementioned journalist – avoid such knowledge. This means that further information regarding our detrimental impact on the environment will not be enough for change to occur. What we need instead is something more thoroughgoing. In accordance with Rorty's notion, narratives about the suffering of people (and by extension animals and the environment) do better to create a sense of solidarity than the attempt at epistemic justification of moral claims. It is worth looking into the possibility of extending ethics by presenting reality in a novel way, devising new stories which would widen our moral sensibility and help to create our new identity.³ Such stories could be, it is argued here, better woven into the fabric of our lives if

3 The importance of narrative in creating a self, or selfhood (which does not exist before this story-telling act is carried out), is of primary importance to J. Bruner. For Bruner, and similarly for Rorty, autobiographical narration is basically all there is to a particular 'Self': "I want to begin by boldly proposing that, in effect, there is no such thing as an intuitively obvious and essential self to know, one that just sits there ready to be portrayed in words. Rather, we constantly construct and reconstruct ourselves to meet the needs of the situations we encounter, and we do so with the guidance of our memories of the past and our hopes and fears for the future" (Bruner, 2002, 64).

they were supplemented by adequate experience and new habit formation. Our new, more ecologically responsible identity could, then, be narrated via the experience gathered in educational tourism's programs. Proper programs connected with outdoor education could provide the experience needed for the reconstruction of our ecological identities. Engaged close encounters with both human and natural environments can re-establish an awareness of the natural sources of goods and resources, and of the embeddedness of human life in its surroundings, thereby overcoming what A. Borgmann calls 'the attenuation of human engagement with material reality' (Borgmann, 2000, 419). Via this concrete experience in the natural world, the nature of our ethical values is implicitly reinterpreted. In this way, experiential education could provide a tangible basis from which to assume new identities. Replacing those previously constructed through nature-alienated consumerism, these new identities could, in turn, lessen further denial regarding our environmental impact.

Experiential forms of environmental education take into account more fully the role that experience plays in the learning process, as observed by J. Dewey (cited in the introduction). For this reason, a connection could be established between educational tourism and experiential education for environmental ethics. Educational tourism (or 'edu-tourism')⁴ invoked to offer concrete experiences, could provide a foundation upon which to base an environmental education which advocates green habits. In this way, we may shift our view of tourism as simply an environmentally destructive practice, and begin to see its promise as a significant contributor in solving environmental issues. Education based on the field-experience provided by edu-tourism's products could thus turn out to be the most effective method of teaching environmental ethics, and of facilitating what Rorty calls 'a progress of (moral) sentiments.' Indeed, a meta-analysis examining 187 cases of research-based literature seems to confirm the benefits of outdoor and wilderness education, citing positive results in personal growth, therapy, education, and leadership development (cf. Friese et al., 1995).

Tourism seems a proper candidate for experiential environmental education because its main function is

precisely the manufacture and delivery of 'experience.' As MacCannell sees it:

"The value of such things as programs, trips, courses, reports, articles, shows, conferences, parades, opinions, events, sights, spectacles, scenes and situations of modernity is not determined by the amount of labor required for their production. Their value is a function of the quality and quantity of experience they promise. ... All tourist attractions are cultural experiences" (MacCannell, 1999, 23).⁵

There are, to be sure, many sites that could become 'attractions' in educational tourism, although we must be careful to design them for a specific purpose: environmental education connected with personal growth.⁶ These attractions could include not only natural areas, as might be supposed. On the contrary, sightseeing tours targeting landfills, industrial and production sites and mining sites – via the unpleasant and powerful experience they would convey – could trigger greater awareness about the consequences of our life-styles. Sights of environmental degradation arouse curiosity, as can clearly be observed in the work of photographer Edward Burtynsky, whose large-scale devastated landscape photos have become famous precisely for that reason. Today, a comparison of industrial sightseeing, as well as landfill and slaughterhouse tours, to sights such as German concentration camps⁷ might seem a bit far fetched. But it is possible to imagine that such sights will someday provoke similar feelings in their visitors: sadness and feelings of being overwhelmed, as well as disgust with the irrationality and cruelty of human conduct.⁸ And if we desire to achieve greater sustainability and minimize human-caused environmental damage, this would certainly be a desired outcome. Moreover, sightseeing within a moral context is again in line with MacCannell's observations that "The organization of behavior and objects in public places is functionally equivalent to the sacred text that still serves as the moral base of traditional society. That is, public places contain the representations of good and evil that apply universally to modern man in general" (MacCannell, 1999, 39–40). In other words, by making educational tourism's attractions explicitly morally relevant, we are simply utilizing a trait already inherent to tourism.

4 The definition of educational tourism as 'travel for learning and education' is provided by Ritchie (2003, 9).

5 Cultural experiences have two parts for MacCannell: they are an embodied ideal (in MacCannell's words: a 'model') and they also influence people ('influence'): "The spectacle of an automobile race is a model; the thrills it provides spectators and their practice of wearing patches and overalls advertising tires and oils are its influence" (MacCannell, 1999, 24). It is worth noting here that MacCannell is critical of this (hyper)production of experience – and so should be we – meaning that the quality of experience and its interrelatedness with education should be carefully considered so that 'natural experience' does not turn out to be yet another commodification of nature.

6 Indeed, Arne Næss, the founding father of *Deep Ecology*, viewed self-realization as contiguous with greater environmental awareness (cf. Næss, 2008).

7 For a valuable discussion on Nazi concentration camps as tourist attractions, see Ritchie (2003, 78–82).

8 The connection between massive farm animal killing and the holocaust has, as a matter of fact, already been pointed out by such notable figures as Nobel laureate J.M. Coetzee in his novel *Elisabeth Costello*.

Another possible argument for educational tourism as a vehicle for increasing environmental awareness is the fact that edu-tourism is already gaining in popularity. 'Serious leisure' and volunteerism in the form of holiday experiences (which both justly qualify as edu-tourism) (Wearing, Neil, 2001, 239), have seen a 400% growth in their investment in volunteers from 1976 to 1991 (Wearing, Neil, 2001, 242). Moreover, 'volunteer vacations' and 'ethical holidays' are predicted to experience a similar growth in popularity (Swarbrooke, Horner, 1999, 257). The same conclusion – that of an increasing desire for travel in search of a 'new unity in life' – can be found in other sources as well, (Ritchie, 2003, 25–32) meaning that investments in alternative tourism attractions will likely be a lucrative enterprise in the future and should be of serious interest to developers.⁹

Considering these arguments, the adoption of edu-tourism as a viable (and perhaps the most successful) means of alleviating some of our most pressing environmental issues should seem a sensible strategy. However, there is still much work to be done in practically implementing such a program.

CONCLUSION

Educational tourism might turn out to be an important ally in achieving healthier human attitudes towards nature and in shifting our identities away from an axis of materialist consumerism and towards a more ecological and bio-centric one. In fact, tourism as a modern phenomenon started precisely as an educational enterprise for young British aristocrats who went on the so called 'Grand Tour' to France and Italy in order to enrich their educational experience.¹⁰ Theoretical as well as practical frameworks – as presented here – from which edu-tourism could be developed might aid in its becoming a respected addition in debates about environmental and experiential education. The current, pressing environmental situation obliges us to consider it further, and to argue in favor of its wider implementation based on the practical experiences of similar, existing programs.

IZOBRAŽEVALNI TURIZEM IN OKOLJSKA ETIKA: OKVIR ZA EMPIRIČNO OKOLJSKO IZOBRAŽEVANJE

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POVZETEK

Že kratka refleksija pokaže, da je okoljska etika nepogrešljiva pri praktičnem reševanju okoljskih izzivov. Okoljska etika, ki se ukvarja z našim odnosom do naravnega okolja, si prizadeva za razširitev naše moralne senzibilnosti na nečloveške subjekte, kot je to zagovarjal A. Leopold. Na način, ki je nekoliko podoben Leopoldovemu, se je z razširitvijo etike ukvarjal tudi Richard Rorty in čeprav same etike ni razširil na živali in okolje, je njegova ideja glede tega, kako naj tako razširitev izpeljemo, koristna. Namesto utemeljevanja morale v območju nespremenljivih resnic je Rorty zagovarjal 'napredek sentimentov.' Za Rortya pripovedovanje zgodb in naracija lahko opišeta realnost na način, ki spodbuja širjenje solidarnosti. Vendar pa se pri praktičnem poizkusu etične razširitve znajdemo pred oviro: okoljskim zanikanjem. Okoljevarstvena stagnacija in manko spodbud za spremembo lahko v veliki meri pripišemo naši nepripravljenosti opustitve materialističnih potrošniških navad. Te navade nas oskrbujejo s smislom, kot je to zagovarjal Å. Daun in okoli njih zasnujemo svoje identitete. To bi lahko bil razlog zakaj zavračamo spremembo in se – z besedami S. Cavella – izogibamo vednosti glede resnosti okoljske situacije. Če želimo biti uspešni pri zmanjševanju našega negativnega vpliva na okolje, moramo ponuditi nove načine konstruiranja naših identitet okoli navad, ki bodo manj škodljive za okolje. Izobraževalni turizem bi se lahko izkazal za koristnega v tej fazi. Turizem tako ne bi veljal v glavnem le za okoljski problem, ampak bi lahko tudi bistveno prispeval k reševanju okoljske problematike.

Ključne besede: okoljska etika, okoljsko zanikanje, okoljsko izobraževanje, izobraževalni turizem, Aldo Leopold, Richard Rorty

9 Although, as said before, experiential education within the framework of educational tourism should not give in to the commercializing pressure of grotesque nature commodification.

10 For a concise discussion of the Grand Tour in the Mediterranean, see Loefgren (2002). Also, when seaside visits first came into fashion in Victorian Britain, one of the motives was an educational one (next to religious and national) in the sense of natural history (specimen collecting); for that, cf. Payne (2002).

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AVTENTIČNOST IN KAKOVOST TURISTIČNEGA PROIZVODA SLOVENSKE ISTRE

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IZVLEČEK

Z raziskavo, ki je predstavljena v prispevku, smo z anketiranjem skušali ugotoviti, ali gostinci v Slovenski Istri enako vrednotijo pomen različnih elementov turističnega proizvoda z vidika njihove avtentičnosti kot turisti. To je namreč pogoj za oblikovanje kakovostne avtentične ponudbe. Izbrana metodologija je omogočila tudi kvantifikacijo in primerjavo pomenov različnih elementov turističnega proizvoda z vidika njihove avtentičnosti in njihovo rangiranje. Izkazalo se je, da percepcija ponudnikov gostinskih storitev ni vir nekakovosti. Sklepamo lahko, da je trenutno precej nezavidljivo stanje glede avtentičnosti turistične ponudbe v treh obalnih občinah posledica tržne pozicije destinacije, ki je v veliki meri še vedno klasična obmorska destinacija masovnega turizma, in pomanjkanja strateških trženjskih znanj, vizije in sodelovanja ponudnikov in odsotnosti močne organizacije destinacijskega managementa.

Ključne besede: turizem, avtentičnost, kakovost, destinacija, Slovenska Istra

AUTENTICITÀ E QUALITÀ DEL PRODOTTO TURISTICO DELL'ISTRIA SLOVENA

SINTESI

Con la presente ricerca, utilizzando lo strumento dell'intervista, si è cercato di verificare se dal punto di vista dell'autenticità e della tipicità i ristoratori dell'Istria slovena attribuiscono ai singoli elementi del prodotto turistico lo stesso valore che vi attribuiscono i turisti. E questa la condizione primaria senza la quale è impossibile impostare i processi di programmazione di un'offerta turistica di qualità basata sull'autenticità. La metodologia prescelta ha permesso di quantificare e confrontare il significato dei diversi elementi del prodotto turistico complessivo dal punto di vista della loro autenticità e in base alla loro classificazione. Dall'indagine è emerso che la percezione dei ristoratori rispetto al concetto di autenticità e tipicità non significa che la loro offerta non sia di qualità. Si può pertanto ritenere che nei tre comuni costieri la situazione poco invidiabile per quanto riguarda l'autenticità dell'offerta turistica, è conseguenza della collocazione della destinazione turistica nel mercato del turismo, questa infatti si presenta ancora sempre prevalentemente come la classica destinazione di un turismo balneare di massa, come pure della mancanza di conoscenze di marketing strategico, di una visione comune e di collaborazione tra coloro che offrono i propri servizi e dell'assenza di una qualificante organizzazione del management della destinazione turistica.

Parole chiave: turismo, autenticità, destinazione, Istria slovena

UVOD

S krajšanjem delovnika in večanjem razpoložljivega dohodka ljudje želijo in pričakujejo od prostega časa več kot le odmor in "beg" od dela. Iščejo pomen, doživetja in možnost najti ter pokazati svojo "pravo" identiteto, kar jim omogoča turizem (Kernan, Domzal, 2000). Pri počitniškem turizmu, pogosto (čeprav običajno v manjši meri) pa tudi pri potovanjih s t. i. instrumentalnimi motivi, je drugačnost in specifičnost turistične destinacije ključnega pomena za njen izbor (Boissevain, 2001). Sicer pa vsako turistično angažiranje vsebuje komponento iskanja drugačnosti – v skrajnem primeru lahko samo prostorske. Ker želijo biti turistične destinacije za turiste čim bolj zanimive in diferencirati svojo ponudbo od konkurenčnih destinacij, želijo svojo drugačnost poudariti (MacCannell, 2001). Če ta sama po sebi ni dovolj zanimiva, je količinsko ali časovno omejena ali je ne znajo pravilno ponuditi, jo poskušajo "pomnožiti", "polepšati" ali "uvoziti" (Sirgy, Su, 2000). Na tem mestu se pojavi problem avtentičnosti. Avtentičnost je pomembna komponenta turističnega proizvoda¹ tako za turiste kot za turistično destinacijo. Ohranjanje ali izguba avtentičnosti odločilno vpliva na trajnostni vidik razvoja turistične destinacije tako na področju socialnih, ekoloških kot ekonomskih učinkov na okolje (Sedmak, 2006). Prav ekonomski učinki pa so bili kljub temu, da igrajo pri trajnostnem razvoju ključno vlogo, v preteklosti le redko obravnavani.

Pri odnosu turistov do avtentičnosti ne smemo zanemariti, da je stran povpraševanja v turizmu tudi glede iskanja avtentičnosti zelo heterogena. Craik (2001, 117) trdi, da imajo turisti v splošnem raje posreden – turistom pripreden – stik z avtentičnostjo. Plog (2001) je že leta 1972 ponudil teorijo življenjskega cikla turistične destinacije, po kateri se razvoj destinacije začne z obiskom t. i. alocentrikov oz. avanturistov, ki iščejo novosti, drugačnost in avtentičnost. Teh turistov je relativno malo, vendar imajo visoko potrošnjo "per capita", njihova osnovna motiva pa sta učenje in spoznavanje. Sledijo jim zmerni alocentriki in zmerni psihocentriki, za katere je značilno, da ne marajo drugačnosti in sprememb in so v povprečju niže izobraženi in slabši potrošniki; v tej fazi je ekonomska uspešnost destinacije zaradi velikega števila turistov, kljub nekoliko nižji potrošnji per capita, največja. Zadnja skupina, ki začne prihajati v destinacijo, ko je ta že zelo popularna in turistično razvita, so čisti psihocentriki. Ta skupina ima tako rekoč vse značilnosti masovnih turistov, ki praviloma dolgoročno ne omogočajo trajnostnega turizma. Tasci in Knutson (2004) sta ugotovila, da je raven avtentičnosti, ki jo turisti želijo in pričakujejo, dejansko odvisna od faze v

razvoju destinacije, poleg tega pa tudi od pomena turizma kot gospodarske dejavnosti v njej in značilnosti trga, torej tipa in števila turistov in vsebin ponudbe.

Ponudniki v turizmu se bolj ali manj zavestno odločajo, kakšno raven avtentičnosti bodo nudili turistom (Smith, 2001, 198), da bodo njihova pričakovanja zadovoljena. Apostolakis (2003) obravnava avtentičnost celo kot tržno blago, ki je predmet ponudbe in povpraševanja. Različni ciljni segmenti turistov in ponudniki turističnih proizvodov (predvsem turističnih privlačnosti) imajo različno elastičnost povpraševanja in ponudbe, kar bistveno vpliva na implicitno ceno avtentičnosti turističnega proizvoda.

Sodobne teorije managementa kakovosti v storitvenih dejavnostih, kamor spada večina turistične ponudbe, razumejo kakovost kot odsotnost vrzeli med pričakovani kupcev/gostov in prejeto storitvijo oz. proizvodom (Zeithaml, Bitner, 2000). Ta je v turizmu kompleksen, multi-dimenzionalen koncept (Uran, 2002), v sklopu katerega predstavlja avtentičnost pomembno dimenzijo. MacCannell (1999) vidi v iskanju oz. "romanju" k avtentičnosti celo bistvo turistične aktivnosti. Prvi korak k oblikovanju kakovostnega turističnega proizvoda je, da ponudniki oz. oblikovalci tega proizvoda pravilno percipirajo pričakovanja gostov – seveda tudi glede avtentičnosti. Z raziskavo, ki je predstavljena v prispevku, smo skušali ugotoviti, ali gostinci v Slovenski Istri enako vrednotijo pomen različnih elementov turističnega proizvoda z vidika njihove avtentičnosti kot turisti. To je namreč pogoj za vse nadaljnje korake pri oblikovanju kakovostne ponudbe. Za potrebe raziskave smo iz celovitega turističnega proizvoda v obravnavo vključili le tiste elemente, pri katerih je problematika avtentičnosti v Slovenski Istri relevantna. Izbrana metodologija pa je omogočila tudi kvantifikacijo in primerjavo pomenov različnih elementov turističnega proizvoda z vidika njihove avtentičnosti in njihovo rangiranje.

AVTENTIČNOST IN KAKOVOST V TURIZMU

Turistični proizvod

Z vidika posameznega ponudnika je turistični proizvod vse, kar turist "kupi" oz. doživi v njegovem podjetju, recimo hotelu, z vidika turista pa je turistični proizvod celotno doživetje, ki ga doživi od trenutka, ko zapusti kraj stalnega bivališča, do trenutka, ko se vanj vrne (Burkart, Medlik, 1975, 132). V glavnem ta vključuje: prevoz, namestitev, prehrano, animacijo – zabavo, informacije, okolico in nekatere druge vsebine (Rispoli, Tammaro, 1995). Elementi turističnega proizvoda, ki so turistu v destinaciji na voljo, predstavljajo turistični proizvod destinacije. Ta proizvod, ki je ključen dejavnik konku-

1 V strokovni literaturi se je uveljavil izraz "turistični proizvod", čeprav sodi večina njegovih vsebin v storitvene dejavnosti.

renčnosti v turizmu (Ritchie, Crouch, 2000), je torej skupek turističnih proizvodov posameznih podjetij in splošnih značilnosti destinacije, ki se običajno ne prodajo, ampak se valorizirajo samo posredno skozi višje cene gostinskih in drugih proizvodov. Turistično destinacijo lahko primerjamo s trgovino, ki nudi na omejenem prostoru vrsto različnih proizvodov, med katerimi kupec – v primeru destinacije turist – izbira (Murphy, Pritchard, Smith, 2000). Kljub temu da posamezna podjetja – ponudniki delnih turističnih proizvodov poslujejo samostojno, je njihova uspešnost v veliki meri pogojena z značilnostmi in delovanjem ostalih ponudnikov in destinacije kot celote. V kolikor ponudba delnih proizvodov v destinaciji ni uravnovešena, konsistentna in pravilno predstavljena, še tako dobro delo posameznega podjetja ne zagotavlja uspešnosti. Strateški razvoj, pozicioniranje, koordinacija, promocija in druge dejavnosti, ki so skupnega pomena, se zato običajno poverijo neki organizaciji, ki izvaja destinacijski management, t. i. DMO – *destination management organization* (Ritchie, Crouch, 2000). V primeru piranske občine, kjer je bila izpeljana v nadaljevanju predstavljena raziskava, opravljala (delno) funkcijo DMO Turistično združenje Portorož, v katerega so poleg občine vključeni tudi večji turistični ponudniki. Ti relativno samostojno in nepovezano oblikujejo svojo poslovno politiko in ponudbo, tako da izvajajo preko združenja predvsem del svojih promocijskih aktivnosti. Čeprav je iz uradnih dokumentov o turističnem razvoju piranske občine razvidno, da se lokalna oblast načelno zavzema za sonaraven, trajnosten in usklajen razvoj in je naklonjena vključevanju avtentičnih elementov v turistično ponudbo, ostajajo najpomembnejši akterji turističnega razvoja v občini hotelska podjetja, ki so v preteklosti delovala nepovezano in so pre malo upoštevala potenciale in potrebe okolja, kar se danes kaže v slabo definirani tržni poziciji destinacije in neavtentični in nekonsistentni izvenpenzionski ponudbi.

Avtentičnost v turizmu

Avtentičnost in odnos do avtentičnosti sta v strokovni literaturi s področja turizma eni od pogosto omenjanih, a le redko poglobljeno obravnavanih tem. Večina strokovnjakov se strinja, da je njun pomen v turizmu velik in narašča, zelo malo pa jih obravnavano avtentičnost opredeli. Prav gotovo je glavni razlog za to ravno "spolzkost" in večplastnost pojma samega (Selwyn, 1996). Težave se pojavljajo zaradi širine pojma ter zaradi raznolikosti objektov in subjektov, na katere aplikiramo koncept avtentičnosti.

Avtentičnost je sodoben kulturni konstrukt zahodnega sveta, ki je tesno povezan z vlogo posameznika v družbi. Medtem ko je v srednjem veku bil posameznik definiran s svojim socialnim statusom, ki mu je bil dan ob rojstvu in se praviloma v življenju ni spremenjal, se lahko socialni status sodobnega človeka, ki je tudi

bistveno kompleksnejši kot nekoč, skozi življenje zelo spreminja. Ljudje se zato lahko pretvarjajo, da so nekaj, kar bi želeli biti, pa niso. Hkrati pa družbeno-ekonomski sistem in delitev življenja na delo in prosti čas pogosto silita posameznika v igranje vlog, ki so pogosto v ne-skladju z njegovim notranjim jazom. Prav ta pojav, da se navzven kažemo kot nekaj drugega, kar smo, je jedro problema (ne)avtentičnosti (Handler, 1983).

Hobsbawm (1983) je pokazal na veliko primerov t. i. "izmišljenih tradicij", ki se dandanes predstavljajo kot avtentična kulturna dediščina in avtentične turistične privlačnosti, v resnici pa gre za primere fiktivne kontinuitete in rezultate preračunljivega, popačenega funkcionalizma. Eden najpomembnejših "krivcev" za takšne umetne tradicije naj bi bili nacionalistični intelektualci, ki so v času nastajanja nacionalnih držav iz ruralnih kultur z njihovim reduciranjem, preoblikovanjem in poudarjanjem estetskega vidika oblikovali folkloro in jo povzdignili na raven simbolov nacionalne identitete. Pri tem se je pogosto izgubila vsa vsebina, povezanost s prostorom, kjer so nastajali, in kontekst običajev in ljudske umetnosti. V nasprotju s Hobsbawmom pa Linnekin (1991) meni, da je simbolno preoblikovanje tradicij splošni in od nekdaj prisoten kulturni proces, ki ne vpliva na njihovo avtentičnost. Tradicije so po njegovem mnenju tako v preteklosti kot še dandanes odražale aktualne skrbi in se prilagajale aktualnim namenom.

Soroden pojav Hobsbawmovemu izmišljanju tradicij je moč zaslediti tudi po 2. sv. vojni pri oblikovanju "nacionalne kulture" kot turistične privlačnosti, ki jo države uporabljajo za promocijo turistične destinacije. Ponekod so pri tem zelo uspešni, npr. na Baliju, kjer oblasti s tekmovanji in selekcijo lokalnih plesov in drugih oblik kulturnega ustvarjanja dobesedno modelirajo kulturo, tako da bo všečna turistom in hkrati blizu lokalnemu prebivalstvu (Yamashita, 2007). Obstajajo pa tudi primeri, ko so določeni pozabljeni in za potrebe turizma ponovno obujeni običaji v skupnosti dobili novo funkcijo in v sodobnosti predstavljajo pomemben gradnik identitete in ponosa skupnosti. Na drugi strani pa je bil ponekod ta proces tako grob, da je sprožil upor lokalnega prebivalstva, ki se ne more identificirati z vsiljeno (nad)kulturo. Na Mallorci tako domačini prek nalepk v angleškem jeziku sporočajo turistom "Mallorca ni Španija" (Richards, 1997).

Wang (1999), ki je v svojem delu sistematično povzel in klasificiral različne teoretične pristope k avtentičnosti v turizmu, razlikuje med objektivističnim, konstruktivističnim, postmodernističnim pristopom oz. pristopu in t. i. eksistencialno avtentičnostjo.

Objektivistični pristop izhaja iz razumevanja avtentičnosti v "muzejskem" smislu. Predpostavlja, da obstaja absolutni original, ki je avtentičen, ostalo pa so ponaredki. Pri obravnavanju avtentičnosti turističnega proizvoda se najpogosteje obravnava avtentičnost avtohtone kulture nekega kraja. Sem pa poleg etničnih elementov

prištevamo še avtentični odnos lokalnega prebivalstva do obiskovalcev, tipično arhitekturo, odsotnost človekovi posegov v naravo itd. Kultura je skratka mišljena zelo široko – kot celota materialnih in nematerialnih stvaritev človeške družbe. Ali kot pravi Richards (2001): "Kulturo sestavljajo procesi (ideje in način življenja) in proizvodi teh procesov (stavbe, kulinarika, oblačila, izdelki ročne obrti, umetniški izdelki, navade in vzdušje ...)." Težava objektivističnega pristopa je, da turist ponavadi nima potrebnih znanj, da bi preveril, ali gre dejansko za avtentične objekte, zanemarja pa tudi kompleksnost in večplastnost avtentičnosti, saj se kulture spreminjajo, mešajo in razvijajo. Obstaja pa tudi pomislek, ali je muzejski original, ki je prostorsko ali kontekstualno iztrgan iz prvotnega okolja, še avtentičen (Prentice, 2001, 6).

Odgovor na te pomisleke ponuja konstruktivističen pristop, ki pravi, da absolutnega in statičnega originala ni (Cohen, 1988). Kaj je za posameznika avtentično, je odvisno od njegovega znanja, izkušenj in konkretnega konteksta oz. situacije. Predstave ali predmeti, ki so iztrgani iz svojega "naravnega" okolja in časa, so lahko isti, vendar v drugem kontekstu pomenijo nekaj drugega. Kot primer lahko pogledamo paradoks, ki ga Trotter (2001, 153) navaja v zvezi z avstralskimi domorodci, ki za turiste izdelujejo "avtentične" izdelke, ki so jih sami v vsakdanjem življenju že zdavnaj nadomestili z drugačnimi, sodobnejšimi. Hollinshead (1997, 171) in Drummond (2001, 23) opozarjata še na en vidik relativnosti avtentičnosti v turizmu. Vsako vključevanje (običajno kulturne) dediščine v turistično ponudbo je posledica pristranske izbire tistega, ki odloča o tem, katere elemente dediščine bo turistična ponudba vključevala. Nemogoče je zavrteti čas nazaj in poustvariti stanje, v katerem bi bila dediščina prikazana v svoji celovitosti. Ta parcialnost in pristranskost prikaza pa dopuščata tudi napačne interpretacije in s tem popačenje avtentičnosti. Avtentičnost je torej le družbeni konstrukt oz. dogovor na simbolni ravni, ki je odvisen od stališč, prepričanj, znanja in moči udeleženih. Konstruktivistična avtentičnost je torej zelo relativna in odvisna od konteksta.

Postmodernistični pristopi pravijo, da avtentičnosti sploh ni mogoče opredeliti, saj je meja med originalom in kopijo pogosto zbrisana; nekaterim umetnim privlačnostim pa sploh ni mogoče določiti originala. Objekti niso le resnični oz. pravi in ponarejeni, ampak tudi pravilno ponarejeni, ponarejeno pravi itd. Postmoderni turisti naj bi avtentičnosti sploh ne pripisovali posebnega pomena. Shepherd (2002, 195) v tem duhu omenja, da nekateri turisti za zabavo kupujejo spominke ravno radi njihove "obupne" neavtentičnosti (npr. majhni plastični Eiffelovi stolpi).

Pri eksistencialni avtentičnosti je pomembna dvojnost obravnavanega koncepta. Na eni strani imamo avtentičnost objekta opazovanja (običajno turistične privlačnosti), s katero se ubadajo zgoraj omenjeni pristopi,

na drugi pa avtentičnost turistične izkušnje ali osebnosti turista, ki je povezana z njegovo iskrenostjo (avtentičnim odnosom) do samega sebe. Ta, eksistencialna avtentičnost je povezana z izgubo "resničnega jaza" zaradi prilagajanja družbenim normam in igranja javnih vlog v sodobnem svetu. Ljudje si v vlogi turista, daleč od doma in pogledov znancev privočijo biti tisto, kar bi želeli, pa ne smejo, in so, kar bi želeli biti oz. čutijo, da so. Elemente iskanja eksistencialne avtentičnosti lahko najdemo v seksualnem turizmu, popivanju skandinavskih turistov na trajektih in še kje. Avtentičnost v tem pomenu se pogosto povezuje tudi z nostalгиjo ali romanticizmom, saj turisti pogosto idealizirajo način življenja gostiteljev v manj razvitih okoljih, ki naj bi bil bolj svoboden, nedolžen in spontan. V nasprotju z omejitvami razuma in utilitarizma, ki vladata v sodobnem svetu, naj bi ta način bil bliže naravi in bolj iskren. Kot primer eksistencialne avtentičnosti vidi Olsen (2002) možnosti avtentičnih doživetij v zamenjavi oz. sprememb vlog turistov, ki s tem, ko aktivno sodelujejo v obredih gostiteljev ali jim pomagajo pri določenih (avtentičnih) dejavnostih, kot so delo na polju, na kmetiji, nehajo biti "turisti".

MacCannell (1999) trdi, da je sodobni turist odtujen in išče avtentičnost kot obliko izpolnitve, vendar je obsojen na psevdodoživetja, saj povsod doživi le "odrsko" avtentičnost oz. vsako "pravo" avtentičnost s svojo prisotnostjo avtomatično izniči. Ključnega pomena v njegovem videnju problema avtentičnosti je delitev na t. i. "sprednje" in "zadnje" prostore. Medtem ko so "sprednji prostori" oder, kjer so odvija igra za turiste, so "zadnji prostori" pristno okolje domačinov, v katerega turisti načeloma nimajo vpogleda. Mnogo avtorjev (Kerstetter, Confer, Graefe, 2001, Xie, 2003, Boissevain, 1996) po drugi strani ugotavlja, da se turisti pogosto zavedajo, da so nekatere predstave "igrane" za njih in da pogosto gledajo reprodukcije znamenitosti, vendar se ne počutijo prevarani in se jim zdi to sprejemljivo. Igrana avtentičnost postane po njihovem mnenju problematična, če jo poskuša ponudnik oz. destinacija "prodati" kot neigrano.

Omenili smo že, da se zanimanje turistov za avtentičnost in motivi njenega iskanja med segmenti turistov zelo razlikujejo. Mowforth in Munt (1998, 57) menita, da je potreba po iskanju avtentičnosti posebno poudarjena pri predstavnikih srednjega sloja meščanstva, ki se skušajo s spoznavanjem, doživljjanjem in kupovanjem avtentičnega individualizirati oz. diferencirati od množice, ki ji sicer pripadajo, hkrati pa se upreti splošni komodifikaciji in se vsaj simbolno vrniti k bolj naravnemu načinu življenja. Poznavanje tujih kultur in sposobnost ločevanja njihovih avtentičnih in neavtentičnih elementov naj bi bilo torej področje "simbolne konkurence" v družbenih skupinah, pri katerih so možnosti diferenciacije in elitizma na osnovi materialnih dobrin izčrpane. Prav tako naj bi se različne skupine ljudi zaradi

različnih intelektualnih ravni različno zavedale svoje odtujenosti in zato avtentičnosti tudi pripisovale različen pomen. Cohen (1988) tako loči turiste na: eksistencialne, izkustvene, rekreativske in razvedrila željne. Medtem ko želi prva skupina duhovno zapustiti moderni svet in jemlje avtentičnost skrajno resno, se zadnja, kot diametalno nasprotje, z avtentičnostjo svojih turističnih doživetij sploh ne ukvarja.

Kakovost turističnega proizvoda

Klasične definicije kakovosti so se v preteklosti v glavnem opirale na formulacije, kot je "izostanek napak", večina k strankam usmerjenih podjetij pa danes kakovost povezuje z zadovoljstvom strank (Kotler, Bowen, Makens, 1999). V turizmu in z njim povezanimi storitvenimi dejavnostmi, kjer je možnost standardizacije omejena (Lewis, 1994), zaradi različnih pričakovanj, želja, izkušenj in znanja turistov pa ni mogoče objektivno meriti splošne ravni kakovosti, je ta razumljena kot "celota lastnosti in značilnosti proizvoda ali storitve, ki omogoči zadovoljitev izražene ali nakazane potrebe" (Lockwood, 1995). Ta definicija jasno kaže, da je ocegnevalec kakovosti turist s svojimi potrebami in željami, ki jih ob obisku destinacije pretvori v vrsto pričakovanj. Če se ta pričakovanja uresničijo, je deležen kakovostnega doživetja, v nasprotnem primeru pa ne. Kakovosti pa ne smemo pomešati z zadovoljstvom, pri katerem gre za čustveno reakcijo na doživetje, ki ni le posledica kakovosti storitve (Parasuraman, Zeithaml, Berry, 1988).

Na področju spremeljanja kakovosti storitev poznamo več modelov, najpogosteje pa je uporabljen SERVQUAL model. Ta je znan tudi pod imenom "model razkorakov" ali "model vrzeli" (Zeithaml, Bitner, 2000). Njegovi avtorji obravnavajo percipirano kakovost storitve, ki jo definirajo kot odsotnost razlike med potrošnikovim pričakovanjem in percepциjo prejete storitve. Da pa do te končne oz. izvedbene vrzeli ne pride, mora biti v prvem koraku s strani ponudnika pravilno zaznano pričakovanje kupca. Opozoriti moramo, da se termin "pričakovanje", kot avtorji sami poudarjajo, dejansko nanaša na zahtevano raven in vsebino storitev.

Getz in Carlsen (2003) pravita, da je osnovni pogoj za kakovostno izvedeno storitev primernost t. i. "higienikov" oziroma "dissatisfiers" (dejavnikov nezadovoljstva), med katere prištevata varnost, čistost, udobje in osnovno storitev. Ti dejavniki načeloma ne prispevajo k zadovoljstvu in ponovnemu obisku gosta, pač pa izvijejo nezadovoljstvo, če je njihova vsebina neprimerna. Vsebina, pa naj bo to program prireditve, okusna hrana ali slikovitost pokrajine, pa predstavlja dejavnike zadovoljstva (*satisfiers*), in kot takšna vpliva na ponoven obisk in uspešnost turističnega proizvoda. Med slednje sodi nedvomno tudi avtentičnost.

Ravni avtentičnosti destinacije, pa tudi delnih turističnih proizvodov v njej, kot je že bilo prikazano, ni

mogoče objektivno ovrednotiti. Za oceno kakovosti turističnega doživetja, ki je vezana na avtentičnost destinacije, je zato smiselno ugotoviti pomen, ki ga turisti pripisujejo avtentičnosti posameznih elementov – ta namreč odraža njihove želje/pričakovanja. Ta pomen lahko primerjamo s pomenom, ki ga istim elementom pripisujejo ponudniki turističnih storitev/proizvodov, torej tisti, ki (lahko) določajo raven avtentičnosti turističnega proizvoda. Če je razlika med pomenom, ki ga ponudniki in turisti pripisujejo določenemu elementu turističnega proizvoda, majhna ali je ni, tj. ni prvega razkoraka, je izpolnjen prvi pogoj za kakovostni turistični proizvod.

RAZISKAVA

V nadaljevanju so predstavljeni rezultati dveh raziskav. Prva, katere je v tem prispevku predstavljen le del, je bila izvedena na vzorcu turistov v piranski občini, druga pa je potekala na področju treh slovenskih obalnih občin; v njej smo anketirali vodstvene delavce v gostinskeh obratih. Namen raziskav je bil ugotoviti pomen, ki ga ponudniki gostinskih storitev in turisti pripisujejo različnim vidikom avtentičnosti turističnega proizvoda in pa, kakšna je njihova splošna ocena avtentičnosti destinacije. Glede na to, ali anketirani turisti še niso (v celoti in v vseh elementih) doživeli svoje turistične izkušnje, smo torej skladno z modelom razkorakov skušali ugotoviti, ali je izpolnjen prvi pogoj za oblikovanje kakovostnega turističnega proizvoda z vidika njegove avtentičnosti, tj. ali je percepциja pomena različnih elementov avtentičnosti ponudbene strani skladna s tisto, ki jo imajo turisti.

Metodologija

Ker je lahko avtentičnost, kot smo že predstavili, razumljena na zelo različne načine, smo najprej na osnovi teoretičnih izhodišč določili merila, ki so za obravnavano področje primerna za presojo avtentičnosti. Prvo izmed meril, ki jih omenja Cohen (1988), je modernost. Pred pojavom sodobnega turizma vprašanja avtentičnosti praktično ni bilo, torej lahko nekoliko poenostavljeno rečemo, da je moderno v turizmu neavtentično. Drugo merilo, ki ga poleg Cohena omenjajo tudi Olsen (2002), Kernan in Domzal (2000), je, ali je bil nek proizvod izdelan posebej ali predvsem za trg. S komodifikacijo in komercializacijo se avtentičnost izgubi, saj ta povzroči popačenje proizvoda oz. privlačnosti. To merilo Shepherd (2002) še nekoliko razširi v smislu: če je bila pri izdelavi ali ustvarjanju prisotna kakšnakoli (komercialna) preračunljivost izdelovalca, ta praviloma ni avtentičen. Tretje merilo je vezano na način izdelave. Strojno oz. šablonsko množično izdelani proizvodi ali proizvodi, ki jih ni izdelalo lokalno prebivalstvo, ne morejo biti avtentični.

Tem merilom nekateri avtorji dodajajo še lokalno tradicijo, povezanost s prostorom in odsotnost nasprotojujočih si sporocil oz. konsistentnost (Kuznesof et al., 1997). Waller in Lea (1999) sta v svoji raziskavi s pomočjo fokusnih skupin prišla do štirih meril, s pomočjo katerih potencialni turisti vrednotijo avtentičnost turistične izkušnje: prisotnost tipične kulture kraja, "neturističnost" destinacije, individualnost (nemasovnost) izkušnje in skladnost s stereotipi o turistični destinaciji. Hughes (1995) pa pravi, da je v sodobnem svetu globalnega, točko razmejitve mogoče določiti v uklanjanju ali uporu logiki sodobnega kapitalizma oz. "McDonaldizaciji", tj. standardizaciji, masovni proizvodnji (ponudbi) in dobičkonosnosti kot glavnem merilu uspešnosti. Prav ti pojavi so namreč povzročili pravi prelom v dotej relativno počasi spremenjajoči se turistični ponudbi.

Skladno s konstruktivističnim pristopom smo oblikovali tri merila avtentičnosti, ki so dovolj splošna, da so uporabna pri vseh elementih turističnega proizvoda, hkrati pa so za razvito turistično destinacijo, kot je Slovenska Istra, smiselna in dovolj selektivna. Ta merila so: ali je določen element turističnega proizvoda avtohton in tipičen za okolje, ali je obstajal že pred pojavom sodobnega turizma in ali je masovno proizveden (izvajan). Ta merila, ki so bila skozi celoten potek raziskave nespremenjena, so bila v fazi zbiranja podatkov predstavljena anketircem, da bi dosegli čim bolj enočno razumevanje avtentičnosti.

Da bi dobili vpogled v "strukturo" pomena avtentičnosti, smo turistični proizvod razdelili na posamezne elemente, tako da so anketiranci dejansko ocenjevali pomen avtentičnosti vsakega od njih. Kot osnovo za izbiro elementov turističnega proizvoda, ki so bili vključeni v raziskavo, smo iz strokovne literature zbrali širok nabor značilnosti oz. privlačnosti destinacij, pri katerih se (lahko) pojavi problem avtentičnosti (Sedmak, Mihalič, 2008). Da bi število elementov zožili na obvladljivo število, smo se odločili, da s pomočjo akademskega posvetja ugotovimo, katere od navedenih značilnosti so z vidika problematike avtentičnosti relevantne za piransko občino. Deset visokošolskih učiteljev UP Turistice – Fakultete za turistične študije, ki dobro poznajo piransko občino in turizem v njej, smo prosili, da iz omenjenega seznama izberejo tiste značilnosti, ki bi jih bilo po njihovem mnenju smiselno vključiti v raziskavo. Kulturna dediščina je bila izbrana devetkrat, hrana in piča, neokrnjena avtohtona narava in "utrip ulice" sedemkrat, arhitektura in umetnost šestkrat, izdelki domače obrti oz. spominki petkrat, prireditve in praznovanja štirikrat, zgodovina trikrat, odnos domačinov do turistov in notranjost nastanitvenih obratov dvakrat, po enkrat pa muzeji, religija in dodatna ponudba (casino, terme). Naknadno smo po temeljiti debati kot nebistvene iz nadaljnje obravnave izločili zadnje tri elemente. Za ne-

katere ostale elemente smo menili, da se jih da združiti, ne da bi s tem izgubili kakšno vsebino in konsistenco posameznih elementov. V raziskavo so tako bili vključeni naslednji elementi: pomen avtentične arhitekture, pomen tipičnih jedi in piča, pomen ohranjenega utripa kraja, pomen ohranjene avtohtone narave in pomen prikazov kulturne dediščine.

Vzorec raziskave za prvo raziskavo je bil načrtovan s pomočjo dvostopenjske proporcionalne stratifikacije, ki zagotavlja naključnost izbire anketirancev. Prvi stratumi so bili oblikovani na osnovi deležev realiziranih nočitev po tipih nastanitvenih obratov, znotraj tako dobljenih stratumov pa smo določili število anketirancev v konkretnih nastanitvenih obratih na osnovi njihovih kapacitet. Anketiranih je bilo 300 naključno prestreženih turistov. Anketiranje je potekalo v nastanitvenih obratih ali pred njimi – v avli hotela, pri izhodu iz kampa ipd. Vprašalniki so bili prevedeni tudi v italijanski, angleški in nemški jezik.

V drugo raziskavo je bilo vključenih 35 naključno izbranih gostinskih obratov iz občin Piran, Koper in Izola. Naključnost je bila dosežena tako, da so anketarji vnaprej sami izbrali obrate, v katerih so izvedli anketiranje. Širše območje pa je bilo izbrano, da bi zagotovili zadostno število enot za kvantitativno analizo. Anketirani so bili vodje gostinskih obratov oz. tisti, ki odločajo o vsebini ponudbe v gostinskem obratu.

Turiste smo najprej povprašali o percipirani avtentičnosti kraja, v katerem se nahajajo (od 1 – ni ohranjena do 5 – je ohranjena). Nato smo za ugotavljanje pomena, ki ga turisti pri izboru destinacije pripisujejo avtentičnosti posameznega elementa turističnega proizvoda, uporabili petstopenjsko Likertovo lestvico, s pomenom cenovnega nivoja destinacije kot sidriščem (1 – "bistveno manj pomembno kot cena" do 5 – "bistveno bolj pomembno kot cena"). To je običajen ukrep za doseganje večje variabilnosti odgovorov (Zeithaml, Bitner, 2000, 112). Med testiranjem vprašalnika se je namreč pogosto dogajalo, da so anketiranci obkrožili, da so vsi elementi zelo pomembni, kar ni neobičajna težava (Sawyer, Kabacoff, 1997). Kvazimetričnost Likertove lestvice omogoča primerjavo povprečnih vrednosti med skupinami anketirancev in sorodnimi statističnimi analizami (Veal, 1997, 236).

Petstopenjska Likertova lestvica (od 1 – popolnoma nepomembno do 5 – zelo pomembno) brez sidrišča je bila uporabljena tudi v drugi raziskavi. Pred vprašanjem o oceni pomena avtentičnosti predstavljenih elementov pa smo tudi vodje gostinskih obratov povprašali o percipirani avtentičnosti kraja, v katerem se nahajajo, in v odprttem vprašanju: "Kateri elementi oz. značilnosti kraja so po vašem mnenju ključni za vtip avtentičnosti?". S tem smo želeli preveriti pravilnost izbora elementov, vključenih v raziskavo.

Rezultati anketiranja turistov

Za analizo je bilo uporabnih 274 vprašalnikov. V obravnavanem vzorcu je bilo skoraj 42% slovenskih državljanov, slabih 19% je bilo Italijanov, nekaj manj kot 13% Nemcev, skoraj 7% Avstrijev, 4% Angležev, dobre 3% Belgijcev, skoraj 3% Nizozemcev in 2,5% Švicarjev. Ostale nacionalnosti so predstavljale odstotek ali manj v celotnem vzorcu.

Moški so predstavljali 52,57%, ženske pa 47,43% vzorca. Starostna struktura v vzorec vključenih turistov je imela pričakovano zvonasto obliko porazdelitve. Največ, slaba četrtina anketiranih, je bila iz starostne skupine 45–54 let, sledila pa sta ji starostna skupina 35–44 let s slabimi 23% in starostna skupina 25–34 let, ki je zajela slabo petino anketirancev. Slabih 51% anketirancev je imelo zaključeno poklicno ali srednjo šolo, nekaj čez 38% višjo, visoko šolo ali fakulteto, skoraj 8% magisterij ali doktorat, slabe 3% pa osnovno šolo ali manj.

V 82% primerov je bil glavni motiv obiska oddih oz. počitnice. Drugi najpomembnejši motiv je bil izobraže-

vanje (5,51%), sledijo poslovni motiv (4,41%), tranzit (3,31%) in obiski prijateljev in sorodnikov (1,47%).

V Tabeli 1 so predstavljene srednje vrednosti ocen, ki so jih turisti pripisali pomenu avtentičnosti posameznih elementov turističnega proizvoda pri izbiri turistične destinacije in percipirana avtentičnost kraja s standardnimi odkloni in rangi.

Največji pomen so pripisali ponudbi tipičnih jedi in pičač, sledita pomenu ohranjene avtohtone narave in tipične arhitekture, nekoliko presečljivo so najnižji pomen pripisali prikazom kulturne dediščine in utripu kraja.

Rezultati anketiranja ponudnikov gostinskih storitev

Od 35 v vzorec vključenih gostinskih obratov, je bilo 10 takih, ki ponujajo le pičač, 12 gostinskih obratov, ki ponujajo hrano in pičač, ter 13 nastanitvenih obratov. Dobra polovica vzorca (19) jih ima 5 ali manj zaposlenih, 9 pa več kot 20 zaposlenih. Dva obrata sta lokirana v mestu Piran, eden v zaledju piranske občine, 10 v Portorožu, 15 v centru Izole ali Kopra in 7 v zaledju teh dveh mest.

Tabela 1: Odgovori turistov.

Table 1: Responses of tourists.

	Element	N	Srednja vrednost odgovora	Standardni odklon	Rang
1	Kraj, v katerem se nahajam, je ohranil avtentičnost	269	3,39	1,28	
2a	Pomen avtentične arhitekture	272	3,50	0,98	3
2b	Pomen tipičnih jedi in pičač	274	<u>3,80</u>	0,89	1
2c	Pomen ohranjenega utripa kraja	274	3,38	0,95	4
2č	Pomen ohranjene avtohtone narave	274	3,55	0,91	2
2d	Pomen prikazov kulturne dediščine	274	3,38	0,91	4
	Srednja vrednost (2a–2d)		3,52		
	Cronbachov alfa koeficient: 0,76				

Tabela 2: Odgovori vodij gostinskih obratov.

Table 2: Responses of tourist hosts.

		N	Srednja vrednost odgovora	Standardni odklon	Rang
1	Kraj, v katerem se nahaja naš obrat, je ohranil avtentičnost	34	3,32	1,17	
2a	Pomen avtentične arhitekture	35	3,60	1,42	5
2b	Pomen tipičnih jedi in pičač	35	4,00	1,14	2
2c	Pomen ohranjenega utripa kraja	35	3,74	1,34	3
2č	Pomen ohranjene avtohtone narave	35	4,11	1,13	1
2d	Pomen prikazov kulturne dediščine	35	3,66	1,53	4
	Srednja vrednost (2a–2d)		3,82		
	Cronbachov alfa koeficient: 0,74				

Na vprašanje, "kateri elementi oz. značilnosti kraja so ključni za vtip avtentičnosti destinacije", smo dobili naslednje število omemb: utrip kraja (ljudje, njihove dejavnosti in "karakter", življenjski slog) 13; ohranjena narava 12; kulturna dediščina, običaji 11; tipične jedi in pijače 6; arhitektura, krajina 6; kultura 4 in zgodovina 3. Nekateri anketiranci so omenili več elementov, deset anketirancev pa jih na to vprašanje ni odgovorilo.

V Tabeli 2 so predstavljene srednje vrednosti ocen, ki so jih ponudniki gostinskih storitev pripisali pomenu avtentičnosti posameznih elementov turističnega proizvoda oz. destinacije in percipirane avtentičnosti kraja.

Največji pomen so pripisali ohranjeni avtohtoni naravi, sledi ponudba tipičnih jedi in pijač, utrip kraja, na četrtem mestu so prikazi kulturne dediščine, najnižji pomen pa so pripisali tipični arhitekturi.

Primerjava srednjih vrednosti odgovorov anketiranih v piranski občini ($n = 13$) in ostalih dveh občinah ($n = 22$) ni pokazala statistično značilnih razlik (pri $p = 0,05$). Prav tako ni bilo statistično značilnih razlik med srednjimi vrednostmi odgovorov anketiranih v prehrambenih ($n = 22$) in nastanitvenih ($n = 13$) občinah. Pri primerjavi odgovorov anketiranih v mestu ($n = 27$) in na podeželju ($n = 8$) pa je bila statistično značilna razlika srednje vrednosti odgovora na vprašanje 1. Za mesto je ta bila 3,08, za podeželje pa 4,13 ($t = 2,36$; $sig. = 0,025$). Ta rezultat kaže, da ponudniki gostinskih storitev percipirajo kraje v zaledju kot bolj avtentične v primerjavi z mesti. Upoštevajoč pisan pomen ohranjeni avtohtoni naravi to ni presenetljivo.

ANALIZA IN RAZPRAVA

Rezultati so pokazali, da turisti pripisujejo avtentičnosti turističnega proizvoda na splošno velik pomen. Povprečje pridobljenih ocen nam kaže, da je pri izbiri turistične destinacije avtentičnost vseh petih elementov turističnega proizvoda, ki smo jih vključili v raziskavo, pomembnejša od cene celovitega turističnega proizvoda. Kljub geografsko širšemu področju izvedbe druge raziskave in delno drugačnemu merskemu instrumentu menimo, da je rezultate obeh raziskav možno primerjati, saj med rezultati v piranski in drugima dvema občinama ni bilo statistično značilnih razlik.

Iz (delno urejenih) odgovorov na odprto vprašanje ponudnikom gostinskih storitev, kateri elementi oz. značilnosti kraja so ključni za vtip avtentičnosti destinacije, je moč razbrati, da so bili v prvo raziskavo vključeni vsi pomembni elementi, ki po mnenju anketirancev vplivajo na vtip avtentičnosti. Podobno srednjo vrednost odgovorov obeh skupin anketirancev smo dobili tudi na vprašanje o percipirani avtentičnosti kraja, kjer se nahajajo (3,32 pri gostinskih delavcih in 3,39 pri turistih). Morda je nekoliko višja ocena pri slednjih posledica slabšega poznavanja destinacije.

Spearmanov test korelacije rangov srednjih vrednosti odgovorov turistov in ponudnikov gostinskih storitev je statistično neznačilen ($sig. = 0,32$), kar kaže na različno razporeditev pisanega pomena avtentičnosti različnih elementov turističnega proizvoda. Po drugi strani pa je treba upoštevati, da so razlike med srednjimi vrednostmi posameznih elementov turističnega proizvoda relativno majhne, tako pri odgovorih turistov (min. = 3,38; max. = 3,80) kot gostinskih delavcev (min. = 3,60; max. = 4,11), kar nekoliko zmanjšuje pomen rangov.

Če primerjamo posamezne srednje vrednosti med obema skupinama anketiranih, vidimo, da je srednja vrednost pisanih pomenov avtentičnosti elementov turističnega proizvoda statistično značilno različna (pri $p = 0,05$) le pri ohranjeni avtohtoni naravi ($t = 3,33$) in utripu kraja ($t = 2,00$). V obeh primerih je srednja vrednost višja pri skupini ponudnikov gostinskih storitev. Opazimo lahko, da sta elementa ohranjena avtohtona narava in tipične jedi in pijače pri obeh skupinah anketiranih dobila najvišjo oceno (čeprav sta zasedla različni mesti). Iz teh rezultatov lahko sklepamo, da se vodstveni gostinski delavci zavedajo pomena avtentičnosti turističnega proizvoda oz., da napačna percepcija pomena avtentičnosti ni razlog za nekakovostno storitev z vidika stopnje avtentičnosti. Razlog za relativno nizko raven avtentičnosti turistične ponudbe, ki ne izkorišča potencialov kulturne in naravne dediščine, kar so pokazale predhodne raziskave (Brezovec, Sedmak, Vodeb, 2008), bi torej kazalo iskat v dejavnikih, na katere gostinski ponudniki nimajo vpliva, ali pa v njihovi nezmožnosti (zaradi pomanjkanja znanja, sredstev ali slabe organizacije oz. nesodelovanja), torej v izvedbeni vrzeli.

Glede na to, da gre za široko poznano, razvito turistično destinacijo, je omejitev prve raziskave, da določenih tipov (morda bolj kritičnih) turistov v obravnavani destinaciji v času raziskave preprosto ni bilo. Pa tudi nekatere posebnosti destinacije, kot je njena vloga najpomembnejše slovenske obmorske destinacije, v veliki meri opredeljujejo tip turistov, ki tja zahaja. To gotovo otežejo možnosti posplošitev ugotovitev raziskave.

ZAKLJUČEK

Kljub temu, da obstaja obširen seznam literature in virov, ki obravnava avtentičnost v turizmu, in je ta pojem omenjen praktično v vsaki knjigi, ki govori o turizmu, je bilo raziskav, ki bi vključevalo koncept avtentičnosti, doslej v svetovnem merilu zelo malo, pa še te so avtentičnost praviloma obravnavale samo s socio-škega, antropološkega in filozofskega vidika. Prav operacionalizacija pojma, kvantifikacija njegovega pomena in primerjava videnja avtentičnosti med stranema ponudbe in povpraševanja, torej povezava z ekonomskim vidikom trajnostnega razvoja turistične destinacije, ki je bila doslej v strokovni literaturi popolnoma zanemarjena, so ključni prispevki predstavljenih dveh raziskav.



Sl. 1: Turistični spominki iz Portoroža (foto: Gorazd Sedmak).
Fig. 1: Tourist souvenirs from Portorož (photo: Gorazd Sedmak).

Avtentičnost, ki se je pri izbiri destinacije pokazala kot pomembnejši dejavnik od cene, je bila z modelom vrzeli analizirana kot vidik kakovosti turističnega proizvoda. Izkazalo se je, da percepциja ponudnikov gostinskih storitev ni vir nekakovosti. Sklepamo lahko, da je trenutno (precej nezavidljivo) stanje glede avtentičnosti turistične ponudbe v treh obalnih občinah posledica tržne pozicije destinacije, ki je v veliki meri še vedno klasična obmorska destinacija masovnega turizma in privablja temu primerne turiste. Gotovo pa je težava tudi v pomanjkanju strateških trženjskih znanj, vizije in sodelovanja ponudnikov in odsotnosti dovolj močne DMO.

Za obstoječe turiste je ta ponudba torej sprejemljiva, vprašanje pa je, ali je prava za trajnostni razvoj destinacije in skladna z nosilno zmogljivostjo Slovenske Istre za turizem (Jurinčič, 2005). Avtentičnost je lahko vzvod diferenciacije in pomemben del intelektualnega kapitala destinacije in kot taka je potencialna konkurenčna prednost destinacije (Nemec Rudež, 2006). V preteklosti

se je veliko turističnih destinacij odreklo svoji avtentičnosti na račun kratkoročne ekonomske uspešnosti, kar na daljši rok ni upravičeno, kar se je nenazadnje izkazalo že v mnogih primerih v Evropi in drugod po svetu. Kot primer naj omenimo španska obalna letovišča, ki so se po intenzivnem razvoju masovnega turizma v 70. letih prejšnjega stoletja v devetdesetih znašla v nezavidljivem položaju, ki je bil posledica uničene narave, padanja cen turističnih storitev, opuščenih tradicionalnih dejavnosti in izgube kulturne identitete lokalnega prebivalstva.

Predstavljen prispevek ponuja tudi nekaj iztočnic za bodoče raziskave. Predvsem bi bilo smiselno raziskati, kako različni profili (v smislu njihove eksistencialne avtentičnosti) turistov in ponudnikov turističnih storitev vrednotijo pomen in dejansko avtentičnost turističnega proizvoda. Za objektivnejše ovrednotenje pomena avtentičnosti pri izbiri turistične destinacije pa bi bilo vsekakor treba raziskati tudi njeno težo v primerjavi z drugimi atributi destinacije (kot sta varnost, dostopnost ...).

AUTHENTICITY AND THE QUALITY THE TOURIST PRODUCT IN SLOVENE ISTRIA

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SUMMARY

Though there is a comprehensive body of literature on authenticity in tourism, so far, only very few studies on a global scale would incorporate the concept of authenticity and even those would normally discuss it exclusively from the sociological, anthropological or philosophical point of view. The main reason for this is surely the elusive and multilayered nature of the term itself. In tourism, authenticity is extremely important for tourists and the local population, but also for the tourist economy, as it represents a lever of differentiation and can act as a sustainable competitive advantage, since it is lost through any replication. The operationalization of the term, the quantification of its meaning and the comparison of the concept of authenticity between the positions of supply and demand, that is to say, its association with the economic aspect of sustainable development of a tourist destination, which has previously been utterly neglected in literature, are the main contributions of this paper.

The authenticity, which has proven to be an even more important parameter than the price, was analysed as a quality aspect of a tourist product using the gap model. It was demonstrated that the tourist hosts recognize the importance of authenticity of various elements of attraction pertaining to a certain tourist destination in much the same way as the tourists themselves. The reasons for the unseemly state of authenticity regarding the tourist products in Slovene Istria are thus to be found in the realizational gap, the lack of strategic marketing skills and the outdated market position of the destination. This paper offers some starting points for future research as well. It would be most reasonable to investigate how different profiles of tourists (in the sense of their existential authenticity) and tourist service suppliers would evaluate the importance and actual authenticity of a tourist product. For an objective evaluation of the role of authenticity when choosing a tourist destination, its importance in relation to other attributes of the destination (like safety, accessibility...) should by all means be studied as well.

Key words: tourism, authenticity, quality, destination, Slovene Istria

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CLARIFYING THE CONCEPT OF CUSTOMER-BASED BRAND EQUITY FOR A TOURISM DESTINATION

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ABSTRACT

The paper introduces the concept of customer-based brand equity for a tourism destination and thereby completes previous tourism destination studies which have exclusively investigated the destination image concept. Since no other authors have combined the four proposed dimensions (awareness, image, quality and loyalty) to evaluate a destination, the key purpose of the qualitative research was to clarify the customer-based brand equity concept that will be the subject of descriptive and causal research. The study instrument was originally prepared to analyze Slovenia as a tourism destination. In-depth interviews with potential tourists were employed in our qualitative research which served as a pre-step in further measurement instrument preparations.

Key words: customer-based brand equity, tourism destination, tourist behavior, exploratory research, in-depth interviews

ILLUSTRAZIONE DEL CONCETTO DI VALORE DEL MARCHIO DI UNA DESTINAZIONE TURISTICA AGLI OCCHI DELL'UTENTE

SINTESI

L'articolo introduce il concetto di valore del marchio di una destinazione turistica agli occhi dell'utente e rappresenta un'implementazione delle ricerche sin qui eseguite nel campo dello studio delle destinazioni turistiche che ne avevano analizzato solo l'immagine. Gli studi sin qui svolti non avevano considerato tutti e quattro i criteri proposti (consapevolezza, immagine, percezione della qualità e fedeltà) per valutare la destinazione, pertanto l'obiettivo chiave della ricerca qualitativa presentata nell'articolo è quello di spiegare il principio del valore di bene del marchio di una destinazione turistica agli occhi dell'utente, principio che nel prosieguo verrà utilizzato anche nelle ricerche quantitative. Lo strumento della ricerca (questionario) era stato inizialmente predisposto per l'analisi della Slovenia come destinazione turistica. In fase preliminare per la sua elaborazione sono stati utilizzati i risultati della ricerca qualitativa analizzata nell'articolo e nella quale abbiamo realizzato interviste in profondità con potenziali turisti.

Parole chiave: valore del marchio agli occhi dell'utente, destinazione turistica, comportamento dei turisti, ricerca esplicativa, intervista personale in profondità

INTRODUCTION

The customer or tourist perspective on tourism destination has attracted great interest in tourism research (Hunt, 1975; Crompton, 1979; Um, Crompton, 1990; Gartner, 1993; Echtner, Ritchie, 1993; Baloglu, McCleary, 1999; Gallarza, Gil, Calderon, 2002; Pike, 2002; Brezovec, 2002; Brezovec A., Brezovec T., Jančič, 2004; Konecnik Ruzzier, Ruzzier, 2009). The question of how a tourism destination is perceived in the eyes of potential tourists has not been confined to the academic community but has also involved many destination practitioners who, in their investigations, have sought answers to support further destination marketing strategies. Although much work has been done in this area, nearly all the studies have dealt exclusively with the concept of a tourism destination's image (Hunt, 1975; Crompton, 1979; Um, Crompton, 1990; Phelps, 1986; Ahmed, 1991; Fakye, Crompton, 1991; Echtner, Ritchie, 1993; Gartner, 1993; Hu, Ritchie, 1993; Baloglu, McCleary, 1999a, 1999b; Baloglu, 2001; Brezovec, 2001; Konecnik, 2002).

On the contrary, marketing literature investigates the customer perspective on the branding concept and presents it as a concept that combines several dimensions (Aaker, 1996; Keller, 1993; Aaker, Joachimsthaler, 2000; Yoo, Donthu, 2001, 2002; Yoo, Donthu, Lee, 2000). In combining previous theoretical and empirical findings, we follow the line of authors (Aaker, 1996; Yoo, Donthu, 2001, 2002) who claim that the customer's evaluation of a brand comprises awareness, image, quality and loyalty dimensions.

As far as tourism destinations can be treated as brands (Gnoth, 2002; Morgan Pritchard, 2002; Cai, 2002; Ollins, 2002; Kotler, Gertner, 2002; Gilmore, 2002a, 2002b; Papadopoulos, Heslop 2002; Anholt, 2002, 2003; Morgan, Pritchard, Piggot, 2002; Morgan, Pritchard, Pride 2002; Konecnik, 2004, 2005), the question arises as to whether investigation of the destination image dimension is really an appropriate way to evaluate it from the customer perspective. Drawing on this basic question, there is an open dilemma of whether perhaps the dimension of destination awareness, the quality and loyalty dimensions should also be employed in empirical investigations of the tourism destination phenomenon.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Concept of customer-based brand equity in marketing literature

The marketing literature has investigated the demand-side perspective on the branding phenomenon through the customer's evaluation of brand equity

(Aaker, 1991; Keller, 1993; Yoo, Donthu, 2001). As a relatively newly developed construct, the concept of customer-based brand equity has attracted great interest in the last fifteen years (Barwise, 1993). One of the most commonly accepted definitions of the customer-based brand equity concept was introduced by Keller, who defined it 'as the differential effect that brand knowledge has on consumer response to the marketing of that brand' (Keller, 1998, 45). Following the same author, brand knowledge is conceptualized according to an associative network memory model in terms of two dimensions, brand awareness and brand image. During this time, many valuable contributions regarding customer-based brand equity have been made, but several authors still recognize the absence of a general theoretical framework (Agarwall, Rao, 1996; Vazquez, del Rio, Iglesias, 2002) and agreement on how it should be measured (Yoo, Donthu, 2001). Unlike the previous level of versatility of measurement instruments, some efforts leading to an adjustment of brand equity measures are recognized. These steps are evident in analyses (Na, Marshall, Keller, 1999; Faircloth, Capella, Alford, 2001; Yoo, Donthu, 2001, 2002) based on Aaker (1991) and Keller's (1993) categorization. Combining both approaches of the leading authors, we follow the line of researchers (Aaker, 1991; Yoo, Donthu, 2001, 2002) who claim that the customer's evaluation of a brand comprises awareness, image, quality, and loyalty dimensions.

The customer's perspective on tourism destination phenomenon

Since the concept of customer-based brand equity has not been previously investigated for a tourism destination phenomenon, we will attempt to clarify the concept, which was introduced in marketing literature, for a destination brand. Before conducting qualitative research, we sought to obtain as much information as possible from previous studies. As mentioned, the tourism destination phenomenon was chiefly investigated within the topic of a tourism destination image. Our theoretical background reveals something similar which will expand previous insights into the tourism destination image, especially its overview of the measurement area.

In reviewing the attribute-based variables of previous studies (Table 1), we closely followed the earlier insights of the classifications of Mazanec (1994) and Gallarza, Gil and Calderon (2002). Our approach focus on the taxonomy of tourism destination image attributes was oriented to leading journals covering the tourism destination image theme: *Annals of Tourism Research*; *Tourism Management*; and the *Journal of Travel Research*. These articles were all published in English and in their empirical research focused on the attribute-based image component. In addition, some interesting articles have

Table 1: Review of attribute-based variables of tourism destination image studies from 1975 to 2002 in selected tourism journals.**Tabela 1: Pregled spremenljivk na osnovi značilnosti podobe turistične destinacije v izbranih turističnih revijah med leti 1975 in 2002.**

AUTHOR/ATTRIBUTES	Functional															Psychological										
	Various sites/activities	Historic/cultural attractions	Beaches	Mountains & lakes	Nature	Nightlife & entertainment	Shopping facilities	Information available	Sport facilities	Transportation	Cities/towns	Price, value, cost	Climate	Crowdedness	Cleanliness	Accessibility	Safety	Political stability	Gastronomy (food/wine)	Friendliness	Residents characteristics	Communication	Resident's receptiveness	Relaxation	Opportunity for adventure	
Hunt (1975)	▽																									
Goodrich (1978)	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽		▽		▽	▽					▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Crompton (1979)				▽																						
McLellan, Foushee (1983)							▽					▽														
Gartner (1986)	▽	▽		▽	▽	▽			▽	▽																
Haahti (1986)	▽			▽	▽				▽			▽					▽		▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽
Phelps (1986)	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽				▽	▽	▽	▽	▽		▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Gartner, Hunt (1987)	▽			▽	▽				▽	▽			▽													▽
Calantone et al. (1989)	▽	▽	▽		▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽				▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Gartner (1989)	▽	▽		▽	▽	▽			▽	▽	▽															▽
Embacher, Buttle (1989)	▽	▽			▽							▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Ahmed (1991)	▽	▽		▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Chon (1991)	▽	▽			▽		▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Crompton, Fakye, Lue (1992)	▽	▽	▽		▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Dadgostar, Isotalo (1992)	▽			▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Echtner, Ritchie (1993)	▽	▽	▽		▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Hu, Ritchie (1993)	▽			▽	▽	▽		▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Ross (1993)																										
Driscoll et al. (1994)	▽	▽		▽	▽	▽						▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Gartner, Bachri (1994)									▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Ahmed (1996)	▽	▽		▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽														▽	
Alhemoud, Armstrong (1996)		▽	▽		▽	▽	▽	▽																	▽	
Baloglu, Brinberg (1997)																										
Court, Lupton (1997)	▽	▽		▽	▽				▽				▽				▽			▽					▽	▽
Walmsley, Young (1998)																										
Baloglu, McCleary (1999b)	▽	▽	▽				▽		▽			▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Chen, Kerstetter (1999)	▽	▽			▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Choi, Chan, Wu (1999)	▽		▽		▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽		▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Chen, Hsu (2000)	▽				▽				▽			▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Baloglu (2001)	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽		▽			▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Baloglu, Mangaloglu (2001)	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽			▽			▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
Bigne, Sancez, Sancez (2001)																										
Konecnik (2002)	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽					▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	▽	
TOTAL	22	22	11	9	26	20	14	7	19	8	8	15	17	20	3	8	8	13	3	17	16	11	7	13	7	

Sources: based on Mazanec, 1994; Gallarza, Gil and Calderon, 2002; and all authors mentioned in the table.

been published in other journals (such as *Tourism Review*) and are thus also incorporated in our analysis. Following the mentioned selection criteria, the final review process of tourism destination image measurement consisted of 33 articles. The rule we applied regarding the same authors in our categorization procedure should be explained. Many authors have published the results of a single research project in more than just one article. Although the variables are mostly equivalent, we regarded those articles as being independent.

The selection procedure for attribute-based variables followed similar three rules as employed in the variables categorization of Gallarza, Gil and Calderon (2002). Firstly, when articles included information-reduction methods, the original numbers of attributes were noted. Secondly, only the more universal attributes were considered, as we ignored those that are only typical to a specific destination. Thirdly, logical groups of similar attributes (different sport facilities) were included in one common attribute (sport facilities). Finally, all attributes were ranked within 26 different variables, as shown in Table 1. In rank order, the Echtner and Ritchie (1993) procedure of attributes categorization into a functional-psychological axis is followed.

The attribute taxonomy presented in Table 1 allows for deep insights into the attribute-based variables of tourism destination image measurement. Although the classification of the mentioned dimensions may vary according to the subjectivity of authors, it represents a good basis for further analysis of the tourism destination image. The balance between functional and psychological attributes suggested by Echtner and Ritchie (1993) seems not to have changed over 25 years. However, studies done since 1990 seem to offer more attributes. 'Nature' was the attribute mostly measured in all tourism destination image studies (26), followed by 'various sites' (22) and 'historical/cultural attractions' (22) attributes. Higher ranked attributes also included variables connected with the entertainment component, sport facilities. Mostly the same ranking attributes were recognized by two previous typologies (Echtner, Ritchie, 1993; Gallarza, Gil, Calderon, 2002). The chief differences appear for the attribute 'resident's receptiveness', previously ranked in highest position compared to our classification. In our opinion, this difference exists because we analyzed the additional criterion of "friendliness" which could also be interpreted as an attribute of a resident's receptiveness. When we add the two above-mentioned criteria together, the attribute is also found in the highest position (24) in our methodology.

Unlike the systematic overview of attribute-based image variables, no recent analysis has explicitly mentioned that previous image investigation could also include a quality dimension. Further, in reviewing previous articles dealing with the tourism destination phenomenon, we only found a few papers covering the

topic of perceived quality investigation for a tourism destination (Fick, Ritchie, 1991; Keane, 1997; Murphy, Prichard, Smith, 1999; Weiermair, Fuchs, 1999). However, this is particularly interesting since the tourist's overall evaluation of a tourism destination is a combination of products, services and experiences. In all these examples, quality is a vital element of the consumer's behavior.

Most likely the biggest misunderstanding arises due to its difficult operationalization for a tourism destination. This opinion is shared by Keane (1997) in his contribution to the tourism destination quality dimension, since at the beginning he reiterates Pirsig's question of 'what is quality really?' Further, he links the quality dimension together with the pricing category. The importance of price has also been recognized by other authors investigating the tourism destination phenomenon (Crompton, 1979; Phelps, 1986; Embacher, Buttle, 1989; Crompton, Fakeye, Lue, 1992; Echtner, Ritchie, 1993; Baloglu, McCleary, 1999b; Baloglu, Mangaloglu, 2001; Konecnik, 2002, 2004). Hence, price is seen as one of the important quality extrinsic cues (Olson, 1977). On the other hand, many previous tourism destination studies have employed price levels (or even the value dimension) as one of the attribute-based image variables.

Dealing with the price category, we came to the conclusion that the previous tourism destination image studies could possibly also include a quality dimension. This was only shown where the price variable is a possible quality extrinsic cue. However, the same argument was proposed by Baker and Crompton (2000, 788), who stated that 'much of the image research reported in tourism measures perceptions of quality of a destination's attributes'. This can also be partly supported by the image concept investigation of Baloglu and McCleary (1999a), where the 'quality of experience' represents one of the factors in conceptualizing the image construct.

The main dilemma arises as to which criterion can be used for dividing variables into quality and image attributes. However, the comparison of those variables with other types of brands makes no sense because these variables are largely specific and measures should be customized for the unique characteristics of specific brand categories (Park, Srinivasan, 1994; Low, Lamb, 2000). At the same time, only a few previous studies can partly indicate the quality intrinsic cues of a tourism destination (Murphy, Prichard, Smith, 1999; Baker, Crompton, 2000; Ekinci, Riley, 2001). From those studies, only some quality variables (i.e. transportation, accommodation) can be stressed. Therefore, we only obtain some suggestions which cannot represent the basis for preparing a quality variable scale.

Unlike the enormous amount of work done in the tourism destination image area, fewer studies investigate

the awareness perspective of the destination phenomenon. The concept of tourism destination awareness has mostly been investigated within the topics of destination selection or the travel decision process (Woodside, Sherrill, 1977; Moutinho, 1987; Goodall, 1993), where the awareness of a tourism destination is treated as a first and necessary step leading to a destination visitation, but it is not a sufficient one (Milman, Pizam, 1995). Even less research interest has been paid to the loyalty concept of a tourism destination, where some studies (Gitelson, Crompton, 1984; Fakeye, Crompton, 1991; Ryan, 1995; Bigne, Sanchez, Sanchez, 2001) only partly incorporate some of the measures that indirectly indicate the loyalty concept. Oppermann (2000) shares the same opinion in his seminal work on tourism destination loyalty, in which he claims that this concept should not also be neglected for a tourism destination brand.

PURPOSE

The key purpose of the qualitative research was to clarify the customer-based brand equity concept that will be the subject of descriptive and causal research. However, four dimensions of customer-based brand equity concepts have been transferred from the areas of product and services brands and are also proposed for the tourism destination brand. Because no other authors' in the tourism destination area have employed the proposed four dimensions, the main question arises as to whether all four dimensions can also be perceived for our analyzed brand. Therefore, we sought to obtain a greater insight into and understanding of each of the dimensions as perceived from the tourist's point of view. Apart from the four proposed dimensions of the customer-based brand equity concept, the fifth content area of discussion was the topic of information sources. The second key purpose of the research involved identifying the variables of the proposed dimensions, especially those that have not been extensively investigated (awareness, loyalty) or which have been included within other investigation topics (quality dimension). Accordingly, we will specially consider where to establish the boundary between image and quality dimensions.

Therefore, further research questions are discussed:

- the tourism destination phenomena perception in the eyes of potential tourists;
- the perception of each proposed dimension of customer-based brand equity and possible selection of variables;
- the type and importance of information sources;
- fixing the boundaries between a tourism destination image and the perceived quality dimension; and
- the tourist perception of the tourism destination loyalty dimensions without a previous visitation and potential variables for its measurement.

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative research techniques have already been employed in previous brand equity studies (Wright, Nancarrow, 1999). Besides focus groups, in-depth interviews are one of the most commonly used techniques in the direct qualitative research procedure (Calder, 1977; Fern, 1982b, 1983; Greenbaum, 1988; Malhotra, 2004; Aaker, Kumar, Day, 2004). Although there are many advantages and disadvantages of each technique, there is no common agreement between the authors as to which technique generates better ideas and can be regarded as superior. The appropriateness of the technique also depends on the research problem and its conceptual nature.

Greenbaum (1988) cited several advantages of individual (one-to-one) interviews versus the focus groups technique: flexibility, confidentiality, purity, depth of information, portability and individual focus. For him, there are also disadvantages of interview techniques that are mostly reflected in cost and time dimensions and the client's involvement with the technique. The time and cost dimensions are probably the most evident reasons why focus groups are used most often (Greenbaum, 1988) and are popular (Fern, 1982a, 1982b, 1983) methods of qualitative research. Despite its popularity, in his investigation Fern (1982a) came to the conclusion that in-depth interviews provide a longer list of ideas and thoughts about a relatively complex concept and therefore suggested preferring the in-depth interview technique when examining complex concepts.

With the aim of understanding the customer-based brand equity concept of a tourism destination better, in-depth interviews with potential tourists were conducted. The participants were selected from the group of international students. The target group of this research was either undergraduate or postgraduate students. Two criteria were considered in the sample selection: the nationality of participants and the participants' previous travel experiences. Since we wanted to obtain tourists' opinions regardless of their culture, individuals from different countries were invited to participate. An additional criterion for the selection of participants was their previous travel experience. Altogether, twelve potential tourists were encouraged to participate in the interviewing process.

Half the respondents were males and half were females. Six came from European countries, three from East Asia and the Pacific, two from the Americas and one from the Middle East. Three were between 18 to 24 years of age, six from 25 to 34, whereas the rest (three of them) were between 35 and 44 years old. Five of them were students, while seven of them were employed. They prefer to travel with their partners or families, with or without the help of a travel agent or tour operator. On average, they have visited around fifteen different countries and have primarily traveled for holiday reasons.

A topic guide was used to steer the overall interview process. This guide was originally prepared in English and then translated by a professional language translator into German. Both language possibilities were offered to participants in the interview process. Eight respondents chose to answer in English and four in German. The interview questions asked about the respondents' perceptions of the tourism destination phenomenon, especially their perception of proposed customer-based brand equity for tourism destination dimensions. The interview also posed questions regarding the respondents' travel characteristics and socio-demographic details. The interviews were performed by a skilled interviewer who was fluent in both English and German. Participants were encouraged to talk freely, without any interruption on the interviewer's part. In examples where greater clarification was needed, additional questions were asked. The interviews were carried out using a laddering technique (Aaker, Kumar, Day, 2004; Malhotra, 2004) with the aim to probe into a tourist's deep underlying psychological and emotional reasons that affect their intention to visit a tourism destination. Having this in mind, we also chose the venue for the interviews. A cafeteria in the city center with many motifs of traveling through different countries was selected as a reasonable place for the interviews. Because the most appropriate time for interviewing in this cafeteria was around mid-day, all interviews were conducted from 10 am to 2 pm. The interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. The length of interviews varied from 35 minutes to over 2 hours. The typical overall length of interviews was around 1 hour and 15 minutes.

Content analysis was conducted independently by two researchers. The content part of the analysis was clearly specified and consisted of five discussed areas. The main purpose of the research was to identify the dimensions (awareness, image, quality, loyalty and sources of information). In the second part, the authors had to aggregate potential variables for each proposed dimension due to links with the previous literature. The two then compared their analyses relative to the set purposes. According to suggestions (Miles, Huberman, 1994), the differences between the two sets of research were resolved through discussion.

RESULTS

Reflecting the chief aim of the research, namely to clarify the customer-based brand equity concept for a tourism destination, which was further used to investigate Slovenia as a tourism destination, twelve potential tourists were encouraged to define their interpretation and perception of tourism destination phenomena. At the beginning, respondents were asked to answer the question: 'How would you describe tourism destination phenomena? Please try to mention all characteristics or

attributes that are important to you in evaluating a tourism destination?' Answers to these questions mostly contain a range of tourism destination attributes. However, some respondents mentioned only a few destination attributes while others included many important aspects in their tourism destination evaluation. Therefore, the number of attributes mentioned varied from 7 to 52. From the content analysis of the abovementioned attributes it is also evident that a respondent's specific and narrow important attributes also varied according to the respondent's way of life. Hence, sports-oriented people mentioned very detailed destination characteristics that are important for different sports activities (like wind, waves, snow and so on). Mostly in the same way, two respondents were deeply interested in culture and one of them in history. Therefore, they described in detail the so-called cultural and historical destination characteristics. Although the respondents enumerated a range of different destination attributes and different words and expressions were mentioned in the process, all attributes can be placed into one category already presented in the previous analysis (Table 1). However, it is interesting that three respondents mentioned some attributes in connection with quality (i.e. service quality, quality of accommodation, quality of infrastructure).

After describing the tourism destination perception, respondents were asked more detailed questions oriented at an interpretation of each customer-based brand equity concept for a tourism destination dimension. First, we investigated the awareness dimension and posed the following question: 'Which conditions should be fulfilled for you to think you are aware of a specific tourism destination?' Instead of answers, we received a question in response from ten out of the twelve respondents: *'By awareness do you mean that I know the destination?'* After the explanation that we had the same things in mind, the respondents explained their perception of destination awareness. Eleven respondents believed that awareness can be explained through recognition of the destination's name. Three of them also added name recognition in comparison to other destinations. Further, eight of them also believed they should have some opinion about the destination. This opinion was explained either by imagining some of the most important destination attributes (seven) and/or knowing the geographical location (five answers). After the respondents explained destination awareness, we asked them a further question: 'Do you believe a previous visit is a necessary condition for destination awareness?' All of them agreed that visiting the destination is definitely not a condition of awareness. Three of them also explained their opinions with individual examples. However, they were definitely convinced that they have knowledge about many destinations which they have never visited. Further, they listed numerous sources (recommendations from friends and relatives, ads on television, news on

television, books, movies and documentary films, internet, brochures) from where they received information about specific destinations.

Because the image dimension was already the subject of discussion at the beginning, we did not investigate this topic once again. However, our intention was to delve deeper into the relationship between image and quality dimensions. First, some cues from previous literature (Baker, Crompton, 2000) were given that the traditionally developed concept in the tourism destination image literature also includes the quality dimension. Further, a sign of incorporating quality dimensions was pointed out by three respondents, which in discussions of broader tourism destination attributes were also connected with the term quality. Therefore, we formulated the following questions: 'How would you describe the term quality for a tourism destination? Which quality attributes are important for you in the process of evaluating a destination?' Ten respondents immediately answered that they already included the quality attributes at the beginning of the conversation. One of them also asked: '*Haven't we already spoken about the quality issue? Do you remember that I even used the words 'quality of'?*' Generally, respondents share the opinion that quality is an important issue in the destination evaluation and selection process. '*Beautiful nature and attractions are important in destination selection, but the quality level in destination counts as well. For me it is important that the destination has a good infrastructure and accommodation to stay in.*' On the contrary, two respondents pointed out they do not connect quality with a tourism destination. Therefore, we asked them to explain this in more detail or perhaps through a concrete example. '*For me it is totally unimportant whether the room is big and beautiful, whether it is clean, whether I get clean towels every day... Actually, I am not sensitive to these issues. For me it is really much more important that I visit fantastic museums, exhibitions, festivals...*' In addition, the other respondent answered in the same way: '*When I was in India, their transport systems didn't bother me. Actually, I enjoyed the crowded busses, full of people. Ok, the smell wasn't very nice but I enjoyed each journey on their busses a lot.*' Following the answers of our respondents, we can definitely conclude that a tourist's perception of a destination also includes a quality dimension even though this aspect has been ignored in previous literature.

Tourism destination loyalty was the last customer-based brand equity concept to be discussed. At the start we posed the question: 'How would you describe yourself as being loyal to a specific tourism destination?' All respondents believed loyalty can be explained by previous visits to a destination. One described himself as a loyal tourist because he visits a particular destination nearly every year. However, four respondents spontaneously considered a future intention to visit a destination

as a possible loyalty sign. In addition, only two respondents mentioned in conversation the possibility of recommending the destination to their friends. Therefore, we asked them the more detailed question: 'Do you have a habit of recommending a destination to your friends? In which circumstances do you recommend a destination to your friends?' All of them agreed that they have already recommended some destinations to their friends. The most commonly given reason (ten respondents) for recommending a destination was their satisfaction after having visited the destination. However, two respondents said they have the habit to recommend a destination to their friends very often and in many different circumstances. Besides the reason of being satisfied with a previous visit, they also recommend a destination when they read or watch something interesting about a tourism destination, or when they receive a good recommendation about a destination from their friends. In addition, we asked the ten other respondents whether they recommend a tourism destination only in the circumstances of having previously visited it. Six of them agreed that they have already recommended a destination to their friends although they have not actually visited it in the past. On the contrary, four respondents made destination recommendations only after previously visiting a destination.

Information sources were an additional discussion topic of our in-depth interviews with potential tourists. Respondents were asked the question 'Which type of information sources do you prefer when gathering tourism destination information?' Mostly the respondents mentioned typical information sources, with an emphasis on information gathered from their friends and relatives, TV news and advertisements, travel agents and/or tours operators, brochures and information gathered via the Internet. However, ten respondents believed it is hard to state the most important source because in nearly all circumstances they combined at least two or more different sources to gather as much information about a destination as possible. This diversity of information gathering can be represented through the words of one respondent. '*It is quite hard to say which information source is the most important. Sometimes I watch television and see a fantastic place/sights or a building I am interested in. So I ask my friends whether they have any more information about that destination. Or I try to find some information from books. Yes, in the last few years I have always also searched for information via the Internet. And then I go back to search for some additional data in specialized newspapers. But, as I told you, last time the process was totally different. I just went to a tourist office and booked a vacation. Perhaps I also asked my friends to give me some additional information.*'

At the end of the in-depth interviews, we asked each respondent to decide which of the 26 proposed attrib-

utes represented quality attributes in their opinion. The attributes were prepared with reference to previous literature (Table 1) and were to some extent adjusted for our investigated tourism destinations that were selected for further quantitative research. The attributes were written on a list of paper. Each respondent had to indicate those attributes that were, in their opinions, perceived as quality ones. The quality variables are presented in Table 2. However, we decided to include only those variables which were indicated at least by nine respondents. Further, we encouraged them to explain their decision in detail.

Table 2: Quality variables indicated signed by respondents.

Tabela 2: Spremenljivke kakovosti, ki so jih izbrali anketrirani.

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Unpolluted environment	9
Accommodation	12
Infrastructure	12
Cleanliness	12
Personal safety	12
Local food/cuisine	9
Prices of tourism services	11
Service quality	12
Ease of communication	10
Value for money	10

Source: the qualitative research Investigation of the Dimensions of the Customer-based Brand Equity of a Tourism Destination.

All twelve respondents were clearly convinced that they perceived accommodation, infrastructure, cleanliness, personal safety and service quality as quality variables. Except for one, all of them treated the prices of tourism services as a quality variable. Further, ten agreed that value for money and ease of communication represent a quality variable in tourism destination content. The variables attracting least agreement from the proposed ten variables were an unpolluted environment and local food/cuisine. In addition, the respondents said they also have the biggest problems with their decisions on these two variables. '*Yes, at the beginning I wasn't so sure whether an unpolluted environment is a quality variable. But, I have already decided that nature is definitely an image variable so unpolluted nature is something superior to this image and therefore I include this variable within quality ones.*' Further, one of them related the variable of an unpolluted environment with the variable of cleanliness in a way '*...actually, it is similar to cleanliness, isn't it?*' Their explanations of a destination's food or cuisine mostly had the same connotations. Nine of them connected the variable of local food and

cuisine with the service sector, as a result of local people's work. However, the variable of people was the most surprisingly ranked variable. On average, quality scientific literature treats human capital (people) as one of the most important parts of the whole quality process. On the contrary, only three respondents indicated people's friendliness as a quality variable, whereas nine of them believed people's friendliness is an image perception. Therefore, we opened a further discussion on why they treated this as an image variable. Nine of them thought they perceived people's friendliness in a general way. '*Some people – nations – are friendly, they are open to you as tourists, while others are not so. Although some local people are not so friendly, they can still provide high service quality.*'

CONCLUSIONS

The paper presents the results of a qualitative research which served as a pre-step in further measurement instrument preparations (Konečnik, Gartner, 2007; Konečnik, Ruzzier, 2008), which was used to investigate Slovenia as a tourism destination. The qualitative research was made with the aim of clarifying customer-based brand equity for the tourism destination concept. In this part we closely followed the previous research findings for different types of brands, but we adapted our discussion to the tourism destination concept. At the same time, we also prepared a review of the theoretical background about a tourism destination. After that we conducted in-depth interviews with potential tourists and thereby gathered their opinions and perceptions of tourism destination phenomena.

The most valuable findings were seen in the clarification of all four proposed dimensions. First, we were able to gain more insights into the awareness and loyalty dimensions, which have not been extensively studied in previous tourism destination studies. The discussion with potential tourists reassured us that it makes sense to also incorporate awareness and loyalty dimensions in traditionally investigated image studies. Another very important finding of this qualitative research is seen in the separation of the previously investigated image dimension into two dimensions (image and quality). Drawing on the opinion of the twelve potential tourists, we were able to separate all proposed variables into either the image or quality dimensions. All these important conclusions were incorporated in the preparation of variables for each proposed dimension.

The study is interesting also from the practical point of view. Practitioners can get an insight how tourists evaluate a destination in their minds. In depth interviews gave us a detailed opinion about tourists' evaluation of a destination, particularly their perception of the attribute based items for our proposed brand equity dimensions. Practical improvements and tourism destination mar-

keting strategies can therefore stress different attribute based items for investigated destinations.

Although the exploratory qualitative research gave us important information to assist in further preparation of a measurement instrument for the customer-based brand equity of a tourism destination, it should be treated as the first step leading towards this conceptualization. Therefore, we believe additional investigation is needed. It might be possible to increase the number of potential tourists expressing their opinions. In this case, it would be possible to investigate whether the opinions of tourists differ between different groups of tourists according

to their sociodemographic (i.e. nationality, gender, occupation) and travel (i.e. previous travel experience) characteristics. This would be especially important in that part where we separated the traditionally investigated image dimension into two dimensions: image and quality. It would also be interesting to conduct similar research using the focus group technique and to then compare the results. Finally, we call for other authors to express their opinions on our view of all four proposed dimensions of a tourism destination to help us better clarify each dimension.

RAZJASNITEV KONCEPTA PREMOŽENJA BLAGOVNE ZNAMKE TURISTIČNE DESTINACIJE V OČEH PORABNIKA

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POVZETEK

V prispevku je predstavljen premoženja blagovne znamke turistične destinacije v očeh porabnika, ki dopolnjuje predhodne študije turističnih destinacij, osredotočene izključno na koncept podobe destinacije. Raziskovalci pri vrednotenju destinacije doslej še niso povezali štirih tukaj predlaganih dimenzij (zavedanje, podoba, kvaliteta in zvestoba); tako je bil ključni namen pričujoče kvalitativne raziskave razjasnitev koncepta premoženja blagovne znamke v očeh porabnika, ki bo v nadaljevanju predmet opisnih in vzročnih raziskav. V izhodišču je bila raziskava prilagojena za analizo Slovenije kot turistične destinacije. V okviru kvalitativne raziskave smo izvedli poglobljene osebne intervjuje s potencialnimi turisti, ki so služili kot izhodišče za razvoj nadaljnjih raziskovalnih orodij. Rezultati kažejo, da je v nadaljnje empirične študije premoženja turistične destinacije z vidika turistov mogoče vključiti vse štiri predlagane dimenzije. Na podlagi mnenj potencialnih turistov smo lahko tradicionalno raziskovano podobo razdelili bodisi na spremenljivke podobe bodisi na spremenljivke kakovosti. Ta delitev je skupaj z določitvijo spremenljivk potencialnega zavedanja in zvestobe omogočila pridobitev dragocenih podatkov, ki bodo v pomoč pri ustvarjanju bodočih raziskovalnih orodij.

Ključne besede: premoženje blagovne znamke v očeh porabnika, turistične destinacije, vedenje turistov, pojasnjevalne raziskave, poglobljeni osebni intervjuji

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ZNAČILNOSTI ORGANIZIRANIH POTOVANJ TURISTOV IZ SLOVENIJE V BOSNO IN HERCEGOVINO

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IZVLEČEK

V prispevku so uvodoma predstavljeni trendi turističnega razvoja države Bosne in Hercegovine v zadnjem desetletju, s posebnim ozirom na številu slovenskih turistov in njihovih nočitev v primerjavi z drugimi obiskovalci. Avtorja v nadaljevanju analizirata turistično ponudbo slovenskih turističnih agencij in drugih organizatorjev potovanj, ki vključujejo Bosno in Hercegovino oziroma različne destinacije znotraj nje. Opravljena raziskava pokaže, da Bosna in Hercegovina postaja vedno bolj prepoznavna in obiskana turistična destinacija za slovenske turiste; slednji predstavljajo pomemben delež v strukturi obiskovalcev te države.

Ključne besede: Bosna in Hercegovina, Slovenija, organizirana turistična potovanja, turistične destinacije v Bosni in Hercegovini, geografija turizma

CARATTERISTICHE DEI VIAGGI ORGANIZZATI PER TURISTI DELLA SLOVENIA IN BOSNIA ERZEGOVINA

SINTESI

L'introduzione all'articolo illustra i trend dello sviluppo turistico della Bosnia Erzegovina nell'ultimo decennio, con particolare riferimento al numero di turisti sloveni e dei loro soggiorni rispetto ad altri visitatori. Nel prosieguo gli autori analizzano l'offerta turistica delle agenzie da viaggi slovene e di altri tour operator che riguarda la Bosnia Erzegovina ovvero le varie destinazioni in questo Paese. La ricerca indica che la Bosnia Erzegovina sta diventando una meta turistica sempre più riconoscibile e visitata dai turisti sloveni che rappresentano una quota importante nella struttura dei visitatori di questo Paese.

Parole chiave: Bosnia Erzegovina, Slovenia, viaggi turistici organizzati, destinazioni turistiche in Bosnia Erzegovina, geografia del turismo

UVOD

Turizem se zadnji dve desetletji uvršča med najhitre rastoče svetovne ekonomske dejavnosti in s svojimi multiplikativnimi učinki ugodno vpliva na narodno gospodarstvo posamezne države. Posledice uspešnega razvoja turizma po svetu se kažejo predvsem v ustvarjanju dohodka lokalnega prebivalstva, novih zaposlitvenih priložnosti in možnosti za razvoj podjetništva. Tovrstni pozitivni učinki so posledično vplivali na odločitve vlad posameznih držav – tudi tistih, ki so po letih političnih nestabilnosti šele pred kratkim začele s pospešenim ekonomskim razvojem – da so spodbujanje turističnih dejavnosti uvrstile med prednostne naloge strateškega razvoja.

V času nekdanje skupne države SFRJ je bila Bosna in Hercegovina, točneje, njeni posamezni kraji in izbrana območja, sestavni del potovalnih itinerarijev (slovenskih) izobraževalnih, sindikalnih in drugih družbeno-političnih organizacij. Turistične zanimivosti in atrakcije te republike so privabljale tako skupinske kot individualno motivirane obiskovalce. Po letu 1995, ko so se na območju Bosne in Hercegovine končali oboroženi spopadi, se je gospodarski položaj, četudi za mnoge (pre)počasi, postopoma le začel izboljševati. S stabilizacijo razmer je država postala zanimiva za tuje investitorje; obnovljena je bila glavna infrastruktura in ponovno so začeli prihajati turisti. Bosna in Hercegovina se sicer še vedno sooča z mnogimi političnimi in družbeno-gospodarskimi težavami kot posledicami vojnega razdejanja, zato stanje še zdaleč ni takšno, kot je bilo pred osamosvojitvijo in kot bi si ga želeta večina državljanov.

Potrebno se je zavedati številnih strukturnih problemov v Bosni in Hercegovini, na katere dezintegrativni značaj opozarjata Nurković in Mirić (2006). Poglobljena razprava o širšem družbenem kontekstu bi presegala okvir tega prispevka, ki se ukvarja le z izbranimi vidiki turističnega razvoja Bosne in Hercegovine.¹ Ta še vedno nima izdelane strategije razvoja turizma (bodisi na nacionalnem bodisi na federalnem oz. republiškem nivoju), zato v prispevku ni bilo možno analizirati predvidenih razvojnih smernic, kot bi si jih zastavljal stroka in država. Na odstopnost usmerjevalne politike na državnem nivoju, ki bi skrbela za razvoj spektra turističnih dejavnosti, opozarja tudi Kurtović (2006b) in to dejstvo izpostavlja predvsem kot oviro pri vlaganju tujih investitorjev v turistično infrastrukturo Bosne in Hercegovine. V tem pogledu torej (še) pogrešamo ustrezne podlage, ki bi opredelile in ovrednotile posamezne emittivne trge, iz katerih prihajajo turistični gostje.

Po podatkih Agencije za statistiko Bosne in Hercegovine (ASBIH, 2008a) so bili turisti iz Slovenije v letu 2007 na tretjem mestu (za Srbijo in Hrvaško) po številčnosti (skupno 36.353 turistov) in ustvarjenih nočitvah (68.308 nočitev) v tej državi. Turistična priljubljenost bosansko-hercegovskih destinacij Sarajeva, Mostarja, Neuma, Jajhorine, Međugorja in drugih se je med Slovenci dodobra uveljavila že v času SFRJ in je po umirivti razmer na širšem območju nekdanje skupne države ponovno v vzponu. Obisk omenjenih krajev, ki se ponašajo z izjemno pestrostjo naravne in kulturne dediščine, ima med Slovenci navadno tudi nostalgično-emocionalni vidik, ki izvira iz nekdaj (in morda spet v prihodnosti?) skupnega družbeno-političnega in kulturnega okolja.

V pričujočem prispevku nas torej zanima, kako pomemben segment predstavljajo turisti iz Slovenije za turizem v Bosni in Hercegovini. Pri tem smo uporabili dosegljive podatke uradnih statističnih institucij obeh držav. Glede na dejstvo, da določen del turistične populacije iz Slovenije uporablja storitve organizatorjev turističnih potovanj oziroma se – zlasti s pomočjo njihovih spletnih strani – informira o potencialnih destinacijah, smo našo analizo uradnih statističnih podatkov dodatno razširili z raziskavo vsebine spletne ponudbe slovenskih potovalnih agencij.

METODOLOŠKA POJASNILA

Interes turistov iz Slovenije za potovanja v Bosno in Hercegovino, tudi v primerjavi z drugimi destinacijami, je razviden že iz dostopnih podatkov na spletnih straneh statističnih uradov Republike Slovenije ter Bosne in Hercegovine. Podatke smo analizirali ter interpretirali v drugem poglavju. Dodano metodološko in aplikativno vrednost v prispevku pa predstavlja analiza konkretnih ponudb slovenskih turističnih oz. potovalnih agencij, ki organizirajo potovanja v različne kraje Bosne in Hercegovine.

Rezultati raziskave, ki je potekala julija 2008, so predstavljeni v tretjem poglavju. Vanjo so bila zajeta turistična podjetja, ki se ukvarjajo s prodajo turističnih storitev. Seznam vseh podjetij smo določili s pomočjo evidence Gospodarske zbornice Slovenije (GZS), ki je pooblaščena za izdajanje licenc vsem prodajalcem turističnih aranžmajev. Ob začetku raziskave (6. julij 2008) je bilo v registru zbornice evidentiranih 416 podjetij z veljavno licenco agenta za prodajo aranžmajev (GZS, 2008).

Število v raziskavo vključenih podjetij smo nadalje omejili z dodatnimi kriteriji. Kot prvi izločevalni kriterij smo izpostavili prisotnost podjetja na medmrežju z lastno spletno stranjo. Tako je bilo ugotovljeno, da jih od skupno 416 gospodarskih družb kar 123 nima lastne

1 Več o pomenu in potencialu turističnega razvoja v BiH, tudi ali predvsem kot dejavniku sprave med bosansko-hercegovskimi narodi, glej prispevek Halida Kurtovića (Kurtović, 2006a). Zanimiv je tudi članek Nusreta Dreškovića in Samira Čuga, ki v (ekoturizmu – na primeru Kantona Sarajevo – prepoznavata pomembno predpostavko za splošni povojni gospodarski razvoj Bosne in Hercegovine (Drešković in Čug, 2006).

spletne strani oziroma je bila le-ta v času raziskave nedosegljiva ali v pripravi. Neizbor teh podjetij, ki sicer predstavljajo 29 odstotkov vseh ponudnikov turističnih storitev, smo utemeljili s splošnim trendom prisotnosti turističnih ponudnikov na svetovnem spletu in njihovi dostopnosti širši javnosti, ki vključuje tudi ta elektronski medij. Ob tem gre izpostaviti dejstvo, da so podjetja brez lastnih spletnih strani večinoma manjša podjetja (z nizkim finančnim prometom), ki so pogosto registrirana kot samostojni podjetnik. Ocenujemo, da je delež tovrstnih podjetij, ki v svojih programih potovanj in izletov vključujejo kraje v Bosni in Hercegovini, relativno majhen in z vidika pričujoče raziskave zanemarljiv.

Drugi kriterij, na podlagi katerega smo analizirali vsa preostala podjetja, je bila omemba Bosne in Hercegovine oziroma vsaj enega izmed njenih krajev na spletni strani. S podrobnim pregledom vseh spletnih strani je bilo tako evidentiranih 67 gospodarskih družb različnih organizacijskih oblik, ki so na svojih spletnih straneh bodisi v programih potovanj bodisi kot možnost rezervacije letovanja v hotelu ponujala destinacije, ki se nahajajo na ozemlju države Bosne in Hercegovine (Priloga 1). Dopolnilne oziroma še podrobnejše praktične informacije so bile pridobljene z individualnimi telefonskimi razgovori s predstavniki podjetij, kar je dodatno prispevalo k osvetlitvi obravnavane problematike.

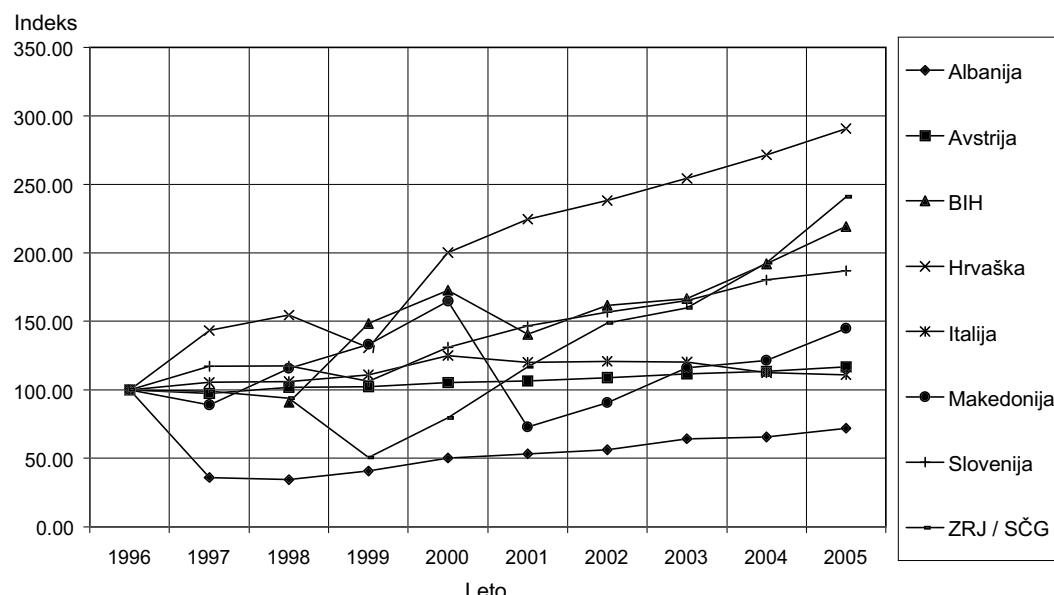
BOSNA IN HERCEGOVINA KOT TURISTIČNA DESTINACIJA

Geografski položaj Balkanskega polotoka ima, kot ugotavljajo različni avtorji (Panov in Čalovski 2005,

106–107; Đorđević, 2005, 103), precejšnje potencialne možnosti za razvoj turizma: razgiban dinamičen relief in razčlenjen obmorski pas z ugodnimi klimatskimi pogoji (primernimi tako za razvoj kopalnega turizma kot tudi zimskih turističnih športov v gorati notranjosti), ohranljeno naravo (obsežna hribovita gozdna območja z vodnimi površinami, termalnimi vrelci) ter izjemno kulturno-zgodovinsko dediščino z izrazitimi etnografskimi specifikami in elementi treh svetovnih religij. Vse omenjene danosti so (v večji ali manjši meri) značilne tudi za prostor Bosne in Hercegovine, ki se je (tudi zaradi omenjenih dejavnikov) kmalu po stabilizaciji razmer v sredini 90-ih let preteklega stoletja vrnila na "turistični zemljevid". Pravzaprav bi lahko nekatere kraje, povezane z vojnim dogajanjem, označili kot posebne destinacije, ki privabljajo turiste kljub tragičnosti dogodkov iz omenjenega obdobja in s tem na svojstven način prispevajo k turistični revitalizaciji Bosne in Hercegovine.

Primerjava trendov rasti turističnega obiska med izbranimi državami

Ključni indikator in hkrati eden izmed glavnih pokazateljev turističnega razvoja v državi je število turistov, ki v izbrani državi vsaj enkrat prenočijo. Kriterij minimalno ene nočitve turista je del metodologije Svetovne turistične organizacije (World Tourism Organization – WTO), s katero le-ta zbira podatke o turističnem obisku v vseh državah sveta. Omenjeni indikator razvoja turizma smo izbrali tudi za primerjavo Bosne in Hercegovine z izbranimi državami z območja Srednje oz. Jugovzhodne Evrope.



Sl. 1: Indeks gibanja prihodov turistov med letoma 1996 in 2005 (1996 = 100) po posameznih državah (WTO, 2002; WTO 2007).

Fig. 1: Index of tourist arrivals to selected countries between 1996 and 2005 (1996 = 100) (WTO, 2002; WTO 2007).

Iz Slike 1 je razvidno, da je največjo, skoraj trikratno rast števila turistov v obravnavanem desetletju, dosegla Hrvaška, sledita ji Zvezna republika Jugoslavija (Srbija in Črna gora) ter Bosna in Hercegovina. Precejšna rast je opazna tudi pri Sloveniji, medtem ko je rast turistov stabilnejša v uveljavljenih turističnih državah, Avstriji in Italiji. Na trende turističnega obiska v posameznih državah so očitno vplivala obdobja političnih kriz oziroma vojaških spopadov. Tako je opazen nenaden upad števila turistov v Zvezni republiki Jugoslaviji ob posredovanju Natovih sil v letu 1999, po tem letu pa se kaže izrazit trend rasti števila turistov. Iz slike je razviden tudi upad števila turistov v Makedoniji v letu 2001, ko je prišlo do oboroženih spopadov znotraj te države. Število turistov v Makedoniji pa je bilo v letu 2005 še vedno pod nivojem iz leta 2000. Kljub trendu rasti v zadnjih letih tudi Albanija zaradi notranjih nemirov v 90-ih letih še ni dosegla števila turistov iz leta 1996. Podoben trend rasti v vseh zgoraj omenjenih državah je tudi pri gibanju števila nočitev (WTO, 2002; WTO, 2007).

Za Bosno in Hercegovino kot turistično destinacijo bi lahko v splošnem dejali, da v obdobju po vzpostavljivosti in stabilizaciji razmer (ponovno) krepi svojo turistično privlačnost, ki se kaže v konstantnem povečevanju turistov in njihovih nočitev.

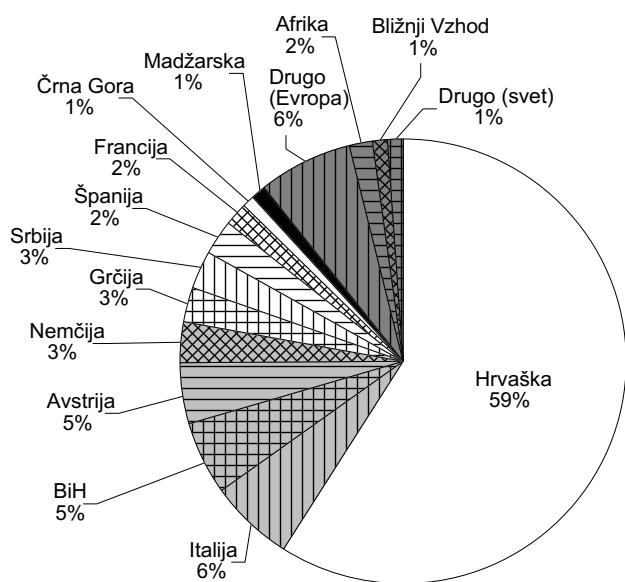
Značilnosti turističnih potovanj prebivalcev Slovenije

Statistični urad RS že nekaj let zapovrstjo opravlja anketo na reprezentativnem vzorcu, ki predstavlja celotno populacijo prebivalstva Slovenije od petnajstega leta dalje. Gre torej za dokaj natančne ocene o turističnih potovanjih domačega prebivalstva, kar prispeva k dodatni osvetlitvi obravnavane problematike. Iz objave rezultatov ankete v Statističnih informacijah, ki se nanaša na celotno leto 2007, lahko razberemo naslednje splošne ugotovitve (SURS, 2008, 1):

- 63,6% prebivalcev Slovenije, starih 15 let ali več, se je v letu 2007 udeležilo okoli 4,3 milijona turističnih potovanj, bodisi zasebnih ali poslovnih.
- 44,7% zasebnih potovanj je potekalo v Sloveniji, 55,3% v tujini.
- 54,4% je bilo krajših potovanj, od tega kar 61,9% v Sloveniji.
- 45,6% je bilo daljših potovanj, od tega kar 75,8% v tujini.
- Posamezno zasebno potovanje je povprečno zajemalo 4,7 prenočitve (v Sloveniji 3,1, v tujini 6,1).
- Le 14,6% zasebnih potovanj je bilo organiziranih kakor koli v sodelovanju s potovalno agencijo.
- Slovenski turist je na zasebnem potovanju porabil povprečno okoli 43 evrov na dan (v Sloveniji 32 evrov, v tujini pa 48 evrov).

V nadaljevanju nas je posebej zanimalo, katere države (brez Slovenije) so kot turistične destinacije med

Slovenci najbolj priljubljene in na katero mesto se v tem smislu uvršča Bosna in Hercegovina.



Sl. 2: Zasebna potovanja iz Slovenije v tujino po najbolj obiskanih evropskih državah in drugih delih sveta, 2007 (SURS, 2008).

Fig. 2: Private trips from Slovenia to most visited European countries and other world regions in 2007 (SURS, 2008).

Če upoštevamo samo zasebna potovanja v letu 2007 (Slika 2) – razlogi zanje so preživljjanje prostega časa, obisk sorodnikov in prijateljev ter drugi, neznanici motivi – se potrjuje znano dejstvo, da je Hrvaška daleč najpriljubljenejša turistična destinacija, saj predstavlja skoraj 60 odstotkov vseh zasebnih potovanj turistov iz Slovenije. Nobena od ostalih držav ne dosegata 10 odstotkov; še največ Italija (6%), Bosna in Hercegovina in Avstrija (po 5%), Nemčija, Grčija in Srbija (po 3%), Španija in Francija (po 2%), dober odstotek pa dosegata še Črna gora in Madžarska. Vse druge evropske države skupaj so zanimive za 6 odstotkov, medtem ko države ostalega sveta privlačijo dobre 4 odstotke (od tega Afrika polovico) turistov iz Slovenije.

Bosna in Hercegovina kot turistična destinacija prebivalcev Slovenije je glede na število vseh potovanj po državah sveta v letu 2007 zelo visoko uvrščena; pri poslovnih potovanjih zaseda 6. mesto, pri zasebnih potovanjih pa je celo na 3. mestu. Podrobnejša analiza rezultatov ankete, ki se nanaša na zasebna turistična potovanja po najbolj obiskanih državah, razkrije naslednje podrobnosti za Bosno in Hercegovino (SURS, 2008):

V letu 2007 je bilo 108.334 vseh zasebnih potovanj, od tega nekaj več s strani žensk (50,2%) kot moških (49,8%).

Velika večina turistov (85%) se uvršča v srednjo starostno kategorijo (25–64 let).

Več je daljših (56%) kot krajsih zasebnih potovanj, dobrih 83 odstotkov vseh potovanj po dolžini pa trajata vključno sedem nočitev.

Več kot polovica (51%) vseh zasebnih potovanj je po vrsti prenočitve realiziranih pri sorodnikih ali prijateljih, kar slaba petina (18,8%) pa v lastnih počitniških bivališčih.

Prevladajoče prevozno sredstvo je z 81 odstotki osebni avtomobil, z avtobusom pa se realizira 17 odstotkov vseh zasebnih potovanj.

Le 11.536 potovanj (10,6%) se izvede v organizaciji potovalnih agencij, od tega večinoma v potovalnih paketih (prevoz in prenočišče skupaj).

Povprečni dnevni izdatki na turista znašajo 41,59 EUR, kar je dobrih 6 EUR manj od povprečja za vse države skupaj.

Turistična potovanja v organizaciji slovenskih potovalnih agencij

Turističnim potovanjem v organizaciji (slovenskih) potovalnih agencij namenjamo več prostora v nadaljevanju, saj so v Sloveniji registrirana turistična podjetja in prodaja njihovih turističnih storitev v povezavi z Bosno in Hercegovino osrednji predmet naše raziskave. Na tem mestu naj predstavimo le nekatere bistvene rezultate oz. podatke, ki so prav tako dosegljivi v publikacijah in na spletnih straneh Statističnega urada Republike Slovenije.²

Praktično od začetka 90-ih let prejšnjega stoletja dalje je opazen bolj ali manj konstanter porast domačih agencijskih turistov, ki potujejo v tujino in tam vsaj enkrat prenočijo. Ves čas močno prevladujejo potovanja v sosednjo Hrvaško (okrog 40-odstotni delež), izrazit višek pa predstavlja poletna meseca julij in avgust (SURS, 2004; SURS, 2005–2008).

Tabela 1: Število in nočitve turistov iz Slovenije, ki so jim potovanja organizirale slovenske potovalne agencije, skupaj in za BiH, 2004–2007 (SURS, 2005–2008).

Table 1: Number of Slovene tourists and their overnight stays for travels organised by Slovene travel agencies; total number and proportions for Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2004-2007 (SURS, 2005–2008).

	TURISTI SKUPAJ	TURISTI v BiH	Delež v %	NOČITVE SKUPAJ	NOČITVE v BiH	Delež v %
2004	576.573	5.520	1,0	3.317.915	21.808	0,7
2005	793.662	9.568	1,2	4.377.759	24.361	0,6
2006	624.172	11.601	1,9	3.849.632	37.183	1,0
2007	843.900	15.097	1,8	4.854.333	53.096	1,1

Tabela 2: Število in deleži tujih turistov in njihovih nočitev v Bosni in Hercegovini, ločeno za turiste iz Slovenije, leto 2007 (ASBIH 2008a, ASBIH 2008b, FZS 2008, RZS 2008).

Table 2: Number and proportion of foreign tourist and their overnight stays in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2007; proportion of Slovene tourists listed separately (ASBIH 2008a, ASBIH 2008b, FZS 2008, RZS 2008).

	Število turistov	Delež v %	Število turist. iz Slovenije	Delež v %	Nočitve turistov	Delež v %	Nočitve turist. iz Slovenije	Delež v %
SKUPNO BiH	306.452	100,00	36.353	11,86	694.507	100,00	68.308	9,84
Federacija BiH	209.007	68,20	26.939	12,89	477.599	68,77	52.075	10,90
Republika Srbska	90.672	29,59	8.748	9,65	205.438	29,58	15.269	7,43
Distrikt Brčko	6.773	2,21	666	9,83	11.470	1,65	964	8,40

2 Kljub temu, da objavljene raziskave na SURS temeljijo na popolnem zajetju poslovnih subjektov iz Registra izdanih licenc za opravljanje dejavnosti organiziranja in prodaje turističnih potovanj, ki ga vodi Gospodarska zbornica Slovenije, je potrebna določena zadržanost pri interpretaciji rezultatov opravljenih anket, saj odziv poročevalskih enot ni popoln in se po letih spreminja, prav tako tudi število registriranih poslovnih enot.

Bosna in Hercegovina pred letom 2004 očitno še ni pozicionirana kot pomembna turistična destinacija za slovenske potovalne agencije, saj se uvršča v večjo skupino drugih evropskih držav, ki skupaj komajda dosegajo 2% vseh potovanj in nočitev slovenskih turistov v tujini (SURS, 2004). Iz zgornje tabele pa je razvidno, da se od leta 2004 število agencijskih turistov iz Slovenije, ki potujejo v Bosno in Hercegovino, konstantno povečuje (Tabela 1).

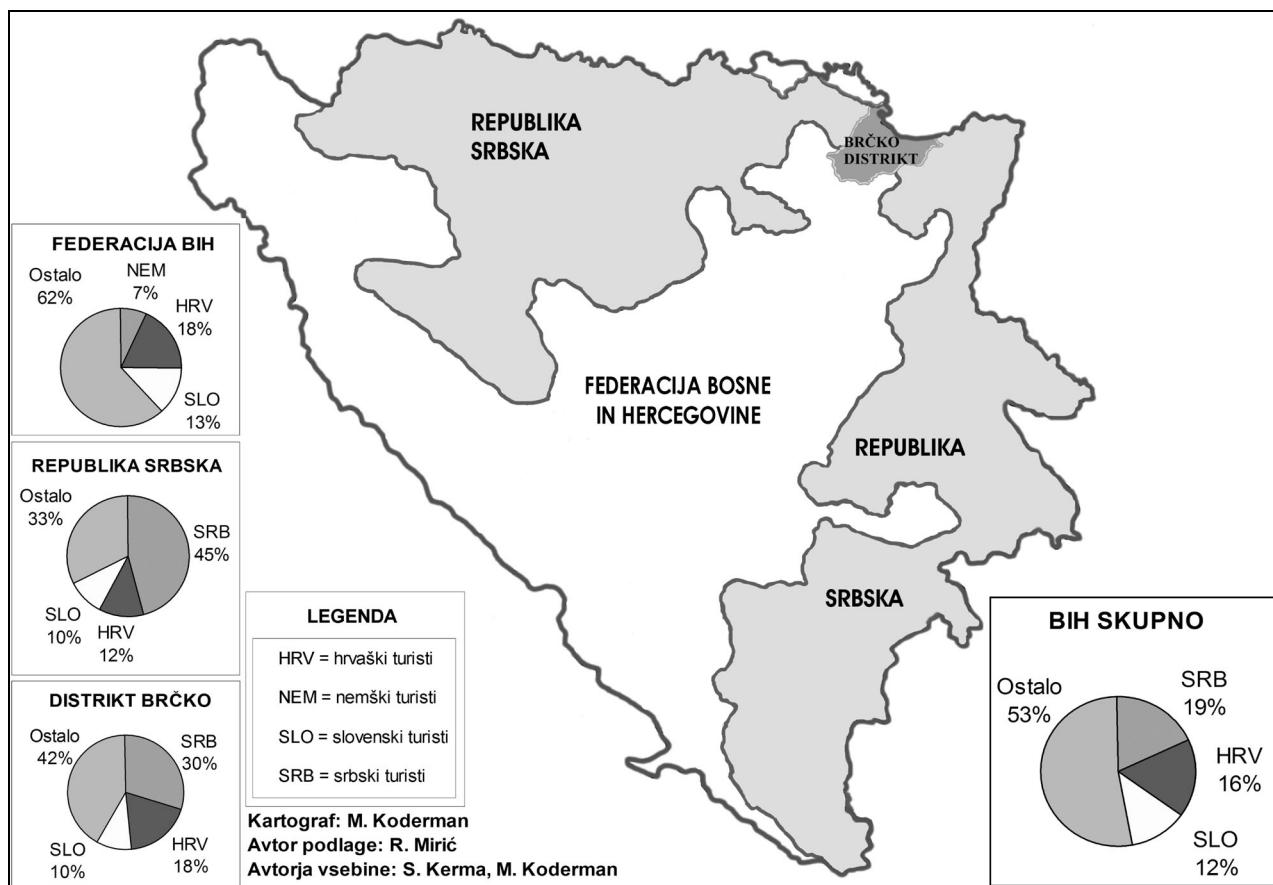
Registrirani turisti iz Slovenije v Bosni in Hercegovini

Število turistov, ki iz Slovenije potujejo v Bosno in Hercegovino, se torej iz leta v leto opazno povečuje, kar je razvidno tudi iz dosegljivih statističnih podatkov Agencije za statistiko Bosne in Hercegovine – vključno z Ekspozituro Brčko (ASBIH), Federalnega zavoda za statistiko Federacije BiH (FZS) in Republiškega zavoda za statistiko Republike srbske (RZS). Zanimalo nas je predvsem število (registriranih) turistov iz Slovenije in

število njihovih nočitev v primerjavi s številom vseh tujih turistov in njihovih registriranih nočitev v Bosni in Hercegovini skupno ter ločeno po administrativnih enotah. Če se omejimo na leto 2007, lahko na podlagi podatkov navedenih institucij ugotovimo stanje, kot je razvidno iz Tabele 2.

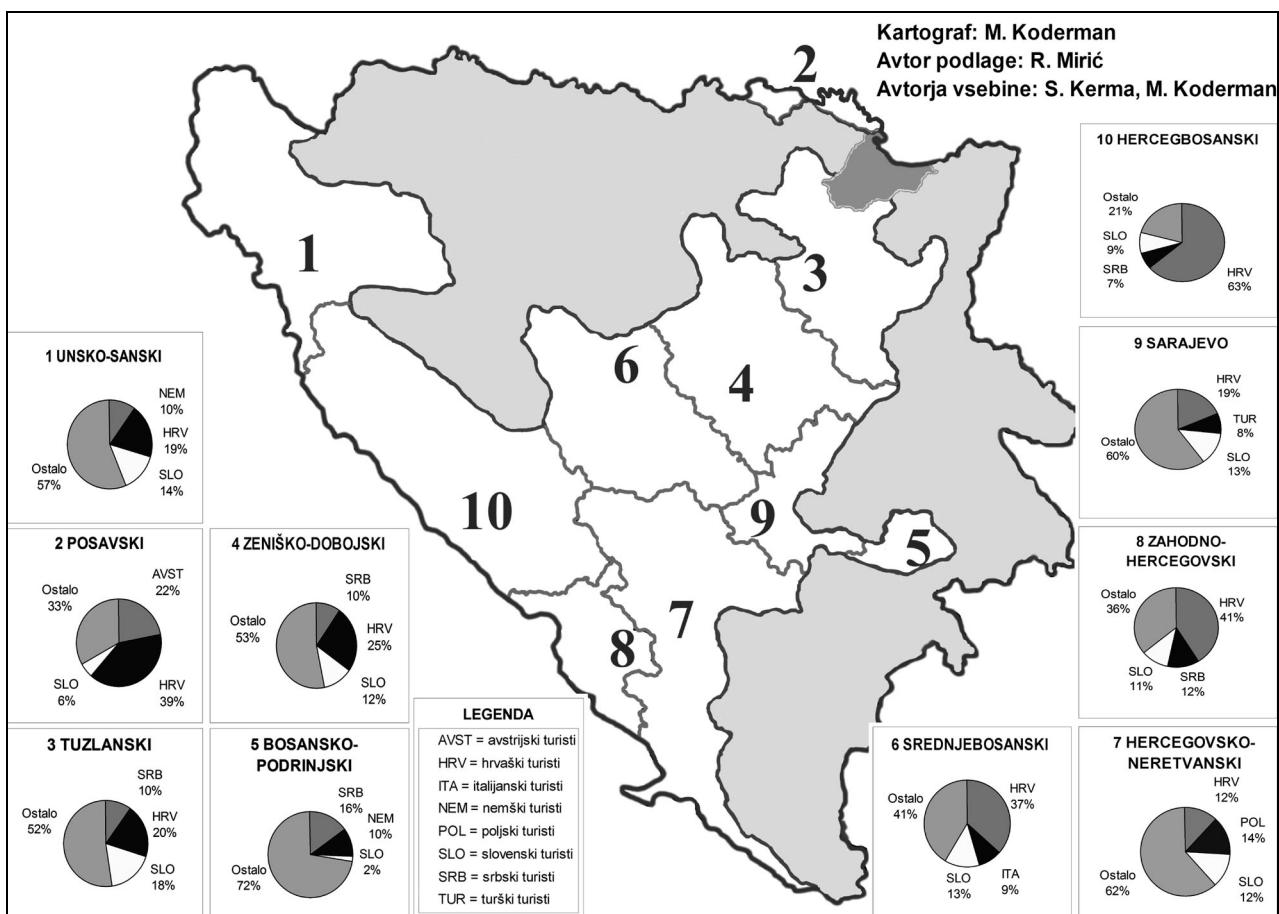
Gostje iz Slovenije predstavljajo relativno pomemben delež glede na skupno število vseh tujih turistov (skoraj 12%) in ustvarjenih nočitev (skoraj 10%) v Bosni in Hercegovini, kar Slovenijo uvršča na skupno 3. mesto za Srbijo in Hrvaško (Slika 3).

V Federaciji BiH je leta 2007 registriranih kar tri četrtine vseh slovenskih turistov v Bosni in Hercegovini. Skoraj 27.000 turistov iz Slovenije predstavlja približno 13 odstotkov vseh tujih gostov, kar pomeni 2. mesto – za Hrvaško (18%) in pred Nemčijo (7%) (FZS, 2008). Precej manjši je delež registriranih turistov iz Slovenije v Republiki srbski (slaba četrtina vseh v BiH). V primerjavi s tujimi gosti je zabeležen tudi nekaj nežji delež slovenskih turistov (slabih 10%) in njihovih nočitev (dobrih



Sl. 3: Deleži turistov iz Slovenije med tujimi obiskovalci Bosne in Hercegovine (skupaj) in po administrativnih enotah, 2007 (ASBIH 2008a, ASBIH 2008b, FZS 2008, RZS 2008).

Fig. 3: Proportions of tourists from Slovenia among foreign visitors in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2007; total number and proportions according to administrative units (ASBIH 2008a, ASBIH 2008b, FZS 2008, RZS 2008).



Sl. 4: Deleži turistov iz Slovenije med tujimi obiskovalci Federacije Bosne in Hercegovine po kantonih, 2007 (FZS 2008, FZS 2008a-2008j).

Fig. 4: Proportions of tourists from Slovenia among foreign visitors according to cantons of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2007 (FZS 2008, FZS 2008a-2008j).

7%), a je Slovenija v okviru te administrativne enote, tako kot na državnem nivoju, še vedno uvrščena na 3. mesto za Srbijo in Hrvaško (RZS, 2008). V Distriktu Brčko sta registrirana dobra 2 odstotka vseh turistov iz Slovenije v Bosni in Hercegovini. To predstavlja nekaj manj kot 10 odstotkov prihodov in dobrih 8 odstotkov nočitev med tujimi turisti, kar je podoben delež kot v Republiki srbski (ASBIH, 2008b).

Nekoliko podrobnejši prikaz prostorske distribucije turistov iz Slovenije v Bosni in Hercegovini po administrativnih enotah smo ločeno pripravili za Federacijo BiH (Slika 4), kar nam omogoča njena specifična teritorialna delitev na kantone oz. županije. Primerjalno daleč največji delež turistov iz Slovenije (skoraj 60%) obišče Kanton Sarajevo, kjer v okviru Federacije BiH ustvarijo tudi polovico vseh nočitev, zato ne preseneča, da je delež v obeh praktično enak (FZS, 2008, Slika 3). Turisti iz Slo-

venije so po zastopanosti tujih turistov v Kantonu Sarajevo le za turisti iz Hrvaške, medtem ko so na 3. mestu gosti iz Turčije. Turisti iz Slovenije so po deležu podobno zastopani še v naslednjih kantonih: Unsko-sanski (14%), Srednjebosanski (13%), Zeniško-dobojski (12%), Hercegovsko-neretvanski (12%) in Zahodnohercegovski (11%), kjer povsod – razen v zadnjem primeru – zasedajo 2. mesto med turisti iz tujih držav. Podobno velja za Tuzlanski kanton, kjer so slovenski gostje takoj za hrvaškimi in kjer med vsemi kantoni dosegajo celo najvišji delež (18%) po zastopanosti turistov iz tujine. Po absolutnem številu vseh turistov iz Slovenije velja izpostaviti Hercegovsko-neretvanski kanton, ki je za Kantonom Sarajevo prepričljivo druga destinacija z opazno večjim deležem nočitev slovenskih gostov. Ti se po deležu vseh nočitev v tem kantonu uvrščajo celo pred hrvaške in takoj za poljske turiste.³ V ostalih kantonih so turisti iz Slovenije

3 Poljakov je tudi sicer največ med vsemi registriranimi turisti v Hercegovsko-neretvanskem kantonu; poglaviti motiv njihovega obiska je predvsem religioznega značaja – tj. romanje v Međugorje.

podpovprečno zastopani (z manj kot 10%). Še najmanjši delež registriranih slovenskih turistov je zabeležen v Bosansko-podrinjskem kantonu, kjer predstavljajo le 2 odstotka od vseh tujih turistov (Slika 4).

ANALIZA TURISTIČNE PONUDBE IZBRANIH SLOVENSKIH TURISTIČNIH AGENCIJ ZA OBMOČJE BOSNE IN HERCEGOVINE

Splošne ugotovitve

Podrobne analize turistične ponudbe 67 turističnih agencij in organizatorjev potovanj smo se lotili s pregledom spletnih strani, na katerih so izbrana podjetja navajala večino svojih programov in ponudbe storitev za destinacijo Bosne in Hercegovine.⁴ V naslednji fazi so bili s predstavniki vseh podjetij opravljeni krajiški telefonski razgovori (Anketa, 2008), s katerimi smo pridobili dodatne relevantne informacije ter si z njimi izdelali natančnejšo podobo o organiziranem potovanju turistov iz Slovenije v obravnavano državo.

Predstavniki turističnih agencij so bili v veliki večini pripravljeni sodelovati v raziskavi in so nam posredovali odgovore na zastavljena vprašanja. Le v treh primerih smo ob predstavitvi teme raziskave naleteli na neodobravanje sogovornikov in posledično zavrnitev prošnje za sodelovanje. Tem zavrnitvam je v veliki meri botrovala obilica dela in pomanjkanje časa uslužbencev, saj je bila raziskava opravljena v mesecu juliju, ko je čas visoke turistične sezone in je povpraševanje po tovrstnih storitvah turističnih podjetij največje. V mnogih primerih smo zasledili zadržke pri posredovanju podatkov o številu prepeljanih turistov in prodaji turističnih aranžmajev v Bosno in Hercegovino, ker naj bi bila to poslovna skrivnost podjetja. Zavrnitev je bila v nekaj primerih tudi posledica dejstva, da je sedež agencije, kjer zbirajo podatke o številu gostov in prodaji aranžmajev, v tujini, in bi predstavljal postopek pridobitve želenih podatkov za predstavnika slovenske izpostave preveč dolgotrajno proceduro.

Že iz analize spletnih strani obravnavanih podjetij je bilo moč razbrati, da največ podjetij (53%) ponuja turistični obisk Bosne in Hercegovine v obliki programov organiziranih izletov oz. potovanj, okoli petina jih ponuja posredništvo pri rezervaciji hotelov, ostali (18%) pa ponujajo turistom obe omenjeni storitvi.

Sicer je večina (48,5%) obravnavanih podjetij, ki ponujajo potovanja v Bosno in Hercegovino, tudi njihov izvajalec in organizator, tretjina predstavnikov podjetij pa se po lastnih izjavah uvršča tako med organizatorje

kakor tudi posrednike potovanja za druge turistične agencije. Ob tem je potrebno dodati, da prihaja v nekaterih primerih zaradi vedno večje konkurence na slovenskem turističnem trgu do intenzivnega sodelovanja med organizatorji potovanj, ki se v primeru slabega odziva potrošnikov povezujejo in združujejo prijavljene osebe v enotno skupino do zapolnitve predvidenih mest. Po izjavah predstavnikov podjetij ugotavljamo, da je le 18 odstotkov vseh turističnih agencij, ki tržijo potovanja v kraje Bosne in Hercegovine, zgolj posrednikov oziroma prodajalcev za druga podjetja.

Pri pregledu posameznih itinerarijev turističnih potovanj je bilo ugotovljeno, da se jih večina (58%) osredotoča izključno na območje Bosne in Hercegovine, ostali v svoje programe izletov in potovanj vključujejo poleg obravnavane tudi sosednje države, predvsem Hrvaško in Črno goro, pa tudi Srbijo in Italijo. Ob spletni predstavitvi turistične storitve⁵ v Bosni in Hercegovini podjetja večinoma ne vključujejo dodatnih informacij o tej državi; nekatera ponujajo osnovne informacije o glavnih turističnih krajih, le redka podjetja pa turistom ponujajo tudi podrobne informacije o klimi, prebivalstvu in prometnih povezavah.

Večina podjetij se lahko pri organizaciji izleta oziroma potovanja prilagodi željam naročnika. Mnogo organizatorjev je tudi sicer osredotočenih le na zaključene skupine, ki prihajajo po izjavah predstavnikov podjetij iz sindikalnih organizacij, večjih podjetij, šolskih skupin in društev upokojencev. V večjih turističnih agencijah, kjer imajo za posamezne destinacije v Evropi in svetu posebne predstavnike, smo se pri raziskavi obrnili na tiste, ki so posebej odgovorni za območje Bosne in Hercegovine. Ti so nam posredovali precej relevantnih informacij o specifikah obravnavane destinacije.

Število prodanih storitev v letu 2007

Eden od ključnih podatkov, ki smo ga želeli pridobiti od predstavnikov podjetij, je število prodanih aranžmajev oziroma sklenjenih rezervacij za turistična potovanja v Bosno in Hercegovino v letu 2007. Ob tem smo, kot rečeno, pogosto naleteli na pomisleke zaposlenih, saj naj bi bil ta podatek povezan s poslovnim uspehom podjetja, zato so bili predstavniki podjetij pri podajanju teh informacij dokaj zadržani. Kljub temu nam je uspelo pridobiti podatke za večje število podjetij (45 od 67), število turistov pa na podlagi izjav zaposlenih predstavlja večinoma le okvirno oceno in ne dejansko število prodanih storitev.

4 Seznam analiziranih podjetij s pripadajočimi spletnimi mesti je v Prilogi 1.

5 Pod pojmom "turistična storitev" so upoštevani tako organizirani turistični izleti kakor tudi rezervacije hotelov v obravnavani državi.

Tabela 3: Število turističnih agencij po obsegu prodanih turističnih storitev za destinacije v BiH v letu 2007 (ocena) (Anketa, 2008).

Table 3: Number of tourist agencies according to the amount of sold tourist services for destinations in BiH in 2007 (estimation) (Questionnaire, 2008).

Število turističnih agencij oziroma organizatorjev potovanj	Število prodanih storitev v letu 2007
13	Do 50
9	Od 51 do 150
9	Od 151 do 300
6	Od 301 do 500
8	Od 501 in več
Skupno število (ocena)	10.830

Kot je razvidno iz Tabele 3, je največ agencij (13) v letu 2007 prodalo do 50 individualnih turističnih storitev za obravnavano državo. V število prodanih storitev so vključeni tako prodani turistični izleti, romanja, smučarski paketi, letovanja kot tudi zgolj rezervacije hotelov v Bosni in Hercegovini. Kar 8 turističnih podjetij je po lastnih navedbah v letu 2007 prodalo več kot 500 tovrstnih turističnih paketov oziroma rezervacij v to državo. Te agencije so bile: CMT, d.o.o., Euroval, d.o.o., Jereb, d.o.o., Kompas, d.d., Nata International, d.o.o., Palma, d.o.o., Putra, d.o.o., in Študentski servis, d.o.o.

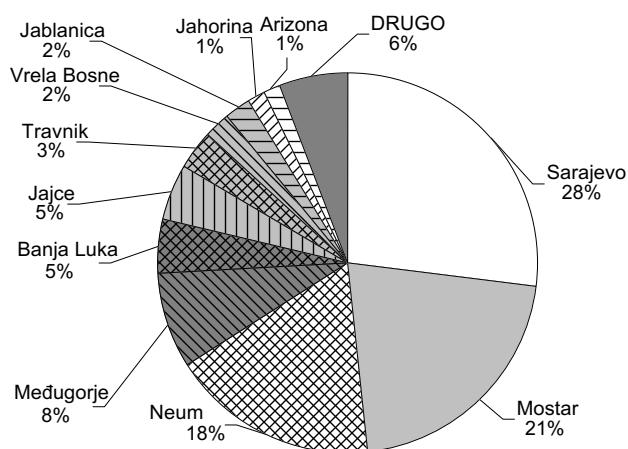
V 45 obravnavanih podjetjih so tako v letu 2007 skupno prodali preko 10.830 turističnih storitev, ki so se nanašale na destinacije v Bosni in Hercegovini. Dejstvo je, da se pridobljena ocena nanaša le na dve tretjini podrobnejše analiziranih agencij, zato je podatek o prodanih storitvah pričakovano nekoliko nižji od objavljenega podatka na SURS o številu turistov, ki so v letu 2007 potovali v Bosno in Hercegovino v organizaciji slovenskih potovalnih agencij (glej Tabela 1). Kljub temu (oz. ravno zaradi tega) lahko brez zadržkov trdimo, da se podatka v splošnem medsebojno ujemata in s tem potrjujeta nakazani trend povečevanja zanimanja turistov iz Slovenije za obisk obravnavane države.

Programi turističnih potovanj oz. izletov

Pri raziskavi je bilo opaženo, da ima večina podjetij na spletnih straneh naveden precej natančen opis programov posameznih potovanj oz. izletov. Ob dodatnem telefonskem preverjanju spletnih podatkov o programih in cenah pa smo bili s strani zaposlenih večkrat opozorjeni, da nekaterih programov potovanj ni navedenih niti na spletnih straneh niti v katalogih, ker prihaja med sorodnimi podjetji pogosto do kopiranja programov oziroma itinerarijev. Vprašanje "avtorstva" programa je pomembno predvsem pri organizaciji strokovnih ekskurzij, ki so namenjene zaključenim skupinam. Tovrstni turisti so za tematske (npr. gurmanske, glasbene, obrtne ...)

izlete pripravljeni plačati nekoliko več pod pogojem, da je program pritejen njihovim zahtevam.

Organizator potovanj in izletov želi turiste pogosto pritegniti tudi s pestrim programom in kakovostnim vodenjem potovanja, pri čemer sodeluje tudi z lokalnimi turističnimi vodniki in agencijami iz ciljne države. V primeru Bosne in Hercegovine k temu izvajalce zavzamejo tudi lokalni predpisi in zakoni.



Sl. 5: Pogostost pojavljanja turističnih krajev v programih turističnih agencij (Anketa, 2008).

Fig. 5: Frequency of tourist destinations appearing in programmes of tourist agencies (Questionnaire, 2008).

Sicer smo analizirali vse programe potovanj in izletov za območje Bosne in Hercegovine, ki jih organizirajo v obravnavanih podjetjih, in izločili najpogosteje izpostavljene turistične kraje in itinerarijih (Slika 5). Kot lahko razberemo, je najpogostejša destinacija v programih obravnavanih podjetij Sarajevo (28%), sledijo pa mu Mostar (21%), Neum (18%) in Međugorje (8%). Ti širje kraji se pojavljajo v 75 odstotkih vseh programov, ki jih ponuja 67 obravnavanih slovenskih turističnih agencij.

Iz Slike 5 lahko še ugotovimo, da so v programih nadpovprečno zastopani kraji Federacije Bosne in Hercegovine (Sarajevo, Mostar, Neum, Međugorje, Jajce, Travnik, Vrela Bosne, Jablanica), ki se v povprečju pojavljajo v 88 odstotkih vseh turističnih programov, kraji Republike srbske (Banja Luka, Jahorina) se pojavljajo zgolj v 6 odstotkih programov, Distrikt Brčko (Arizona) pa le v enem odstotku vseh programov. Pod kategorijo drugo smo uvrstili turistične kraje, ki niso presegli eno-odstotnega praga. Med njimi lahko omenimo Visoko, Zenico, Čitluk, Bosansko Gradiško, Ilidža, Čapljino in druge.



Sl. 6: Pestra ponudba turističnih spominkov v Sarajevu (foto: S. Kerma).
Fig. 6: Wide assortment of souvenirs in Sarajevo (photo: S. Kerma).

Med ponudbo organiziranih potovanj oz. izletov v povprečju prevladuje ponudba dvodnevnih in tridnevnih aranžmajev v Sarajevo in Mostar. Dokaj pogosto je omenjena tudi sedemdnevna ponudba letovanja v neumskih hotelih, malo pa je daljših potovanj, kjer so glavne destinacije v Bosni in Hercegovini združene z ostalimi turističnimi kraji v sosednjih državah. V Tabeli 4 izpostavljamo najpogosteje destinacije, dolžino potovanj in okvirne cene pri obravnavanih podjetjih.

Tabela 4: Najpogosteje destinacije potovanj, povprečno trajanje in okvirne cene v EUR (Anketa, 2008).

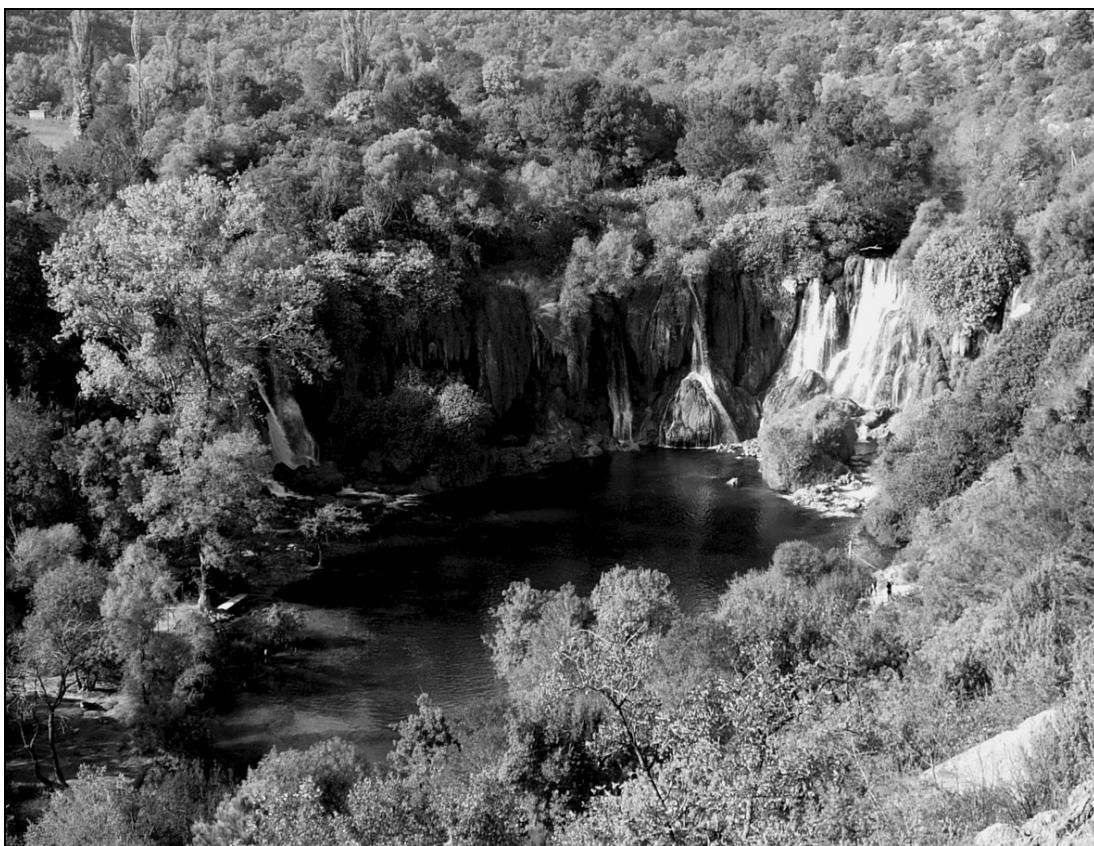
Table 4: Most frequent travel destinations, average duration and indicative prices in EUR (Questionnaire, 2008).

Destinacija	Trajanje (dni)	Okvirna cena (EUR)
Sarajevo	2	95,00–120,00
Sarajevo, Mostar	3	135,00–160,00
Sarajevo, Mostar, dolina Neretve	4	170,00–200,00

Okolišine, ki vplivajo na odločitve turistov za potovanje v Bosno in Hercegovino

Iz razgovorov s predstavniki podjetij je bilo poleg že omenjenih informacij razbrati še druge zanimive ugovoritve, ki vplivajo na odločitev turista za posamezno destinacijo. Tako je bil večkrat omenjeni "pull factor" oziroma pritegovalni dejavnik za Bosno in Hercegovino odprava dekreta, ki je od vseh slovenskih državljanov ob vstopu v to državo zahteval potni list. Od februarja 2008 je namreč vstop slovenskim državljanom omogočen le z osebno izkaznico. Odprava tovrstnih administrativnih ovir sicer navidezno majhne pomembnosti je, po izjavah predstavnikov agencij, posledično prinesla večje zanimanje za potovanja v obravnavano državo.

Na odločitve turistov za potovanje v Bosno in Hercegovino vplivajo tudi nestabilne razmere v sosednjih državah. Obravnavana država je tako po mnenju sovornikov dosegala opazen trend rasti zaradi zaostritve političnih razmer v sosednji državi Srbiji v prvi polovici leta 2008, ko je Kosovo razglasilo neodvisnost. Turisti, ki se sicer za obisk Srbije odločajo iz podobnih razlogov kot v primeru Bosne in Hercegovine (kulturna in na-



Sl. 7: Slap Kravice je primer naravne dediščine v Bosni in Hercegovini, ki ga turistične agencije v Sloveniji ne vključujejo v programe potovanj (foto: M. Koderman).

Fig. 7: Kravice waterfall is an example of the natural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is not included in travel itineraries of Slovene travel agencies (photo: M. Koderman).

ravna pestrost, "jugonostalgija"), so se v tem obdobju zaradi omenjenega razloga v veliki meri odločali za obisk slednje.

Sicer je povpraševanje po odhodih v Bosno in Hercegovino največje v obdobju prvomajskih in novoletnih praznikov, pa tudi v jesenskem času. Največji trend rasti so dosegli tisti izleti in programi obiska, ki vključujejo obiranje mandarin. Po pridobljenih informacijah je veliko povpraševanja tudi po programih silvestrovjan in programih, ki so namenjeni mladim.

Ker je bila raziskava opravljena v poletnem času, nas je zanimalo tudi povpraševanje turistov po Neumu, edinem obmorskem letovišču v Bosni in Hercegovini. Kot je bilo ugotovljeno v razgovorih, so cene turističnih aranžmajev v tamkajšnjih hotelih, ki trajajo v večini primerov 7 dni, sicer ugodne, vendar nobena od obravnavanih turističnih agencij ne opaža pretiranega zanimalja za letovanje turistov iz Slovenije v tem delu Bosne in Hercegovine. Kot glavni razlog za relativno šibak odziv turistov je bil naveden dostop do plaže, ki je zelo strm, in pretirana pozidanost obale na tem območju.

Turisti se tako v splošnem raje odločajo za nekoliko dražje letovanje na Hrvaškem, kjer je izbira večja in okolje manj urbanizirano.

Od organizatorjev izletov v Bosno in Hercegovino smo želeli tudi izvedeti, katere prometne trase izbirajo pri izvajanju potovanj. Za izhodiščni cilj v Sarajevu je bila tako največkrat omenjena prometna povezava Ljubljana–Zagreb–Slavonski in Bosanski Brod–Sarajevo, ki v Sloveniji in na Hrvaškem v veliki meri poteka po avtocesti. Za potovanja, ki potekajo v dolino Neretve, Neum, Međugorje in Mostar, organizatorji uporabljajo relativno nove avtocestne povezave Zagreb–Split; ti izleti pa se pogosto kombinirajo tudi z drugimi turističnimi kraji na Hrvaškem in v Črni gori (Trogir, Dubrovnik, Budva ...). Pogosto uporabljena prometnica za dostop v Sarajevo oziroma povratek je tudi cesta Sarajevo–Travnik–Jajce, ki se nato navezuje bodisi proti Bihaću in Karlovcu bodisi proti Banja Luki in Zagrebu. Ob tem velja še dodati, da sta tako Travnik kot Jajce pogosta postanka na tej poti.

SKLEP

V prispevku smo prikazali trend razvoja turizma v Bosni in Hercegovini in širši regiji ter izpostavili značilnosti potovanj turistov iz Slovenije v to državo. Ti v skupnem merilu zasedajo tretje mesto po številu prihodov in nočitev, vendar jih le dobra desetina potuje v BiH v organizaciji turističnih agencij. Ostali na potovanja odhajajo v lastni organizaciji, prenočujejo pa najpogosteje pri sorodnikih oziroma prijateljih ali pa celo v lastnih počitniških hišah. Leta 2007 je kar tri četrtine vseh gostov iz Slovenije obiskalo Federacijo BiH, v okviru slednje pa je bilo 60 odstotkov registriranih v Kantoru Sarajevo. Na kantonalnem nivoju je druga najbolj obiskana destinacija Hercegovsko-neretvanski kanton z Mostarjem in Međugorjem, medtem ko je delež turistov iz Slovenije med tujimi obiskovalci največji v Tuzlanskem kantonu (18%).

V nadaljevanju smo predstavili nekaj najpomembnejših rezultatov raziskave med slovenskimi turističnimi agencijami, ki v svojo ponudbo vključujejo (tudi) destinacije Bosne in Hercegovine. Ugotovili smo, da je BiH relativno pogosto prisotna v ponudbi agencij; evidentirali smo 67 podjetij, ki to destinacijo tržijo preko spletnih strani, in z njimi opravili telefonske razgovore. Na podlagi pridobljenih informacij gre sklepati, da večina agencij ponuja organizirana potovanja ali izlete, manjši je delež tistih, ki ponujajo rezervacije hotelov. Pridobili smo tudi oceno prepeljanih turistov v letu 2007, ki je v grobem primerljiva z ocenami Statističnega urada RS.

Prav tako so zanimivi izsledki o posameznih krajih, ki prevladujejo v programih (itinerarijih) turističnih agencij. V njih z velikim deležem prevladujejo kraji iz Fede-

racije BiH – med njimi so največkrat omenjeni Sarajevo, Mostar, Neum in Međugorje – ter Distrikt Brčko, medtem ko kraji iz Republike srbske (še) niso tako pogosti v programih agencij. V zaključku smo podali oceno o povprečni dolžini in ceni potovanj v Bosno in Hercegovino. Prevladujejo 2- do 4-dnevni izleti s ceno od 100 do 200 EUR po osebi. Nazadnje smo izpostavili okoliščine in prevladujoče motive turistov iz Slovenije za potovanja v obravnavano državo.

Ob tem lahko ugotovimo, da se, sodeč po predstavljenih rezultatih raziskave, Bosna in Hercegovina počasi, a vztrajno ponovno vrača v zavest slovenskih turistov kot kulturno, naravno, versko, zgodovinsko, počitniško, kulinarično, športno in še kako drugače zanimiva destinacija. Izjave anketiranih informatorjev iz obravnavanih slovenskih turističnih agencij nas prepričujejo v dejstvu, da se sicer precej turistov iz Slovenije pri izbiri destinacije obnaša pragmatično (cena, politične razmere, udobje idr.), a jih večina do obravnavane dežele goji pretežno pozitivna čustva, ki ugodno vplivajo na njen obisk.

Turizem velja ponovno izpostaviti kot enega ključnih dejavnikov z visoko dodano vrednostjo, ki povojnemu gospodarstvu Bosne in Hercegovine ponuja pomemben zagon in nove perspektive za domače prebivalstvo (razvoj infrastrukture, malega in srednjega podjetništva, povečanje števila delovnih mest itd.). Menimo, da bi nadaljnji ukrepi za razvoj turizma v državi, kot jih denimo navaja Kurtović (2006a, 522–523), morali vključevati tudi izdelavo specifičnih pristopov za posamezne ciljne trge, pri čemer so mišljene zlasti države iz sosedstva, od koder prihaja velika večina turistov v Bosni in Hercegovini. Delež gostov iz Slovenije bi se po naših predvidevanjih ob tem še dodatno povečal.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ORGANISED TOURIST TRIPS FROM SLOVENIA TO BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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SUMMARY

In this contribution we expose tourism development trends in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its wider region and emphasise the characteristics of tourist travels to this country from Slovenia. Tourist from Slovenia are third most common tourists in BiH with respect to the number of overnight stays, however, this contribution will show that only 10% of their trips are organised by travel agencies. The rest organise their travel by themselves and most commonly spend nights at their relatives or friends or even in their own vacation houses. In 2007 as much as three quarters of Slovene visitors visited the Federation of BiH, 60% of those registered in the Sarajevo Canton. On the level of cantons, the second most visited destination was the Hercegovina-Neretva Canton with Mostar and Međugorje, while the proportion of Slovene tourists among all foreign visitors is largest in the Tuzla Canton (18%).

Next we present some of the most important results of the study concerning Slovene tourist agencies, which include among others the destinations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We found that BiH is relatively commonly present among the destinations offered by agencies; we have recorded 67 companies offering this destination on the internet and we included them in our telephone surveys. On the basis of information gathered, it can be concluded that most agencies offer organised travels and excursions, while the proportion of those offering hotel reservations is considerably smaller. We have also acquired an estimated number of Slovene tourists in BiH in 2007, which is roughly comparable with the estimations of the Statistical Office of RS.

The findings concerning individual localities, included in tourist agency itineraries, are interesting as well. The most common by far are localities from inside the Federation of BiH – among them Sarajevo, Mostar, Neum, Međugorje, and Brčko District have been mentioned most often, while localities in Republika Srpska are not (yet) very common in tourist itineraries. In the conclusion we give an estimate of the average duration and price of travels to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Two to four day travels ranging in price between 100 and 200 euros per person were found to be the most common. We have also outlined the circumstances and prevailing motives of tourist from Slovenia for travelling to this country.

The results of the study presented here provided grounds for establishing that Bosnia and Herzegovina is slowly but persistently regaining attention of tourists from Slovenia as a cultural, natural, religious, and historical holiday destination, interesting also for its cuisine, sports opportunities and for other reasons. The answers of informers from Slovene tourist agencies we interviewed have made a convincing argument for the fact that it is usual for tourists from Slovenia to act in a pragmatic manner when choosing a travel destination (with respect to the price, circumstances, comfort, etc.), however, most of them regard Bosnia and Herzegovina with a positive attitude, which effects their decision to visit in a favourable way.

Tourism is worth emphasising as one of the key segments of the post-war economy of Bosnia and Herzegovina with high added value, which provides important momentum and a new perspective for the local population (development of infrastructure, small and middle scale enterprises, increase of required labour resources, etc.). We believe that further steps for tourist development in the country to be taken, for instance, like those suggested by Kurtović, 2006a, should include the elaboration of specific approaches for individual target markets, which applies particularly to the neighbouring countries, where a large majority of tourists coming to Bosnia and Herzegovina originate from. According to our forecast, this would cause the proportion of visitors from Slovenia to increase further.

Key words: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, organised tourist travels, tourist destinations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, geography of tourism

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Priloga 1: Abecedni seznam v podrobno analizo vključenih slovenskih turističnih agencij / organizatorjev potovanj in njihova spletna mesta

Zap. št.	Turistična agencija / organizator potovanj	Spletno mesto
1	A & B D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://www.a-b-agencija.si/
2	ADRIA AIRWAYS D.D., Ljubljana	http://www.adria-airways.com/
3	ADRIATICA – CENTER POTOVANJ, Ljubljana	http://www.centerpotovanj.si/
4	AGENCIJA CAPRIS TIME – A. KOLENC, S. P., Koper	http://www.capristime-sp.si/
5	ALAMUT, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://www.oskar-lj.si/
6	ALPE ADRIA INTERNATIONAL, D.O.O., Kranj	http://www.alpeadria-int.si/
7	ALPETOUR POTOVALNA AGENCIJA, D.D., Kranj	http://www.alpetour.si/
8	ARITOURS, D.O.O. Maribor	http://www.aritours.si/
9	AVANTURA, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://www.avantura.si/
10	BONUS TA – SERGEJA ZUBKOV, S. P., Maribor	http://www.bonus.si/
11	BURIN-CLUB, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://burin-club.com/
12	CMT, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://www.collegium.si/
13	DOBER DAN, D.O.O., Celje	http://www.dober-dan.si/
14	DRUŽINA, D.O.O. – TA TRUD, Ljubljana	http://www.druzina.si/
15	EUROVAL, D.O.O., Hoče	http://www.euroval.si/
16	EVROPA-TRANS, D.O.O., Maribor	http://www.evropa-trans.si/
17	EXPLORA, D.O.O., Nova Gorica	http://www.explora.si/
18	GALILEO 3000, D.O.O., Maribor	http://www.galileo3000.si/
19	GLOBTOUR, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://www.globtour.si/
20	GLOBUS, d.o.o., Maribor	http://www.globus.si/
21	GREMTOUR.SI, JOŽEF ŠLENC, S. P., Ilirska Bistrica	http://www.grem.si/
22	HELIA, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://www.helia.si/
23	INTEGRAL ZAGORJE, D.O.O., Zagorje	http://www.integral-zagorje.si/
24	INTERFLASH, D.O.O., Trebnje	http://www.interflash.si/
25	JEREBO, D.O.O., Gorenja Vas	http://www.jereb.si/
26	KAŽIPOT TOURS, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://www.kazipottours.si/
27	KOMPAS, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://www.kompas.si/
28	KOMPAS NOVO MESTO, D.O.O., Novo Mesto	http://www.robinson-sp.si/
29	LAST MINUTE SANDRA SEVER, S. P., Murska Sobota	http://www.zadnjaminuta.net/
30	LEJA TURIZEM - L. JANKOVIĆ, S. P., Celje	http://www.leja-turizem.si/
31	LINDA, D.O.O., Kranj	http://www.linda.si/
32	LUX-TURIZEM – A. ŠAUTA, S. P., Ljubljana	http://www.lux-turizem.si/
33	M & M TURIST, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://www.mm-turist.si/
34	MANA, D.O.O., Novo Mesto	http://www.mana.si/
35	NATA INTERNATIONAL, D.O.O., Ig	http://www.nata-int.si/
36	NATURA VIVA – METKA PAHOR, S. P., Kamnik	http://www.natura-viva.com/
37	OJLA, D.O.O., Šempeter pri Celju	http://www.d-dan.si/
38	OREL CELJE, D.O.O., Celje	http://www.orel-travel.si/
39	PA POTNIK TURIZEM – M. KRIVEC, S. P., Novo Mesto	http://www.potnik-sp.si/
40	PALMA, D.O.O., Celje	http://www.palma.si/
41	POHORJE TOURS, BORUT ZADEK, S. P., Oplotnica	http://www.pohorje-tours.com/
42	POPOTNIK, D.O.O., Celje	http://tapopotnik.com/
43	POTOVALNA AGENCIJA EKVATOR, D.O.O., Vrhnika	http://www.ekvator-travel.com/
44	PA SEVENSTARS PETRA TREVEN, S. P., Ljubljana	http://www.sevenstars.si/
45	POTOVANJE, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://www.potovanje.si/
46	POZEJDON TURIZEM, MATJAŽ TOMANIČ, S. P., Rače	http://www.pozejdon-turizem.com/
47	PUTRA, D.O.O., Murska Sobota	http://www.putra.si/
48	RELAX TURIZEM, D.O.O., Dravograd	http://www.relax.si/
49	SAJKO TURIZEM, D.O.O., Slovenska Bistrica	http://www.sajko-turizem.si/

Zap. št.	Turistična agencija / organizator potovanj	Spletno mesto
50	SMTOURS, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://www.smtours.com/
51	STC, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://srbski-turisticni-center.net/
52	STEA, D.O.O., Šmarje pri Jelšah	http://www.stea.si/
53	STILBI, D.O.O., Postojna	http://www.stilbi.si/
54	STOP, D.O.O., Ljubljana	http://www.stop-spa.si/
55	STREET TOUR, D.O.O., Portorož	http://www.street-tour.com/
56	ŠTUDENTSKI SERVIS, D.O.O., Maribor	http://www.dontravel.si/
57	SVET POTOVANJ, D.O.O., Šmarje pri Jelšah	http://www.svet-potovanj.si/
58	T. A. COLUMB TINA SODEC, S. P., Trbovlje	http://www.columb-sp.si/
59	T. A. MARCO POLO, DARKO LOKAR, S. P., Ajdovščina	http://www.marcopolo.si/
60	TA NOVA ZDENKA BOGATAJ, S. P., Idrija	http://www.tanova.si/
61	TA POTEPUH – M. B. DOLINAR, D.O.O., Celje	http://www.potepuh.si/
62	TA ZUM – MATJAŽ ZUPANC, S. P., Celje	http://www.zumtours.com/
63	TEIDE, D.O.O., Slovenska Bistrica	http://www.teide.si/
64	TENTOURS, D.O.O., Domžale	http://www.tentours.si/
65	TGT 56 – ODISEJ, D.O.O., Kranj	http://www.odisej.net/
66	TRITON TURIZEM, D.O.O., Medvode	http://www.triton-turizem.si/
67	TURISTIČNA AGENCIJA SONČEK, D.O.O., Maribor	http://www.sonchek.com/

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BESEDILNI TIP TURISTIČNEGA VODNIKA – OPIS NAMENSKE STRUKTURE BESEDILNE VRSTE NA PRIMERU TURISTIČNIH VODNIKOV PO SLOVENSKI ISTRI

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IZVLEČEK

Članek opisuje temeljne lastnosti besedilne vrste turističnega vodnika. Po začetnem prikazu za ta menen ključnih konceptualno-terminoloških nastavkov besediloslovja, pragmalingvistike in funkcijsko stilistike so predstavljeni rezultati analize besedil 8 turističnih vodnikov po Slovenski Istri. Identifikacija stilno nezaznamovanih lastnosti obravnavane besedilne vrste je bila opravljena na podlagi opazovanja realizacije tvorčevega namena v besedilih. Namenska struktura oz. besedilni tip turističnega vodnika je reprezentativno-direktivni; glede na to so naštete tako prikazovalne kot pozivne prvine besedil, ki so tudi ponazorjene s primeri.

Ključne besede: turistični vodnik, besedilo, besedilna vrsta, funkcijsko zvrstnost, okoliščine tvorjenja in sprejemanja besedil, besedilni tip kot namenska struktura besedila, tvorčev menen kot funkcija besedila, Slovenska Istra

IL LINGUAGGIO SPECIALISTICO NELLE GUIDE TURISTICHE – RAPPRESENTAZIONE DELLA STRUTTURA DEL TESTO NELLE GUIDE TURISTICHE DEDICATE ALL'ISTRIA SLOVENA

SINTESI

L'articolo descrive i tratti fondamentali del linguaggio settoriale utilizzato nelle guide turistiche. Dopo una breve rassegna introduttiva dei fondamentali principi concettuali-terminologici della linguistica, della pragmalinguistica e della stilistica funzionale, sono presentati i risultati ricavati dall'analisi testuale effettuata su 8 guide turistiche dedicate all'Istria slovena. L'identificazione delle particolarità, stilisticamente non connotate, del linguaggio settoriale in questione è stata effettuata osservando la realizzazione dell'obiettivo che l'autore si è proposto nei testi. La struttura destinata a tale scopo, ovvero il tipo linguistico della guida turistica è rappresentativo-direttivo; a tal riguardo sono elencati gli elementi comunicativi e conativi contenuti nel testo, anche illustrati da esempi.

Parole chiave: guida turistica, testo, linguaggio settoriale, tipologia funzionale, formazione e modifica del testo, tipo testuale come obiettivo strutturale del testo, scopo dell'autore come funzione del testo, Istria slovena

UVOD

Problemsko jedro pričajočega prispevka predstavlja besedilna vrsta turističnega vodnika. Ta v slovenskem jezikoslovju doslej še ni bila deležna sistematične predstavitev. Do njenega opisa bomo skušali priti s pomočjo nekaterih pojmovno-terminoloških konceptov besediloslovja, pragmalingvistike in funkcjske stilistike, predstavljenih v nadaljevanju.

PREGLED TEORETSKIH IZHODIŠČ

Besedilo, besedilna vrsta in njun kontekst

Našo osnovno raziskovalno enoto predstavlja *besedilo*. To je bilo v jezikoslovju kot predmet raziskovanja dolgo zapostavljeno, saj se je pozornost posvečala tistim jezikovnim enotam, ki jih je bilo lažje nedvoumno definirati (npr. fonemi, morfemi, leksemi, stavki). Besediloslovje je tako dolgo iskalo natančno opredelitev svoje osnovne enote obravnave, v tem času pa so se pojavljale zelo različne definicije.¹ Naslednjo zadrgo je predstavljala narava pristopa k obravnavi besedila; sčasoma je postalo namreč očitno, da zgolj strukturalistična analiza slovničnih, kasneje tudi pomenskih sredstev, dolgo edini jezikoslovni način obravnave, ne nudi zadovoljivega opisa besedilne celote, predvsem ne v smislu njenega učinkovanja, in tako ne odgovarja na številna vprašanja, vezana na tvorjenje in sprejemanje besedila. Ko govorimo o slednjih dveh procesih, besedilo postavljamo v okvir človeške komunikacije, saj ga vidimo kot produkt sporazumevanja in ne le kot abstraktno, izolirano jezikovno enoto. Komunikacijski okvir je v analizo besedila vključila pragmalingvistika, veda o proučevanju jezikovne rabe,² ki je izpostavila pomen konteksta, v katerem nastopa besedilo, torej udeležencev sporazumevanja, njihovih zmožnosti, pričakovanj, stališč, vedenj, medsebojnih odnosov in razmerij, časa in prostora, v katerih se pojavlja besedilo ipd.;³ besedilo torej nastaja in se sprejema v preseku vsakokratnega konteksta oz. okoliščin komunikacije.⁴

Kompleksnost fenomena besedila je razvidna iz definicije Beaugranda in Dresslerja (1992, 12) – za avtorja je besedilo "komunikacijska pojavitvev, ki izpolnjuje se-

dem kriterijev besedilnosti. Če ocenimo, da kateremu izmed teh kriterijev ni bilo zadoščeno, potem velja, da besedilo ni komunikativno. Torej so nekomunikativna besedila obravnavana kot ne-besedila." Ti kriteriji so: 1) kohezija – slovnična povezanost besedila; 2) koherenca – pomenska povezanost besedila; 3) namernost – hotenje tvorca besedila, da bo njegov jezikovni izdelek kohezivno in koherentno besedilo, preko katerega bo dosegel določeno namero; 4) sprejemljivost – pripravljenost načinka, da v tvorčevem jezikovnem izdelku prepozna kohezivno in koherentno besedilo; 5) informativnost – količina znanih in neznanih informacij v besedilu naj bo tolikšna, kot je potrebno; 6) situacijskost – besedilo je relevantno za konkretno komunikacijsko situacijo, v kateri se pojavlja; 7) medbesedilnost – uspešnost uporabe besedila je odvisna od poznавanja enega ali več predhodnih besedil (12–19). V tej opredelitvi ni težko prepoznati pragmalingvističnih elementov, saj sta le prva dva kriterija usmerjena k materialnosti besedila, vsi ostali pa tako ali drugače k dinamičnim okoliščinam njegovega tvorjenja in sprejemanja. Kunst Gnamuš (1986, 9–10) navaja tri zorne kote, iz katerih je mogoče razčlenjevati besedilo: medtem ko gre pri 1) razčlenjevanju površinske strukture (glasoslovna, oblikoslovna, skladenjska razčlemba) za analizo kohezije in pri 2) ugotavljanju pomenske zgradbe oz. propozicije za analizo koherenčnosti, pa pri 3) opazovanju okoliščin oz. konteksta dejansko analiziramo vseh ostalih pet besedilnih kriterijev, torej namernost, sprejemljivost, informativnost, situacijskost in medbesedilnost.

Med besedili, nastajajočimi v vsakodnevni komunikaciji, obstajajo številne podobnosti in razlike, vidne tako na oblikovni kot na vsebinski ravni. Glede na to lahko govorimo o skupinah oz. razredih besedil s prevladujočimi skupnimi lastnostmi. Besedila morajo v svoji strukturi torej izkazovati dovolj skupnih lastnosti, da jih lahko uvrstimo v enotno skupino, oz. se v strukturi dovolj razlikovati, da jim prisodimo pripadnost različnim skupinam. Še ena pomembna določilnica, na podlagi katere se določa pripadnost posamezni besedilni skupini, je relativna ustaljenost in torej podobnost okoliščin uporabe besedil, se pravi njihovega tvorjenja in sprejemanja. Za takšne skupine besedil obstaja v jezikoslovju precej različnih izrazov, npr. besedilne vrste, besedilne zvrsti, besedilni tipi, žanri; v kolikor se uporabljajo sinonimno, je

- 1 Naj jih navedemo le nekaj: besedilo je bilo npr. definirano kot niz stavkov, kot zaporedje medsebojno povezanih nižjih jezikovnih enot, kot enota jezika v rabi, kot niz izrekov v komunikacijskem okviru, kot jezikovna tvorba, namenjena preseganju trenutnostne dvostranske komunikacije v okviru govornega dogodka (različne smeri in avtorji, povzeti v Gorjanc, 1998, 11–13; o težavah pri iskanju besediloslovnega fokusa glej tudi Korošec, 1981, 173–175, Makovec Černe, 1990, 39–40, in Beaugrand, Dressler, 1992, 20–29).
- 2 Ker pragmalingvistika za razliko od tradicionalnih jezikoslovnih disciplin (fonetika, fonologija, morfologija, leksikologija, sintaksa, semantika) nima svoje osnovne enote obravnave oz. je ta "enota" kar jezik v celoti, in sicer opazovan v rabi, kontekstu, Verschueren zagovarja mnenje (2000, 13–26) da je namesto o vedi, disciplini, smotrnejše govoriti o celovitem stališču, vidiku oz. pogledu na jezik.
- 3 Verschueren s tem v zvezi govori o mentalni, socialni in fizični komponenti konteksta (2000, 116).
- 4 Ob povedanem omenimo Gorjančev (1998, 10) ločevanje besediloslovnih pristopov na 1) "tradicionalne" jezikoslovne, ki imajo za predmet raziskav besedilo samo oz. njegovo strukturo, ter 2) pragmatičnojezikovne, ki besedilo obravnavajo preko razmerja tvorec – besedilo – naslovnik.

posledica terminološka nepreglednost, česar si seveda ne želimo. Na tem mestu se bomo zato odločili za izraz *besedilna vrsta*, definiran kot "stalna oblika jezikovnega sporočila" (Toporišič, 1992, 356); izraz zvrst je namreč dokaj standardno rabljen za označevanje besedilni vrsti nadrejene skupine (tedaj se govori bodisi o funkcijskih bodisi o besedilnih zvrsteh), besedilni tip je uporaben za označevanje t. i. namenske strukture besedila, za ustrezeno uporabo izraza žanr pa bi morali pritegniti vsaj še izraz register, kar se nam zdi nepotreben zapleteno.⁵ Na tem mestu je potrebno še opozorilo, da gre izraz besedilna vrsta razumeti v idealnotipskem smislu – v njem so zajete najpogosteje pojavljajoče se lastnosti besedil, ki smo jih uvrstili v skupno besedilno vrsto, posamezno konkretno besedilo pa (lahko) v realnosti glede na idealni tip izkazuje mnogo odstopanj.

Tvorčev namen kot besedilni tip

Poznavanje konteksta pri tvorjenju in sprejemanju besedila je nepogrešljivo pri rekonstrukciji *tvorčevega* (govorčevega ali piščevega) *namena*, ki ga želi doseči s svojim besedilom oz. preko njega; tega pragmalingvistična teorija govornih dejanj⁶ vidi kot prvi pogoj za nastanek besedila. Po Searlu obstaja pet jasno določljivih vrst namenov, ki se jih skuša realizirati z govornim dejanjem, torej preko jezika oz. besedila: 1) naslovniku povemo, kakšna stvar je, oz. mu posredujemo določeno vednost (pričakovanje); 2) naslovniku pridobimo, da kaj naredi, oz. ga pozovemo k določenemu dejanju (pozivanje); 3) zavežemo se, da bomo kaj naredili, oz. opravili določeno dejanje (zavezovanje); 4) izrazimo svoja čustva in stališča, s čimer z naslovnikom vzpostavimo oz. ohranjamo stik (povezovanje); 5) s pomočjo svojega besedila povzročimo spremembo v zunajjezikovni dejansnosti, kar pomeni, da hkrati z izrekanjem dejanje že tudi opravimo (izvršitev) (povzeto po Zadravec Pešec, 1994, 32; Križaj Ortar, 1994, 300).

Glede na namen tvorec izbere ustreznega jezikovna, širše izrazna sredstva ter jih organizira v konkretno besedilo; izbor specifičnih izraznih sredstev in njihova specifična organizacija, na podlagi katerih besedila razporejamo po besedilnih vrstah, odražata t. i. namensko strukturo besedila, ki jo Bešter (1994, 46–47) imenuje *besedilni tip*, to oznako pa postavi za sinonimno tipu govornega dejanja. Vsa besedila oz. besedilne vrste je

tako mogoče razumeti kot realizacije petih vrst besedilnih tipov: 1) reprezentativi (ugotovitev, trditev, napoved, razlaga, diagnoza, opis, vest, poročilo, recenzija); 2) direktivi (odredba, ukaz, prošnja, napotitev, molitev, ponudba, nasvet, priporočilo, predlog, vabilo); 3) komisivi (obljuba, zaobljuba, grožnja, stava, pogodba, dogovor, garancija, prisega); 4) ekspresivi (pozdrav, zahvala, voščilo, opravičilo, pritožba, izrekanje dobrodošljice); 5) deklarativi (imenovanje, vojna napoved, izrek sodbe, oporoka, osmrtnica, odpoved, odpustitev, izobčenje) (Searlova tipologija ilokucij oz. vplivanj, povzeto po Bešter, 1994, 47–48; Hudej, 1994, 89–90). Pri tem se je potrebno zavedati, da besedilo oz. besedilna vrsta ne predstavlja nujno realizacije le enega besedilnega tipa, pač pa gre lahko (in v zapleteni dinamiki vsakodnevne komunikacije praviloma tudi gre) za (hierarhično) kombinacijo več besedilnih tipov, pač glede na različne tvorčeve namene, ki se pogosto kompleksno prepletajo (Bešter, 1994, 46). Tema besedila, s katero razumemo enega ali več stavkov oz. povedi s skupnim smisлом (Hudej, 1994, 60), je glede na tvorčev namen pri izboru in organizaciji izraznih sredstev drugotnega pomena, kar je razvidno iz dejstva, da lahko o istem predmetu, stanju, dogodku sporočamo na različne načine, torej z različnimi besedili oz. besedilnimi vrstami, in sicer glede na to, kaj želimo z besedilom doseči, kakšen je naš namen (Makovec Černe, 1990, 42).

Stilna (ne)zaznamovanost

Za specifičen izbor in organizacijo jezikovnih oz. izraznih sredstev se v jezikoslovju uporablja tudi oznaka *stil*.⁷ Definicij stil je mnogo, mi pa bomo izpostavili Koroščeve (1998, 8), ki členi šest vidikov stilu: 1) v saussurjevski distinkciji med jezikom in govorom spada stil na področje govora, torej realizacije abstraktnega jezikovnega sistema v konkretnih okoliščinah vsakodnevne komunikacije (sistemska vidik); 2) stil je skupek lastnosti jezikovnega sporočila, ki se doseže z izborom iz jezikovnih sredstev določenega jezikovnega sistema, zato se kaže na vseh ravneh besedila (postopkovni vidik); 3) izbor je odvisen od določenega cilja tvorčevega sporočanja (teleološki vidik); 4) stil se kaže v besedilu kot rezultat jezikovnih dejavnosti, in sicer tako v zapisani kot v govorjeni obliki (vidik prezentacije); 5) stil se v besedilu kaže kot svojevrstna organizacija jezikovnih prvin, zato

5 Limon (2003, 269, 276) govori o žanru kot o na določen način strukturiranem besedilu z določenim komunikacijskim namenom; ključno za uvrstitev besedila v nek žanr je, da ga kot takšnega prepoznavajo njegovi uporabniki (te Swales imenuje diskurzivna skupnost, ki je določena zlasti s skupnim komunikacijskim namenom; vsaka diskurzivna skupnost tako razpolaga s "svojimi" žanri). Žanri se realizirajo preko registrov (določeni žanri so komplementarni z določenimi registri), tj. konkretnega izbora in organizacije jezikovnih sredstev. Pri žanrih gre torej za diskurzivno, pri registrih pa za leksikalno-gramatikalno strukturo.

6 Po Austinovi in Searlovi teoriji govornih dejanj je vsako govorno dejanje sestavljeno iz treh poddejanj: 1) lokucije – dejanja izrekanja; 2) ilokucije – dejanja vplivanja; 3) perllokucije – dejanja učinkovanja (povzeto po Zadravec Pešec, 1994, 26–30). Tej triadi se včasih dodaja še propozicijsko dejanje, s katerim tvorec v svoj izrek zajame določeno predmetnost oz. spravlja v odnose njene dele (gre za sestavine teme besedila) (Bešter, 1994, 45).

7 Tako razumljena bi bila vsebina te oznake lahko sinonimna besedilnemu tipu.

ga imamo za eno od konstitutivnih prvin besedila (besedilovtveni vidik); 6) za uspešno delovanje stila v komunikaciji morata tvorec in naslovnik razpolagati s skupnim kodom (sporočanjski vidik). Torej, na podlagi sorodnosti stilov posameznih besedil lahko govorimo o skupnem stilu besedilne vrste. Sredstvo in njegova uporaba, ki sta za določeno besedilo oz. besedilno vrsto tipična, sta *stilno nevtralna, nezaznamovana*, v nasprotnem primeru pa *stilno zaznamovana*. S temi razmerji se ukvarja stilistika, in sicer vsaj iz treh različnih perspektiv: 1) jezikovna stilistika raziskuje stilistični potencial sredstev dnega jezika; 2) besedilna stilistika raziskuje stilistične lastnosti besedil;⁸ 3) funkcionalna stilistika raziskuje stilistične lastnosti t. i. funkcionalnih zvrsti.

Funkcionalne zvrsti

Če smo besedilo pojmovali kot podrejeno besedilni vrsti, slednjo razumemo kot podrejeno *funkcionalne zvrsti*.⁹ Besedilna vrsta se torej uresničuje v konkretnih besedilih, sama pa skupaj z drugimi besedilnimi vrstami sodi v določeno funkcionalno zvrst. V slovenskem strukturalističnem jezikoslovju (Urbančič, Toporišič, Dular, Korošec) se funkcionalne zvrsti klasično razlagajo kot sistemsko urejena skupina jezikovnih sredstev in meril za njihovo uporabo v besedilih oz. besedilnih vrstah, pripadajočih posameznim funkcionalnim zvrstom. Določata jo predvsem: 1) funkcija, s katero je razumljen uporabnostni namen, torej naloga oz. vloga, ki jo opravlja posamezna funkcionalna zvrst in ki to zvrst povratno determinira; 2) področje človeške oz. družbene dejavnosti, s katerim so mišljene na to področje vezane predmetnosti in pojmovnosti, ki se izražajo v besedilnih vrstah s področjem povezane funkcionalne zvrsti. Ker je ena temeljnih lastnosti (knjižnega) jezika zadovoljevanje izražalnih potreb mnogovrstnih družbenih skupin, družbenih področij in človeških dejavnosti, je logična posledica njegova funkcionalna razslojenost. Na tej teoretični podlagi so se oblikovali tipologije funkcionalnih zvrst. Za klasično velja Toporišičeva štiričlenska, ki ločuje: 1) jezik praktičnosporazumevalne zvrsti; 2) jezike

strokovnih zvrsti, ki se členijo na a) praktično strokovni; b) znanstveni in c) poljudnoznanstveni jezik; 3) jezik publicistične zvrsti in 4) jezik umetnostne zvrsti (2000, 27–32). Sorodna Dularjeva tipologija vsebuje: 1) občevalni jezik; 2) strokovno-znanstvene jezike, razdeljene na a) znanstveno; b) strokovno; c) poljudno in č) uradovalno oz. poslovno podzvrst; 3) publicistični jezik in 4) umetniški jezik (1974, 64–71). Nekoliko drugačni sta zgodnejša Urbančičeva in kasnejša Bajtova klasifikacija. Prva (1965, 222–223) ločuje: 1) umetniški stil; 2) znanstveni stil; 3) poslovni stil; 4) publicistični stil in 5) konverzacijski stil, druga (1993, 209) pa: 1) praktično strokovna besedila; 2) strokovna besedila; 3) poljudnoznanstvena besedila; 4) znanstvena besedila; 5) publicistična besedila; 6) umetnostna in polumetnostna besedila ter 7) govorniška besedila. Avtorji vsako od zvrst podrobnejše opišejo in ji prisodijo besedilne vrste, v katerih se realizira.

Teoretični podlagi, iz katere so izpeljane zgoraj povzete tipologije, Skubic (1994/95; 2005) očita pomanjkljivo definiranje funkcije kot osnovne razločevalne lastnosti. Sam pri oblikovanju svoje klasifikacije izhaja iz pragmatične funkcije jezika oz. besedil, ki jo teorija govornih dejaj razlagajo kot vplivansko – sleherno besedilo je tvorjeno z namenom spremembe stanja stvari, z namenom tako ali drugače vplivati na zunajjezikovno dejanskost; končni cilj je torej vselej sprememba v zunajjezikovni dejanskosti. Funkcija potem takem izhaja iz tvorčevega namena – rečemo lahko, da ta besedilu določa njegovo *komunikacijsko oz. besedilno funkcijo, vlogo*,¹⁰ od katere je odvisna končna oblika besedila (Makovec Černe, 1990, 42; Hudej 1994, 86–88).¹¹ Na tej podlagi Skubic (1994/95) izpelje naslednjo klasifikacijo: 1) znanstveni govor določa spoznavna funkcija (jezik je sredstvo za oblikovanje novih vednosti); 2) sporočansko-vplivanski govor določa perlokucijska funkcija (jezik je sredstvo za informiranje in hkratno vplivanje na naslovnika); 3) konvencionalnoperformativni govor določa performativna funkcija (jezik je sredstvo za neposredno sprememjanje sveta); 4) umetnostni govor določa

8 Križaj Ortar opozarja (1994, 299), da se stilna (ne)zaznamovanost v jeziku ne ujema s stilno (ne)zaznamovanostjo v besedilu – v jeziku so namreč stilno zaznamovane tiste prvine, ki so vezane na določeno zvrst besedil in zato nesplošne, medtem ko so v besedilih te zvrsti ravno te prvine stilno nezaznamovane, tj. tipične zanje.

9 Téminologija s tem v zvezi je, tako kot v primeru besedilnih vrst, raznovrstna in neenotna. Kot sinonim izrazu funkcionalne zvrsti se tako uporablja označevanje, kot so vrste (jezika), besedilne zvrsti, panoje in jezikovni stili. Slednjo označuje v prvi slovenski znanstveni razpravi, v celoti posvečeni funkcionalnim zvrstom (*O jezikovnih stilih*, 1965), po češki jezikovnočlenitveni teoriji, kjer je govor o funkcionalnih jezikih oz. funkcionalnih stilih, povzeti Urbančič, kasneje pa jo je spodnesla Toporišičeva označevanje funkcionalne zvrsti. Toporišič v slovenskem jezikoslovju nasprotno velja za kodifikatorja funkcionalnozvrstne teorije, prevzete v modificirani obliki iz češkega jezikoslovja. Slednje funkcionalne stile veže na posamezne funkcije knjižnega jezika, povezanost s knjižnim jezikom pa ohranjajo tudi slovenski teoretični. Morda gre prav v slednjem dejstvu iskati vzrok za to, da se za funkcionalne zvrsti izredno pogosto uporablja sinonimna označevanje, s čimer se želi nakazati, da je posamezna zvrst jezikovnega sistema v malem, v organizaciji analogen sistemu knjižnega jezika, seveda pa s sebi lastnimi specifikami, razporejenimi preko vseh jezikovnih ravnin.

10 Od vseh komponent govornega dejanja (gl. opombo 6) je torej ilokucijska, vplivanska tista, ki je ključnega pomena za določanje besedilne funkcije – o tem smo z drugimi besedili govorili, ko smo predpostavljali, da je prvi pogoj za nastanek besedila tvorčev namen.

11 Obstaja več tipologij besedilnih funkcij. V prispevku izhajamo iz zgoraj predstavljene Searlove klasifikacije ilokucij oz. vplivanj.

funkcija izrekanja "iracionalnega in neizrekljivega" (jezik je sredstvo za izražanje "notranjih doživetij in intuitivnih spoznanj").¹² Nadgradnjo Skubičeve klasifikacije predstavlja tipologija V. Mikolič (2007a), ki posebej izpostavlja, da ima prav vsako besedilo vplivanjsko vlogo, ki je glede na tvorčev namen lahko različna, pa tudi različno izpostavljen, izrazita, kar rezultira v različnih besedilnih vrstah oz. besedilnih zvrsteh.¹³ Tako ločuje med: 1) znanstvenimi besedili (spoznavna vloga); 2) sporazumevalnimi/interaktivnimi besedili (sporazumevalna/interaktivna vloga); 3) izvršilnimi/uradnimi besedili (izvršilna vloga) ter 4) umetnostnimi besedili (umetnostno-izrazna vloga). Sporazumevalna/interaktivna besedila nadalje deli na: a) prikazovalna besedila (prikazovalna vloga); b) usmerjevalna/pozivna besedila (usmerjevalna/pozivna vloga); c) zavezovalna besedila (zavezovalna vloga) in č) povezovalna, izrazna besedila (povezovalno-izrazna vloga).

Na podlagi povedanega lahko sklenemo z ugotovitvijo, da se v slovenskem jezikoslovju pojavljata dve vrsti obravnave funkcijске zvrstnosti – klasična strukturalistična (Urbančič, Toporišič, Dular, Bajt) ter pragmalingvistična (Skubic, Mikolič); poleg terminoloških razlik je najpomembnejše razhajanje med njima v vzroku, ki ga navajata za funkcijskozvrstno členjenje jezika – strukturalisti ga namreč vidijo v različnem uporabnostnem menu funkcijskih zvrst ter v razslojenosti človeške dejavnosti na številna področja, ki generirajo tudi razlike v jeziku, pragmalingvisti pa v pragmatični funkciji vplivanja na zunajjezikovno dejanskost.

PREDSTAVITEV PROBLEMA IN METODOLOGIJE RAZISKAVE

Cilj pričujoče raziskave je bila identifikacija temeljnih lastnosti besedila turističnega vodnika, kar razumemo kot opis besedilne vrste. V ta namen smo analizirali 8 konkretnih besedil turističnih vodnikov – vsak vodnik nam je predstavljal celovito, enotno besedilo, kot ga razlagajo Beagrandova in Dresslerjeva definicija. Med besedili smo iskali zlasti sorodnosti ter pogostost pojavljanja le-teh, na podlagi česar smo želeli priti do seznama stilno nezaznamovanih lastnosti besedilne vrste. Pri opazovanju sorodnosti smo izhajali iz opredelitev, da je glavno vodilo, ki tvorca usmerja pri tvorjenju besedila, njegov namen – glede na to, kaj hoče z besedilom oz. preko njega doseči, izbere takšna izrazna sredstva in jih organizira na takšen način, da bo njegov cilj najučinkovitej dosežen. Ključnega pomena za nas je bila torej identifikacija namena oz. kombinacije namenov (tvorcev)

analiziranih besedil – vezano nanj(-o) smo opazovali uporabo izraznih sredstev oz. njihov izbor in organizacijo v namenski strukturi – besedilnem tipu. Ker je realizacija besedilnih tipov vezana na konvencionalizirane kontekste (določen tvorčev namen se uresničuje skozi določeno besedilo v določenih standardnih okoliščinah), smo si pri določitvi namena pomagali z rekonstrukcijo okoliščin tvorjenja in sprejemanja analiziranih besedil (kdo je tvorec besedila, kdo njegov naslovnik, kakšno je njuno medsebojno razmerje, kje in kdaj se pojavlja besedilo). Namen oz. besedilno funkcijo smo poimenovali s pomočjo Searlove klasifikacije, z opisom njene realizacije v 8 analiziranih besedilih pa sklenili raziskavo.

Pred analizo smo želeli oblikovati tudi nekaj orientacijskih točk, s katerimi bi si lahko pomagali med raziskavo in z njimi lahko primerjali naše zaključne ugotovitve, prizadevali smo si torej za identificiranje vnaprejšnjih sestavin opisa besedilne vrste turističnega vodnika. Ker ta v slovenskem jezikoslovju še ni bila analizirana, smo vsaj osnovne določilnice skušali pridobiti na podlagi obstoječih (zgoraj povzetih) klasifikacij funkcijskih zvrst; tako smo pregledali nekaj klasifikacij, uvrstili besedilno vrsto turističnega vodnika v ustrezno funkcijsko zvrst oz. podzvrst (v kolikor tega niso storili že njihovi avtorji) in na podlagi splošnega opisa le-te izluščili osnovne značilnosti analizirane besedilne vrste. V nadaljevanju jih predstavljamo.

Lastnosti besedilne vrste turističnega vodnika, določene na podlagi klasifikacij funkcijskih zvrst

Pregledane klasifikacije skladno z že povedanim ločimo na strukturalistične in pragmalingvistične. Izpostavili bomo lastnosti besedilne vrste turističnega vodnika, kot smo jih ugotovili na podlagi: a) Toporišičeve strukturalistične tipologije; b) Skubičeve pragmalingvistične tipologije; c) tipologije V. Mikolič, ki je na podlagi pragmalingvističnih izhodišč oblikovala klasifikacijo turističnih besedil.

a) Toporišičeva klasifikacija besedilne vrste turističnega vodnika ne omenja, na podlagi avtorjevega opisa funkcijskih zvrst pa bi ga lahko najlažje uvrstili v skupino strokovnih jezikov, in sicer v poljudnoznanstveno ali navadno strokovno podzvrst. Bistvena značilnost poljudnoznanstvenih besedil je prilagoditev in predstavitev znanstvenih ali visokostrokovnih vsebin najširšemu naslovniku; vsebine se torej skušajo predstaviti v najjasnejši in najpreprostejši obliki. Nadaljnje stilne lastnosti so nadomeščanje tujk z domačimi izrazi, pogostost opisov

12 Izraz govor lahko razumemo kot sinonimen tēminu funkcijskih zvrst. Kasneje (2005) ga avtor nadomesti z oznako diskurz, posameznim diskurzom pa nadene tudi drugačna poimenovanja: 1) kognitivni (spoznavni) diskurz; 2) pragmatični (uporabnostni) diskurz; 3) performativni (izvršni) diskurz; 4) imaginativni diskurz.

13 Avtorica namesto o funkcijskih govorji o besedilnih zvrsteh, ki jih razume kot nadrejene besedilnim vrstam: tako so npr. znanstvena besedila besedilna zvrst, znanstveni članek pa besedilna vrsta (Mikolič, 2007a, 341).

oz. definicij, ponazarjanje z zgledi, grafi, preglednicami in podobami (Toporišič, 2000, 29–30).¹⁴

b) Skubičeva klasifikacija zaradi drugačnega razumevanja funkcije ni prekrivna s Toporišičevo (več o tem gl. v Vogel, 2007); tako v Toporišičevi shemi znanstveni jezik s poljudnoznanstvenim in praktično strokovnim sodi v skupno zvrst, Skubic pa ga zaradi ekskluzivne funkcije tvorjenja novih spoznanj vidi kot samostojnega, medtem ko poljudnoznanstvena besedila uvršča v področje sporočansko-vplivanskega govora, kamor sodijo še praktičnosporazumevalana, publicistična in strokovna besedila tradicionalne sheme. Bistvo sporočansko-vplivanskega govora je poudarjeno ilokucijsko vplivanje na naslovnika z željo doseganja perllokucijskih učinkov. Tvorec želi, da na podlagi informacije v njegovem besedilu naslovnik spremeni določena stališča, mišljenje prepričanja in temu prilagodi svoje (bodoče) delovanje. Ravno zato se mora vzpostaviti kot verodosten, zaupanja vreden subjekt, saj tako lažje doseže svoj cilj, ne da bi odkril svoj vplivanski namen – prav prikrivanje slednjega je ključna značilnost sporočansko-vplivanske zvrsti, omenimo pa še prizadevanje za razumljivost, prepričljivost in upoštevanje zahtev okoliščin (Skubic, 1994/95, 161–162).

c) Mikolič je na osnovi zgoraj prikazane razvrstitev funkcijskih zvrst glede na vplivansko vlogo (sporočanski namen) oblikovala klasifikacijo besedil s področja turizma,¹⁵ ki jih deli na: 1) pravna; 2) znanstvena; 3) strokovna in poljudnoznanstvena; 4) publicistična; 5) turističnopoloslovna in 6) turističnooglaševalska besedila. Besedilno vrsto turističnega vodnika uvrsti v zvrst strokovnih in poljudnoznanstvenih besedil (skupaj z učbeniki, poljudnoznanstvenimi monografijami, strokovnimi članki v tiskanih in elektronskih medijih), katerih vplivanska vloga je sporazumevalna prikazovalna. Po avtoričini tipologiji sodi torej besedilna vrsta turističnega vodnika najprej v zvrst besedil s sporazumevalno/inter-

aktivno vlogo. Sporazumevalna/interaktivna besedila so analoga Skubičevim sporočansko-vplivanskim; gre za besedila, ki so po Mikolič najbolj neposredno usmerjena na naslovnika. Njihova nadaljnja delitev na štiri podzvrsti (prikazovalna, usmerjevalna/pozivna, zavezovalna, povezovalno-izrazna) je izpeljana na podlagi načina, s katerim želi tvorec vplivati na naslovnika – v besedilih s prikazovalno vlogo, kakršno je turistični vodnik, gre za vplivanje na naslovnikovo vednost (2007b, 108–111).

Utemeljitev izbora analiziranih turističnih vodnikov

Besedilno vrsto turističnega vodnika obravnavamo na primeru turističnih vodnikov po Slovenski Istri; gre za geografsko območje jugozahodne Slovenije, ki se nahaja med hrvaško in italijansko državno mejo ter je locirano med Kraškim robom na vzhodu in Tržaškim zalivom na zahodu. Glavni argument za takšno izbiro vidimo v visoki pokrajinski vrednosti tega prostora z vidika s turizmom povezanih dejavnosti; njegova edinstvena kulturno-zgodovinska in naravna dediščina, stik kopnega in morja ter ugodni klimatski pogoji so namreč omogočali intenziven razvoj tovrstnih dejavnosti vse od konca 19. stoletja dalje. "Tradicionalna" turistična privlačnost območja Slovenske Istre se tako zrcali tudi v pogosti prisotnosti te pokrajine v turističnih publikacijah; območje po pokritosti z njimi v primerjavi z ostalimi slovenskimi regijami opazno izstopa.

Pri identifikaciji ustreznih publikacij smo si pomagali s Knjižničnim informacijskim sistemom, ki temelji na platformi Kooperativnega online bibliografskega sistema in servisa (COBISS) ter velja za eno najbolj izpopolnjenih baz s podatki o izdanih publikacijah na območju Slovenije. Izbor publikacij smo tako opravili na podlagi nabora podatkov iz COBISS-a, pridobljenih s kombinacijami ključnih besed "Istra", "Slovenska Istra", "vodnik" in

14 Poizkušajmo na tem mestu besedilni vrsti turističnega vodnika poiskati mesto še v nekaterih drugih strukturalističnih tipologijah funkcijskih zvrst. Tudi pri Urbančičevi tipologiji (1965, 223) bi bilo našo besedilno vrsto najbolj smiselno uvrstiti med poljudnoznanstvena besedila, ki so uvrščena v krovno publicistično zvrst; njihov namen je po avtorju informiranje, poučevanje in agitiranje. Ker so namenjena širšemu naslovniku, težijo k splošni razumljivosti, zato so v izbiri jezikovnih sredstev svobodnejša. Dularjeva tipologija (1974, 66) tako kot Toporišičeva poljudnoznanstvena besedila uvršča v krovno strokovno-znanstveno zvrst; zanje je značilno veliko število ponazoril, ohlapna uporaba terminov in znanstvenih definicij ter občasne poteze občevalnega oz. pogovornega jezika, kot sta ponavljanje in nagovarjanje naslovnika. Bajt (1993a, 209) je prvi, ki eksplicitno omeni besedilno vrsto turističnega vodnika in jo uvrsti v zvrst strokovnih besedil. Slednjo drugje (1993b, 90) podrobneje opisuje: od poljudnoznanstvene se loči po svoji praktični uporabnosti, njen naslovnik je širša strokovna javnost, značilni pa so še poljuden slog, logični argumenti, nazorni dokazi, neutralna raba jezikovnih sredstev, splošno veljavni termini, strokovni žargonizmi, jasnost, izrazna neposrednost, natančnost, informativnost, ponazoritveno gradivo oz. ilustrativnost.

15 Avtorica drugje (2009) zagovarja tezo, da je lahko primarni kriterij klasifikacije funkcijskih oz. besedilnih zvrst tudi predmetno-pojmovno področje – vsako področje oz. z njim v povezavi deluječa diskurzivna skupnost za svoje izražalne potrebe razvije svoje besedilne zvrsti in vrste, ki jim zato lahko rečemo tudi področne (to poimenovanje kot možno izpostavlja že Toporišič, 2000, 27); te se potem nadalje delijo glede na njihovo funkcijo oz. namen. Ena takšnih področij je prav turizem, po Mikolič (2007, 108) izrazito sestavljena dejavnost, ki jo določata tako gospodarski (turistično gospodarstvo, ki v sodobni družbi izkorišča in obenem nudi zadovoljitev človekovih potreb po občasnih in kratkoročnih spremembah okolja in načina življenja, oddihu, rekreaciji ipd. – turizem v ožjem pomenu besede) kot negospodarski aspekt (turizem kot produkt človekove motivacije in potreb po potovanjih in spremembah okolja sega na področje sociologije, psihologije, kulture, zdravstva, politike, transporta, zgodovine, geografije, arhitekture, umetnosti, športa, urbanizma itd. – turizem v širšem pomenu besede).

"vodič". Že ob samem začetku pregledovanja "najdenih" publikacij smo bili soočeni z negotovostjo, katere od njih sploh lahko štejemo za turistične vodnike, saj v slovenski znanstveni literaturi (še) ni uveljavljena definicija, ki bi jih natančneje (vsebinsko in oblikovno) določala; prav tako bi bilo problematično izbiranje oz. izločanje zgolj na podlagi naslovov in podnaslovov publikacij, ki le v redkih primerih vključujejo oznako (*turistični vodnik*). Tako smo izhajali iz osnovne predpostavke, da je tovrstna publikacija namenjena najširšemu naslovniku, ki mu želi na poljuden ter privlačen način predstaviti določeno območje oz. njegove geografske, zgodovinske, kulturne idr. lastnosti, hkrati pa izpostaviti za izletništvo, letovanje na tem območju relevantne praktične informacije – ob tem bi lahko rekli, da se publikacija na naslovnika obrača kot na potencialnega turista.¹⁶

Ob tako opredeljenih osnovnih določilnicah smo pri izbiri publikacij upoštevali še tri kriterije. 1) Publikacija je morala izkazovati prostorsko orientiranost na celotno območje Slovenske Istre. Pregledane publikacije v večini to območje izpostavljajo že v naslovu; nekatere sicer izkazujejo ožjo prostorsko orientiranost, torej na posamezne kraje in/ali naselja v Slovenski Istri, nekatere pa obenem zajemajo širši prostor, torej tudi sosednja območja, ki mejijo na Slovensko Istro (npr. Kras, Brkini, Čičarija in celotni istrski polotok, se pravi tudi njegov hrvaški in italijanski del). Z našim kriterijem smo iz ožjega izbora izključili publikacije, ki se osredotočajo na manjše kraje in/ali naselja znotraj območja, s čimer smo dosegli večjo vsebinsko primerljivost. 2) Ker smo do opisa besedilne vrste želeli priti na podlagi relativno sodobnih besedil, smo za mejno leto izida publikacij postavili 1991 – v analizo smo torej vzeli vse publikacije, ki so izšle tistega leta oz. po njem. 3) Jezik publikacije je moral biti (tudi)¹⁷ slovenski.

Skladno s predstavljenimi selektivnimi kriteriji smo izbrali 8 turističnih vodnikov, tako splošnih kot deloma specializiranih,¹⁸ izdanih med letoma 1991 in 2009 (po vrstnem redu glede na letnico izida): 1) *Primorje, Kras: A – Ž: priročnik za popotnika in poslovnega človeka* (v nadaljevanju 1993); 2) *Slovenska Istra, Čičarija, Brkini in Kras: planinski vodnik* (v nadaljevanju 1997); 3) *Slovenska Istra – zaledje* (v nadaljevanju 2001); 4) *Slovenska Istra in Kras* (v nadaljevanju 2004a); 5) *Istra na dveh kolesih: pustolovščina odkrivanja: kolesarski vodnik* (v nadaljevanju 2004b); 6) *Istra, Cres, Lošinj: zgodovinsko-umetnostni vodnik: zgodovina in kultura 50 istrskih občin* (v nadaljevanju 2004c); 7) *Popotovanje po Slo-*

venski Istri (v nadaljevanju 2005); 8) *Istra: Koper, Izola, Piran: kulturno turistični vodnik* (v nadaljevanju 2009).

PREDSTAVITEV REZULTATOV RAZISKAVE

V nadaljevanju predstavljamo rezultate analize 8 besedil turističnih vodnikov, in sicer preko posameznih opazovalnih točk, na katere smo bili pozorni med raziskavo.

Okolišine tvorjenja in sprejemanja besedil turističnih vodnikov

V vseh primerih se besedilo pojavlja v knjižni obliki, torej v pisnem prenosniku.¹⁹ Besedilo je javno, se pravi namenjeno najširšemu naslovniku; gre za potencialnega turista, vsakogar, ki načrtuje izlet, potovanje, dopust, počitnice in je izbor svoje destinacije bodisi že opravil bodisi še ne. Naslovnik je v večini primerov nespecializiran, kar pomeni, da ni določen s svojo starostjo, spolom, izobrazbo, poklicem ipd.; ker so besedila pisana v slovenskem jeziku, je pogosto edina določilnica glede naslovnika ta, da je govorec slovenskega jezika. Nejakkrat se sicer pojavi tudi nekoliko drugačno, v treh primerih ožje in v enem primeru širše, specifiziranje naslovnika: v primeru 1997 je vodnik namenjen predvsem turistom – planincem, 2004a je poleg slovenščine pisan tudi v italijanščini (vsaki besedilni enoti v slovenskem jeziku je dodana tudi ustrezna v italijanskem), torej je naslovnik lahko govorec slovenskega in/ali italijanskega jezika, 2004b je namenjen predvsem turistom – kolesarjem, 2004c pa turistom – ljubiteljem umetnostne zgodovine oz. strokovnjakom s tega področja.

Pomembna lastnost okolišin pojavljanja besedila turističnega vodnika je, da se naslovnik odloči za uporabo besedila prostovoljno – ker želi o (geografskih, zgodovinskih, kulturnih idr.) značilnostih kraja oz. območja, kamor potuje, izvedeti več, ker potrebuje informacije, na podlagi katerih bo načrtoval svoje tamkajšnje aktivnosti (iskane informacije so lahko tudi povsem praktične narave in zadevajo opis turističnih kapacitet območja, torej nastanitvenih možnosti, prometnih povezav, prisotnosti določenih ustanov oz. organizacij, kot so turistična društva, gostišča, trgovine, banke, zdravstveni domovi ipd.), in si na ustremnem prodajnem mestu kupi ali v knjižnici oz. pri sorodniku, prijatelju, znancu izposodi ustrezni turistični vodnik. Uporaba slednjega pride seveda v poštev tudi, če naslovnik še ni (dokončno) od-

16 Takšen turist je bil sicer v nekaterih publikacijah tudi ožje specifiziran (npr. kot planinec, umetnostni zgodovinar, kolesar), vendar pa je bila tudi v teh primerih v besedilu tako ali drugače izpostavljena splošnejša turistična aktivnost (kot je npr. ogledovanje kulturnih in naravnih znamenitosti) in/ali za splošnega turista relevantne informacije (kot je npr. informacije o nastanitvenih kapacitetah območja).

17 Dopusčene so bile tudi dvo- ali večjezične publikacije.

18 Gl. opombo 16.

19 Tu je izjema 2009, kjer se pojavlja tudi elektronski prenosnik – knjigi je dodana zgoščenka s predstavitevimi filmi mest Koper, Izola in Piran.

ločen o destinaciji, ki jo bo izbral za svoje potovanje, izlet, dopust – v tem primeru si (lahko) za potrebe izbora priskrbi turistične vodnike po različnih območjih. Ta lastnost besedilo turističnega vodnika ločuje od besedila turističnega oglasa – slednjemu je naslovnik večinoma izpostavljen neprostovoljno, namreč brez lastne želje, motivacije za njegovo uporabo, saj se oglasna besedila pojavljajo v najrazličnejših medijih, naslovnik pa nanje med opravljanjem vsakodnevnih aktivnosti oz. sprejemanjem besedil drugih vrst enostavno "naleti".

Tvorec besedila je v analiziranih besedilih prikazan na različne načine, ki se gibljejo na lestvici od večje do manjše (ali sploh nikakršne) izpostavljenosti. Večja izpostavljenost je prisotna v besedilih, ki imajo enega samega avtorja – ta je v 2004b, 2005 in 2009 prikazan tudi na fotografiji. V slednjih dveh primerih je predstaviti avtorja oz. njegovega dosedanjega delovanja posvečen tudi poseben razdelek na koncu knjige (2005) oz. na njenem zavihu (2009). V 2005 tako izvemo, da gre za zgodovinarja, zaposlenega v piranskem arhivu, ki je hkrati "ljubitelj in preučevalec Slovenske Istre", torej dober poznavalec območja, ki ga opisuje v svojem vodniku,²⁰ zlasti njene zgodovine in etnologije. V 2009 je sicer predstavitev manj natančna, a ne pušča nobenega dvoma v to, da je njen namen prikazati tvorca kot dobrega poznavalca in ljubitelja v vodniku opisanega območja.²¹ V 2004b lahko na podlagi fotografije sklepamo, da je tvorec turistično-kolesarskega vodnika tudi sam kolesar (prikazan je namreč v kolesarski obleki in s kolesom), navedeno pa je tudi njegovo avtorstvo treh knjig sorodne tematike.²² Tudi 1993 ima le enega avtorja, o katerem pa poleg imena in priimka ne izvemo ničesar razen njegove stopnje izobrazbe, izpostavljene z navedbo naziva *dr.* pred imenom. Vsa ostala besedila imajo kolektivnega tvorca, zanj(e) večinoma izvemo iz kolofona: 1997 je tako napisalo trinajst avtorjev, 2001 pet, pri 2004a do podatka o točnem številu ni mogoče priti, saj je v kolofonu naveden le glavni urednik, imena treh avtorjev se pojavi ob posameznih besedilnih enotah v vodniku, medtem ko so tvorci ostalih besedilnih enot neidentificirani, 2004c pa so napisali širje avtorji. V primerih turističnih vodnikov s kolektivnim tvorcem o posameznih avtorjih ne izvemo ničesar razen informacije o tem, ka-

teri del vodnika, torej katero besedilno enoto so prispevali; ponekod se ta informacija nahaja v kolofonu (2001, 2004c), ponekod so avtorji navedeni ob besedilnih enotah (1997, 2004a). Zdi se, da med tvorcem in naslovnikom ni hierarhičnega odnosa, da sta si torej enakovredna – edina neenakovrednost izhaja iz spoznave neenakosti, torej iz tvorčevga dobrega (v vsakem primeru boljšega od naslovnikovega) poznavanja območij oz. predmetnosti, o katerih piše v vodniku.

Namen tvorca – funkcija besedila

Če skušamo na podlagi opisanih okoliščin določiti namen, ki ga želi tvorec turističnega vodnika realizirati s svojim besedilom, opazimo izrazito dvopolnost. Tvorčev namen je namreč dvojen: prvič, uporabniku vodnika želi ponuditi številne in mnogostranske informacije o temi besedila, tj. določenem geografskem območju (v našem primeru gre za območje Slovenske Istre),²³ in drugič, prepričati ga želi, da so kraji, ki jih vodnik predstavlja, vredni njegovega obiska in da naj se na podlagi takšnega zavedanja odloči za izlet, potovanje, dopust na predstavljenem območju. Torej, po eni strani tvorec prikazuje, tj. posreduje naslovniku določeno vednost, po drugi pa poziva, tj. pridobiva naslovnika za sprejem določenega stališča, za opravitev določenega dejanja. Na tej podlagi ugotavljamo, da imamo opravka s hibridnim besedilnim tipom, ki bi ga lahko poimenovali reprezentativno-direktivni.

Realizacija namena v strukturi besedilnega tipa – opis besedilne vrste turističnega vodnika

Sledi poskus prikaza realizacije prikazovalnih in pozivnih prvin v besedilu. Te so si na prvi pogled protislovne: medtem ko naj bi se prikazovalnost odražala v jasni in pregledni predstaviti informacij o temi besedila, gre torej za objektivni pol, je pri pozivnosti pričakovati zlasti subjektivnost – tvorec želi z informacijami vplivati na naslovnika, da bo ravnal skladno z njegovim namenom. Razrešitev "konflikta" je najti v: 1) vrsti, naravi izpostavljenih informacij – izpostavljene so tiste informacije, ki sovpadajo s tvorčevim namenom oz. krepijo njegov

20 Avtor je tako v razdelku "O avtorju" izpostavljen kot avtor številnih monografij ter zgodovinskih člankov o Slovenski Istri, prejemnik Kocjančičeve nagrade za "prizadevanje pri raziskovanju in ohranjanju identitete Slovenske Istre". V povedi "Je zbiratelj istrskega ljudskega blaga in rad pomaga vsem, ki se nanj obrnejo glede istrske preteklosti, navad, običajev, kulinarike, praznikov, turizma itd." (2005, 266) je evidentno prizadevanje za vzpostavitev tvorca kot "zaupanja vrednega subjekta" po Skubicu. Temu je namenjena tudi avtorjeva navedba v uvodniku, da je podatke v knjigi pridobil iz obstoječe literature, ustnih virov in arhivskega gradiva.

21 Bralec tako iz besedila na zavihu izve, da gre za avtorja z eno že objavljeno knjigo, tematsko sorodno pričujočemu vodniku, pa tudi avtorja dokumentarnih filmov o "lepotah Slovenije", slovenskih gradovih, samostanih in drugih umetnostnih spomenikih ter izkušenega fotografa z umetniškim čutom, ki se zaveda povezanosti "duha in večnih vrednot" s kraji, ki jih predstavlja v vodniku; iz kolofona je razvidno, da je tvorec tudi soavtor v vodniku uporabljenih fotografij ter avtor zemljevidov in načrtov mest v njem.

22 Svojo strast do kolesarske dejavnosti izraža s citatom na začetku uvodnika: "Dve stvari sta, ki bi ju vzel na samotni otok: zobno ščetko in kolo!" (2004b, 4)

23 To območje je včasih razširjeno še na Kras (1993, 1997, 2004a, 2004b), hrvaško Istro (2004b, 2004c, 2009), po enkrat pa na Čičarijo in Brkine (1997) ter italijansko Istro (2004c).

poziv, medtem ko so tiste, ki namenu ne gredo v prid, izpušcene – ; 2) načinu, na katerega so izpostavljene informacije predstavljene – uporabljena so izrazna sredstva, taktike in strategije, ki izpostavljene informacije ustrezno modificirajo, tj. prilagodijo tvorčevemu namenu.

1. PRIKAZOVALNI POL. Prikazovalne prvine se v besedilih analiziranih turističnih vodnikov kažejo na različne načine. Najprej je tu podrobna vsebinsko-oblikovna strukturiranost – besedilo vodnika je glede na vsebino predstavljenih informacij pregledno členjeno na vrsto manjših, večinoma naslovljenih, besedilnih enot, tj. sklopov, poglavij, podpoglavljev, razdelkov ipd. Vsaka takšna besedilna enota predstavlja vsebinsko oz. tematsko zaokroženo celoto, ki je skupaj z ostalimi smiselnou organizirana v besedilo turističnega vodnika. Namen takšne organizacije je pregledna in jasna razporeditev informacij o temi, vidna že v kazalu vsebine, ki ga vsebuje večina analiziranih vodnikov (1997, 2001, 2004b, 2004c, 2005, 2009); vseh besedilnih enot v kazalih sicer ni navedenih – izpušcene so npr. tiste v manjših okvirčkih²⁴ ali daljši podnapisi slik oz. fotografij,²⁵ ki jih zaradi vsebinske zaokroženosti prav tako lahko obravnavamo kot samostojno besedilno enoto. Na podlagi povedanega bi lahko govorili o leksikonski

organizaciji besedila turističnega vodnika, v kateri vsaka besedilna enota predstavlja opis v njenem naslovu izpostavljenega "gesla"; opozoriti je potrebno, da si slednja ne sledijo po abecednem vrstnem redu, razen izjemoma (1993), ampak je razporeditev največkrat poljubna. Poleg tega je potrebno ločevanje med splošnimi, t. i. tehnično-organizacijskimi besedilnimi enotami, kakršne so uvodnik, vsebinsko in druga kazala (1993 tako vsebuje krajevno in stvarno kazalo, 1997 in 2004c pa kazalo krajev; vsa so urejena po abecednem vrstnem redu), različni seznavni (1993 vsebuje seznam fotografij in njihovih avtorjev, 1997 seznam kratic in okrajšav ter slovar neznanih oz. manj znanih, zlasti narečnih izrazov, 2001 seznam pomembnejših telefonskih številk, 2004a seznam tradicionalnih prireditev in pomembnejših telefonskih številk ter hišnih naslovov, 2004c seznam fresk ter po krajih razporejenih pomembnejših telefonskih številk), seznam virov in literature (ta se pojavlja v 1997, 2005 in 2009), ter besedilnimi enotami, ki tako ali drugače opisujejo glavno temo turističnega vodnika, torej geografsko območje Slovenske Istre.²⁶ Slednje so v posameznih vodnikih organizirane na različne načine, enotnega načela ni mogoče identificirati.²⁷

24 Primer besedila v takšnem okvirčku: "Pietro Coppo, geograf in kartograf (Benetke 1470 – Izola 1556) Pietro Coppo, Benečan, leta 1499 preseljen v Izolo, je služboval kot notar in mestni pisar. Njegovo največje delo je *De toto orbe*, podroben opis Zemlje. Od leta 1524 do 1526 je izdeloval zbirko petnajstih geografskih kart *Tabulae*, ki so danes v Pomorskem muzeju v Piranu s še nekaj njegovimi rokopisi. Coppova zadnja stvaritev je bila *Del sito de L'Istria, kartografija Istre*, izdana leta 1540." (2004c, 43)

25 Primer takšnega podnapisa fotografije: "Podružnična cerkvica sv. Roka in Sebastijana v Borštu naj bi bila postavljena že v 13. stoletju, zagotovo pa leta 1526. Navkljub svoji majhnosti sodi s kamnito streho nad apsido med 100 najlepših cerkva na Slovenskem. Podobna, le nekoliko preprostejša je cerkvica sv. Lazarja ob cesti proti Škrlevcu nad Glemom. Zvonovi na manjših cerkvah nimajo "samostojnega" zvonika, pač pa po eden ali dva visita na preslici ali škarjicah, kot tu imenujejo takšne 'nosilce' zvonov." (2001, 33)

26 Medtem ko so 1993, 2004a in 2005 pri opisovanju geografskega območja splošnejši, pa 1997 opisuje planinske poti po Krasu, Čičariji in Brkinih, 2001 se posveča opisu manjših krajev, torej vasi in zaselkov, v zaledju Slovenske Istre, 2004b predstavlja kolesarske izlete po celotnem istrskem polotoku, 2004c opisuje kulturne, arheološke in umetnostnozgodovinske lastnosti Istre, 2009 pa mesta Koper, Izola in Piran.

27 V 1993 osrednji del vodnika predstavlja nekakšen "geslovnik". Pod posameznimi črkami slovenske abecede se tako nahajajo manjši naslovljeni besedilni enote – "geslo" v naslovu je v besedilu pod njim razloženo oz. opisano. Gesla predstavljajo tako lastna kot občna imena; pod črko K tako npr. najdemo naslednja gesla: Kmetijstvo, Knjižnica, Komen, Konjeništvo, Kopališča, Koper, ital. *Capodistria*, Koprski hribi, Krajinska podoba, Kras, Kraške Jame, Kraški pršut in teran, Kraški rob, Kultura. 1997 je razdeljen na 30 razdelkov: če odštejemo organizacijsko-tehnične razdelke, ostali obravnavajo določene planinske oz. pohodniške smeri, znotraj njih pa so podrobnejše členitve, vezane na predstavitev posameznih planinskih točk, dostopov do njih, naravnih ali kulturnih zanimivosti v bližini ipd.

V 2001 je 11 poglavij, ki se posvečajo predstavitev različnih predmetnosti območja Slovenske Istre s poudarkom na t. i. zaledju: Zemljepisne značilnosti pokrajine, Geološka sestava tal, Podnebje, Razgibanja zgodovina, Naselja Slovenske Istre (to poglavje je nadalje členjeno na razdelke, ki posamično obravnavajo naselja in si glede na imena naselij sledijo po abecednem vrstnem redu), Stavbarstvo v Slovenski Istri, Rastlinski svet Slovenske Istre, Živalski svet, Običaji, Kulinarica in vinska ponudba ter Kulturna in rekreativna ponudba.

2004a je razdeljen na šest razdelkov (Narava, Kraji in ljudje, Gastronomija, Turistična ponudba, Kultura, Info), večina teh pa se še nadalje členi na posamezne enote.

2004b je organiziran kot predstavitev posameznih možnih kolesarskih izletov po območju Istre; vsakemu od izletov je namenjen samostojni sestavek, v čigar naslovu je izpostavljena za avtorja ključna (zgodovinska, geografska, arheološka, kulturna) lastnost izleta, podnaslov pa predstavlja smer krajev, po kateri se kolesar na predstavljenem izletu giblje. Tako je predstavljenih 32 izletov, razporejenih po 5 razdelkih (od teh so 4 opredeljeni geografsko – Slovenska Istra, Severna Istra, Srednja Istra, Južna Istra, 1 pa tematsko – Po sledovih časa in ozkotirne Porečanke – Parenzane).

2004c se po splošnejših poglavjih Turistične informacije, *Zaznamki iz zgodovine Istre*, Istrsko rastlinstvo in živalstvo, Srednjeveške freske v Istri, Istrska kuhinja in Srednjeveški gradovi v Istri v osrednjem delu osredotoči na posamezna območja in občine znotraj njih; po umestitvi območja na istrski zemljovid in opisu njegove zgodovine sledi umetnostnozgodovinski opis z območjem povezanih posameznih točk oz. krajev, označenih z zaporednimi številkami; točkam je poleg slovenskega imena pripisana tudi italijanska ustreznica. Vodnik se zaključi s poglavji Športne dejavnosti, Koristne informacije in Abecedni seznam krajev.

Narava informacij, ki jih prikazujejo vodniki, je dvodelna: a) tiste, ki informirajo o podnebnih, naravnih oz. fizičnogeografskih značilnostih opisovanega območja (lega, vremenske razmere, geološke lastnosti, rastlinstvo, živalstvo), njegovem zgodovinskem razvoju, kulurnih, arheoloških, urbanističnih ter umetnostnozgodovinskih elementih (opis cerkva, samostanov, gradov, mest, ulic, trgov, posameznih mestnih in vaških stavb, spomenikov, fresk, predmetov itd.), etnoloških značilnostih, torej navadah in običajih prebivalstva (opis posameznih poklicnih dejavnosti, praznikov, kulinarike ipd.), z območjem povezanih znamenitih osebnosti, urbanističnih lastnosti predstavljenih mest (obširnejši obravnavi trgov, ulic, muzejev, cerkva, pomembnih stavb, umetniških del ipd.); b) tiste, ki so izrazito orientirane na naslovnika – turista in predstavljajo zanj relevantne praktične informacije o turističnih kapacitetah oz. turistični infrastrukturi območja (nastanitvene možnosti, prometne povezave, imena, hišni naslovi in telefonske številke hotelov, apartmajev, muzejev, galerij, turističnih društev, turističnoinformacijskih centrov ipd.), tradicionalnih dogodkih in prireditvah, gostinski oz. kulinarčni ponudbi, možnostih za izletništvo, pohodništvo, šport in rekreacijo. V primeru prvega sklopa informacij govorimo o izpostavljanju primarne, v primeru drugega pa sekundarne turistične ponudbe – šele preplet obeh komponent pomeni predstavitev celovite turistične ponudbe. Razmerje med obema sklopoma informacij je v posameznih vodnikih različno.²⁸

Jezikovna podoba vodnikov je prikazovalnemu besedilu, namenjenemu najširšemu naslovniku, primerno nezapletena; kohezivna in koherenta povezanost je zadovoljiva (če zanemarimo nekaj pravopisnih napak), prevladuje standardni oz. normirani knjižni jezik. Veliko je lastnih imen, zlasti zemljepisnih, kar glede na dejstvo, da je vodnik v veliki meri namenjen mnogostranski predstavitev predmetnosti določenega geografskega območja, ne preseneča. Izrazje je splošno razumljivo, pretežno takšni so tudi strokovni oz. znanstveni términi, ki se pojavljajo; pri slednjih bolj kot sama pojavitve izstopa velika diverziteta disciplin oz. ved, na področje katerih sodijo, kar priča o prepletenu turistične dejavnosti s številnimi drugimi (glej opombo 15).²⁹ V dveh vodnikih (1997, 2005) zasledimo narečne izraze, ki so ustrezno razloženi.³⁰ Povedi so enostavne, slog poljuden, jasen in razumljiv. Daleč najpogostejši slogovni postopek oz. tematski razvoj v besedilu je opisovanje.³¹

Pomembna prikazovalna prvina so tudi t. i. ponazoritve, ki se v analiziranih besedilih pojavljajo predvsem v obliki fotografij. Te so v pretežni meri barvne, starejše z motivi iz bližnje preteklosti tudi črno-bele; prikazujejo istrsko in kraško pokrajino oz. različne naravne motive, mesta ter vasi oz. zaselke in njihove dele (trge, ulice, dvorišča, poslopja), zunanost in notranjost posameznih tako mestnih kot vaških stavb, kulturne spomenike (cerkve, samostane, umetniška dela, arheološke najdbe), prebivalce ob njihovih vsakodnevnih opravilih (obiranje oljk, solinarstvo, obrezovanje vinske trte, praznovanje vaškega praznika), turiste ob turističnih aktivnostih, jedi in pijače. Motivi so fotografirani iz različnih perspektiv,

V prvem delu 2005 so preko besedilnih enot predstavljene splošne geografske, zgodovinske, kulturne, etnološke značilnosti Slovenske Istre (takšne so enote Geografski opis, Kratek zgodovinski oris, Podnebje in vegetacija, Reke, Morje, Kmetijstvo (razdeljeno na Oljkarstvo in Vinogradništvo), Vrtnarstvo in sadjarstvo, Žita, Živinoreja, Ribištvo, Solinarstvo, Pomorstvo, Obrt, Trgovina, Arhitektura, Običaji in prazniki, Noša, Zdravstvo in zdravilstvo, Šolstvo, Glagolica, Narečje, Glasba in ples, Istarske jedi in vina), v drugem pa so posvečene posameznim krajem, torej mestom in vasem – te si glede na imena krajev sledijo po abecednem vrstnem redu. 2009 ima poleg osnovne členjenosti na poglavja (9 poglavij, posvečenih Istri, Slovenski Istri, Kopru, Izoli, Piranu, Portorožu, izletom, hrvaški Istri ter dogodkom in prireditvam) še delitev na podpoglavlja (npr. Koper skozi čas, Zgodovinske osebnosti, Ogleđ mesta, Turizem, Koprsko podeželje itd.), ta pa pogosto še na posamezne manjše vsebinsko zaokrožene razdelke, vezane na določeno predmetnost – tudi ti so naslovljeni (npr. Kraški rob, Trg Brolo, Kidričeva ulica, Letališče Portorož).

28 V 1993 in 2009 je razmerje nekako enakovredno, v 2001, 2004c in 2005 nagnjeno v prid prvi vrsti informacij, v 2004a pa drugi. Poseben primer sta 1997 in 2004b, kjer se prva vrsta informacij neprestano prepleta z drugo, kar si lahko razložimo z dejstvom, da gre za planinski in kolesarski turistični vodnik, katerih osrednji namen je predstavitev poteka določenih (planinskih, kolesarskih) poti in hkratno opozarjanje na (geografske, zgodovinske, etnološke itd.) lastnosti območja, po katerem poti potekajo.

29 Naštejmo le nekaj skupin (potencialnih) términov, ki se pojavljajo v vodnikih: s področja geografije: *reka, morje, polotok, vegetacija, obala, izliv, naselje, vas, mesto*; s področja zgodovine: *cesarstvo, republika, patriarchat, arhiv, srednji vek, stoletje*; s področja umetnosti zgodovine: *freska, portal, steber, grb, muzej, kor, zvonik, sarkofag, spomenik, kip, podoba, galerija*; s področja etnologije: *praznik, običaj, noša, kulinarika, jed, orodje*; s področja turistične industrije: *gost, turist, turistični kompleks, hotel, izlet, križarjenje, restavracija, kulinarčna ponudba, rekreatijska pot, potniški terminal, turistična destinacija, turistična agencija, hotelsko naselje, avtokamp* ipd.

30 V 1997 je razlagi manj znanih izrazov, med katerimi so zlasti narečni, namenjen poseben slovar, v 2005 pa so razloženi med besedilom, npr. *muša (oslica); plinjerji (široke pletene košare); šantlo in šantla (boter in botrica); šagra (praznik); čupin (brin); škant, šknt (violina); hroštole (flancati)*.

31 To se nasploh ugotavlja za besedila z informativno, torej prikazovalno funkcijo (Hudej, 1994, 64). Ponazorimo eno takšnih opisovanj. Opis arhitekturnih lastnosti istrske hiše: "Hiša je enocelična in enonadstropna, z vkopano kletjo. Nizka, vkopana stavbna gmota z debelimi kamnitimi stenami deluje težko, čokato. Maloštevilna in majhna okna, zaprta s težkimi hrastovimi polknji, se zdijo še manjša zaradi masivnih kamnitih ert. Edini poudarjen člen na zunanjščini so vrata, polkrožno ali ravno zaključena. Navadno sta imela pritiličje in nadstropje vsako svoj lastni vhod. Do nadstropja je vodilo kratko zunanje stopnišče." (2001, 96)

največ je panoram. Poleg fotografij se pojavljajo tudi slike, risbe, grafike in razglednice, pomembno prisotno ponazoritveno sredstvo pa so še zemljevidi (tako zemljevidi istrskega polotoka kot ožjih območij; pogosti so zemljevidi mest, velikokrat v shematski oblikih, ki izpostavlja posamezne točke, razložene v priloženi legendi) ter različne preglednice.³² Našteta ponazoritvena sredstva imajo praviloma podnapise,³³ pogosto pa se ob njih pojavlja krajša, vsebinsko zaokrožena besedilna enota.³⁴

2. POZIVNI POL. Rekli smo že, da je direktivna funkcija nasprotna reprezentativni le navidezno. V nadaljevanju bomo skušali prikazati, na kakšen način se realizira v analiziranih besedilih oz. kako se pozivanje prepleta s prikazovanjem. Prepletanje najprej opazimo v uvodniku; glede na to, da je njegova naloga običajno predstaviti vsebino publikacije, opisati okoliščine njenega nastanka in izpostaviti avtorjev odnos tako do vsebine kot do publikacije same (gre torej za metaoznake besedila), bi bilo pričakovati, da bo v njem najbolj neposredno izražen tvorčev namen, v našem primeru torej prikazovanje in pozivanje. Ugotovimo lahko, da je v uvodnikih³⁵ največkrat neposredno izražen samo prikazovalni namen: uvodnik v 1993 tako navaja, da je vodnik ena od 12 knjig serije, katere namen je predstavitev Slovenije, iz česar izhaja, da pričajoča publikacija predstavlja območji Primorja in Krasa; uvodnik v 1997 izpostavlja odločitev založnika – Planinske zvezne Slovenije, da izda natančnejši opis planinskih poti na območju Slovenske Istre, Čičarije, Krasa in Brkinov, ki so bili v dotedanjih sorodnih publikacijah "površinski", površni in obrobeni; uvodnik v 2001 pravi (11–12), da želi vodnik bralcu "notranjost Slovenske Istre ali, kot temu delu pogosto pravimo, zaledje slovenske obale predstaviti kar se da celostno, iz vrste zornih kotov. Najpomembnejši je opis posameznih vasi in pomembnejših

zaselkov, nismo pa pozabili niti na naravno, arhitekturno in drugo kulturno dediščino in značilnosti, ki jih na tem prostoru ne manjka. S to publikacijo Vas bomo popeljali tudi do manj obljudjenih krajev in Vas seznanili z njimi."; uvodnik v 2009 pravi (4), da publikacija "predstavlja Istro v vsej njeni pestri podobi", zlasti pa njeno zgodovino, kulturo, umetnost ter turistično ponudbo. Tudi sicer v uvodnikih prevladujejo prikazovalne prvine: eden od uvodnikov v 1993 zgoščeno predstavlja fizično- in družbenogeografske značilnosti opisovanega območja, drugi pa pojasnjuje vsebinsko organiziranost vodnika in daje navodila za njegovo uporabo; prvi uvodnik v 1997 opisuje dolgoletno urejanje v vodniku predstavljenih planinskih poti, drugi se posveča procesu nastajanja besedila vodnika ter se zahvaljuje vsem sodelujočim, tretji predstavlja navodila za uporabo vodnika, četrti prinaša slovar neznanih izrazov, peti pa praktične napotke v vezi z gibanjem v obmejnem pasu, kamor sodijo predstavljene planinske poti; uvodnik v 2001 zgoščeno opisuje zgodovinske, geografske, kulturne in etnološke lastnosti zaledja Slovenske Istre; uvodnik v 2004a naštева turistične kapacitete območja; uvodnika v 2005 našteta v vodniku uporabljeni vire in literaturo, opozarjata na preminulega fotografa in oblikovalca vodnika, se zahvaljujeta vsem sodelujočim ter opisujeta organizacijo vodnika; uvodnik v 2009 opisuje istrsko zgodovino. Uvodnik v 2004b predstavlja izjemo, saj edini neposredno izpostavlja pozivno funkcijo vodnika: "Naj bo vodnik orodje, naj bo iskra za vžig vaših potencialov. Tri, dve, ena, gremo!" (4) Pozivnost se v uvodnikih le redko pojavi neposredno.³⁶ Veliko več je posrednosti, kot je npr. raba jezikovnih sredstev s pozitivno konotacijo oz. ekspresivnih, čustveno obarvanih izrazov in formulacij, s katerimi se posredujejo oz. modificirajo informacije, o katerih se poroča.³⁷ Naslednja vrsta posrednega pozivanja je izpostavljanje turističnih aktivnosti oz. zanje re-

32 Analizirani vodniki se razlikujejo glede na to, katera ponazoritvena sredstva uporabljajo; v tem pogledu najpestrejši je 2004c, ki uporablja vsa našteta sredstva, sledi mu 2009, ki ne uporablja preglednic, na nasprotnem polu pa sta 1997 in 2001, ki uporabljata samo fotografije. Ostali vodniki poleg fotografij uporabljajo vsaj še zemljevide, 1993 in 2005 v obilni meri tudi preglednice.

33 Npr. *Turistična kmetija Bordon; Vaška arhitektura; Vodnjak; Zgoraj, sodobna marina. Spodaj, fotografija Portoroža iz leta 1926; Kraški rob – panoramski obvoz; Motiv iz Pomjana; Obiranje oljč v Slovenski Istri; Podpeč z obrambnim stolpom z Zjata – Posnetek.*

34 Gl. opombo 25.

35 Uvodnike vsebuje 7 od 8 analiziranih vodnikov. 1993 in 2005 imata 2, 1997 kar 6 uvodnih besedil, ostali vodniki pa po 1; ponekod so avtorji uvodnikov tudi avtorji glavnega besedila (1997, 2004b, 2009), ponekod urednik oz. eden od urednikov (1993, 1997, 2004a), v ostalih primerih pa avtor ni identificiran (1993, 2001, 2005); vsaj v zadnjem primeru je mogoče sklepati, da gre za avtorja glavnega besedila).

36 Kot je to v sledenih primerih: *Pridite, prijatelji, posedite z nami, odkrivajte in spoznavajte našo čudovito Istro* (2001); *Televizija je okno v svet. Toda okno, odprto samo v eno smer. Zaprite ga in odprite vrata, zajahajte kolo ali motor, začutite veter v laseh!* (2004b).

37 Navedimo nekaj primerov: *O, koliko lepega skrivajo kotički tam globoko pod Vremščico, daleč pod železniško progo Divača–Pivka! In koliko čudovitih biserov skrivajo poti okoli Slavnika, kraji ob slovensko-hrvaški in slovensko-italijanski meji v Istri, pa v Brkinih, v Čičariji, na Krasu, blizu Kraškega roba in drugod!* (1997); *Slovenska Istra je eno najbolj privlačnih in vznemirljivih področij v Srednji Evropi* (2001); *Obala Istre je drugačen, prijaznejši, a gosteje naseljen svet, ki s skoraj še nedotaknjeno notranjostjo oblikuje nepozabno celoto* (2004b); *Na teh tleh so se križale poti in stranpoti, na njih so se rušila in gradila naselja, bojevale legije, ki so nosile znak doječe volkulje, krilatega leva, vzvišenega orla* (2009).

levantnih informacij.³⁸ Posredni pozivni element je tudi vzpostavljanje povezave z naslovnikom preko nagovarjanja in obračanja na naslovnika.³⁹

Tudi v osrednjem delu analiziranih vodnikov najdemo podobno izražanje pozivnega namena, kot se kaže v uvodnikih. Neposrednega pozivanja pravzaprav ni,⁴⁰ toliko več pa je posrednosti, ki se kaže na različne načine. Najprej je tu obračanje na naslovnika, najpogosteje v 2. osebi množine;⁴¹ v funkciji vzpostavljanja in vzdrževanja stika z naslovnikom je raba 1. osebe množine, posebej pogosta v vodnikih, ki opisujejo potek določenih izletov (1997, 2004b).⁴² Pri tem gre pravzaprav za po-

vezovalno oz. ekspresivno funkcijo, ki pa je v našem primeru podrejena pozivni, se pravi – preko povezave z naslovnikom se ustvari primerna podlaga za izrek posrednega poziva.⁴³ Povezovalnost je prisotna tudi v naslednji, v večini vodnikov izredno pogosti prvini, tj. v uporabi jezikovnih sredstev s pozitivno konotacijo⁴⁴ in čustveno zaznamovanih oz. ekspresivnih izrazih in formulacijah,⁴⁵ a poznavanje okoliščin pojavljanja besedila turističnega vodnika ne pušča dvoma, da primarna funkcija tovrstnih sredstev ni (zgolj) vzdrževanje stika z naslovnikom, ampak predvsem modificiranje informacij z namenom, da se predmetnost, o kateri se poroča, pri-

38 *Kdorkoli se bo na teh območjih mudil dlje časa, bo bogatejši za neizmerno veliko prečudovitih naravnih lepot, kulturno-zgodovinskih spomenikov in starosvetnih zanimivosti* (1997); *Slovensko Istro lahko zaradi urejenih in asfaltiranih, resda nekoliko ozkih cest spoznavamo tudi z avtomobilom, vendar pa je pravo doživetje spoznavanje s kolesom ali peš* (2001); *V slovenski Istri in na Krasu vas pričakujemo v novem sijaju, z obnovljenimi hoteli, s pestrejšo ponudbo in številnimi prireditvami, ki vam bodo popestire počitnice in vam približale našo tradicijo in sodobno ustvarjalnost* (2004a); *Veličastna pokrajina, ujeta na trikotnem polotoku, vas bo presenetila takoj, ko zavijete z glavnih poti na stranske rdeče kolovoze, med trte in oljke* (2004b); *In popotniku, ki ga spremlja pričujoči vodnik, se odkrivajo radosti in lepote Istre* (2009).

39 Vsem bralcem in uporabnikom vodnika želim, da bi užili veliko čudovitih in radostnih uric na sprehodih po flišnih in apnenčastih kraških stezicah (1997); *Hvala Vam za obisk in ohranjanje naše čiste Slovenske Istre takšne, kakršna je* (2001); Pa vendar, v slovenski Istri in na Krasu boste zvezda vi, saj vam ponujamo najboljše in najlepše, kar imamo, da vam ostane v prijetnem spominu (2004a); *Na kolesu boste poleg veselja gibanja deležni tudi užitka hitrosti!* (2004b); *Preden se podamo na pot, bi vam rad, dragi popotniki, ljubitelji Istre, najprej predstavil nekaj skupnih lastnosti tega prekrasnega območja;* (2005).

40 Res redka primera sta npr.: *Ko se boste vozili ali hodili od kraja do kraja, si poleg opisanih oglejte še manjše, a zato nič manj privlačne in zanimive kraje* (2001); *Za ogled Pirana, Tartinijevega trga in še kakšnih tekočih zanimivosti si pa le vzemite dovolj časa!* (2004b).

41 *Takrat boste lahko poskusili nagrajena vina in kopico pravih istrskih dobrot* (2001); *Ko se naužijete prijaznega mestnega ozračja Izole, vas pričakuje tudi zanimivo zaledje* (2004a); *S seboj morate imeti veljaven potovalni dokument* (2004c); *Seveda pa boste po tej slikoviti deželi doživeli marsikaj lepega, kar ni v tem vodilu opisanega, tudi sami odkrili in okusili* (2005); *Kot v vsakem letovišču pa se lahko odpravite po nakupih, obiščete frizerski salon, banko, pošto* (2005).

42 Na tem območju imamo vtip, da gre za flišnato pokrajino (1997); *Ko nas pot pripelje v istrsko vas, nas najprej očara njena izjemna slikovitost* (2001); *Kmalu uzremo stekleno avtobusno postajo, ki kmetu služi za počivalnik* (2004b); *V neposredni bližini se nam odkrije glavni trg, razstava, kjer si lahko ogledamo telesa treh mumificiranih svetnikov* (2004c); *Če smo bolj pri močeh, se lahko podamo na krajski potep po izolskem podeželju* (2009).

43 Npr.: *Začnimo potep pod svetovno znano previsno steno v zatrepu hudourniške doline nad Ospom* (1997); *Sprehod po vasi nam bo odkril številne elemente tipične istrske arhitekture* (2001); *Tale kilometr klanca bomo seveda zmogli in se nagradili z veličastnim razgledom; Kilometer naprej nas pot vabi še na Malo Učko* (2004b); *V cerkvi si lahko ogledamo prelep kamnit kropilnik iz leta 1691* (2004c); *Dobre turistične kmetije in restavracije so največkrat nekoliko odmaknjene in jih ne najdemo ob glavnih cestah. Skrite v zaledju imajo vsaka svojo posebnost in čar, ki odtehtata našo odločitev, da smo se odpravili iz hrupnega vsakdana v ta umirjeni svet* (2009).

44 S tem mislimo na vzpostavljanje pozitivne konotacije na pomenski ravni. V veliki večini primerov so njeni nosilci pridevniki, npr.: *prikupen zaselek; dragocena arhitekturna dediščina; prijetno okolje; bogata paleta stavbne dediščine; neonesnažena narava;* (2001); *veličasten podzemeljski kanjon; odlična razgledna točka; aromatična vina; pristni in skromni ljudje; gostoljubna klet* (2004a); *požrtvovalne ženske; svetleče morje;* (2004b); *očarljivo turistično središče; naravni zaliv je čist in neokrnjen* (2004c); *izjemne naravne danosti; okusen dodatek k prehrani; slikovita dežela* (2005); *živahna burja; slikoviti tolmini; razgibana istrska pokrajina; izborne jedi; razkošni gozdovi; častitljiva starost stavbe* (2009). Manj je samostalnikov (npr.: *evropski biser* (2001); *biotska pestrost* (2004a); *kulinarične specialitete* (2004b); *bogastvo istrske kuhinje, pravi raj* (2004c); *mojstrovina; istrska pojedina* (2009)), še manj glagolov, (npr.: *ekosistem, ki bogati biotsko pestrost* (2004a); *pokrajina je obarvana s cvetovi; notranjost je posejana s hrastovjem* (2004c); *vodnjak kras* (2009)) in prislovov (npr. *izredno dobro olje* (2005); *lepo urejena marina* (2009)). Na oblikovni ravni so sredstva za doseganje pozitivne konotacije npr. pomanjševalnice (npr.: *vasice* (1997); *osliček; mestece* (2001); *gozdički* (2004c)) in stopnjevanje pridevnikov (npr.: *najbolj slikovito mesto* (2001); *najlepša naravna plaža na slovenski obali* (2004b)).

45 Npr.: *Koliko znoja, truda, žuljev in koliko ljubezni!* (1997); *In ko šole zaprejo svoja vrata, se prek Slovenske Istre k morju steka reka luči; Nad dolinami na gričih dremajo strnjene vasi in zaselki* (2001); *Izola, ki sega v morje, vabi na ogled mestnih znamenitosti, na potep po živahnih senčnih ulicah in v zatišje galerij; Tako je kamenje ustvarilo Kras, namesto da bi končalo na dnu morja* (2004a); *"Slava Lahom na višavah!" se mi utrne malo "žleht" misel. So že vedeli, kje postaviti božja znamenja, da človek ne izgubi ne diha ne vere* (2004b); *"biser" doline reke Mirne; Piran je "dragulj" severne Istre; Čudovito otoče lahko opisemo kot "zelene dragulje, raztresene po modrem pregrinjalu"* (2004c); *Od zdavnaj je morje Sloveniji okno v svet; Sončnim pobočjem naše lepe Istre daje razpoznavnost zasajena vinska trta, ki izkušenim, spretnim in skrbnim rokam istrskega kmeta oziroma vinjarja daje vrhunska vina* (2005); *Vso lepoto Istre, njene odlike in čarobnost je rimski veljak Flavius Cassiodorus leta 537 strnil v en stavek: "V Istri je življene božanske."*; *Na tem delu Slovenije, ki valovi med ostrom kraškim robom in sinjo obalo morja, sončni žarki močneje grejejo in zime hitreje minejo* (2009).

kaže čim bolj privlačno, zanimivo, torej takšno, ki tvorca ne pušča ravnodušnega in ne bo pustila niti naslovnika, če si jo bo odločil ogledati – ponovno gre torej za posredno pozivnost. Ekspresivnost s pozivno funkcijo je prisotna tudi v posameznih besedilnih enotah, ki so pravzaprav umetnostna besedila oz. z njimi izkazujejo določene sorodnosti.⁴⁶ Nadalje posredno pozivnost opazimo v uporabi vrednotenjskih izrazov⁴⁷ in nenazadnje tudi v fotografijah (s sicer primarno prikazovalno vlogo) – ta se kaže v dveh njihovih lastnostih: estetskosti in privlačnosti ter prikazovanju ne le opisovane predmetnosti, pač pa tudi številnih turističnih aktivnosti (obedovanje, kopanje, sončenje, sprehajanje, kolesarjenje, pohodnišvo, prevažanje z ladjo, ogledovanje muzejev, obiskovanje prireditev ipd.). Primarno pozivno funkcijo opravljajo tudi oglaševalska besedila, ki so vložena v posamezne vodnike.⁴⁸

SKLEPNE UGOTOVITVE

Besedila turističnih vodnikov smo glede na okoliščine njihovega pojavljanja uvrstili v reprezentativno-direktivni besedilni tip, kar pomeni, da je namen njihovega tvorca na eni strani prikazovati, torej naslovniku posredovati, predstaviti informacije o določeni predmetnosti oz. stvarnosti, po drugi strani pa pozivati, torej na naslovnika vplivati tako, da bo opravil določeno dejanje, sprejel določeno stališče. V konkretnem primeru gre za besedila, ki želijo posredovati mnogostranske informacije o geografskem območju Slovenske Istre (lahko tudi o širšem območju) in naslovnika – potencialnega turista prepričati, da se na podlagi predstavljenega odloči za potovanje, izlet oz. dopust na predstavljenem območju. Pozivajo ga torej, naj postane turist in naj za svojo destinacijo izbere Slovensko Istru. Glede na standardno realizacijo identificiranih namenov v analiziranih besedilih lahko rečemo, da so stilno nezaznamovane naslednje prvine

besedilne vrste turističnega vodnika: a) *prikazovalni pol* – leksikonska organizacija (mnoštvo manjših besedilnih enot je smiseln organizirano v enotno besedilo turističnega vodnika), predstavitev dveh vrst informacij, pretežno predmetnostnih (geografske, zgodovinske, kulturne, etnološke ipd. lastnosti opisovanega območja) in pretežno turistično relevantnih (informacije o turistični infrastrukturi oz. turističnih kapacitetah opisovanega območja), raba standardnega knjižnega jezika s splošno razumljivimi izrazi in tērmini, nezapletenimi povedmi in poljudnim slogom, opisovanje kot najpogosteja vrsta tematskega razvoja, bogata uporaba ponazoritvenih sredstev (fotografije, zemljevidi, preglednice itd.); b) *pozivni pol* – gre za posredno pozivanje, ki se izraža preko nagovarjanja in obračanja na naslovnika v 2. osebi množine, vzpostavljanja stika z naslovnikom z uporabo 1. osebe množine, uporabe jezikovnih sredstev s pozitivno konotacijo, čustveno obarvanih oz. ekspresivnih izrazov in formulacij, vrednotenjskih izrazov ter prisotnosti umetnostnih oz. umetnostnim sorodnih besedil, odlomkov.

Ugotovimo lahko, da sodijo prikazovalne prvine pretežno na področje objektivnosti, pozivne prvine pa na področje subjektivnosti; slednje pridobivajo naslovnika in modificirajo prikazovano predmetnost s ciljem narediti jo privlačno in zanimivo – na tak način opravljajo posredno pozivanje, medtem ko se neposredni pozivi pojavitve izredno redko, pretežno v uvodnih besedilih. Analizirane vodnike lahko razporedimo po lestvici glede na to, kateri od polov je bolj izrazit: medtem ko se v 1993 realizira skoraj izključno le prikazovalni namen, predstavlja 2004a drugo skrajnost – njegova pretežna pozivnost ga približuje že oglaševalskim besedilom (v nekaterih vodnikih se sicer pojavlja določeno število oglaševalskih besedil). Ostali vodniki si sledijo od prikazovalnosti k pozivnosti v nekako sledečem vrstnem redu: 1997, 2005, 2001, 2004c, 2004b, 2009.⁴⁹

46 Take besedilne enote so npr.: v 1997 (17–19) sestavek (eden od uvodnikov) pisatelja Marjana Tomšiča "Vinograd z griča spušča se v ravnino ...", literariziran opis istrske pokrajine, ki tudi sam vsebuje tri pesemske odlomke; v 2004a (26) sestavek "Poklíc: ribič", kjer se na slikovit način opisuje ribičev vsakdan; v 2004c (24) odlomek iz literarnega dela Scipia Slataperja *Moj Kras*; v 2005 citati istrskih literarnih ustvarjalcev, pogosto gre za pesmi oz. odlomke iz njih, ter ljudski pregorji – ti se, pisani v drugačnem črkovnem fontu, pojavljajo skozi celotno besedilo vodnika in predstavljajo ekspresivno obarvano izpoved o predmetnosti, ki jo avtor opisuje v glavnem besedilu.

47 Taki so npr.: *vsekakor si je vredno ogledati; vredno ogleda; se splača ogledati; je vredno poizkusiti; vreden obiska; splača se poskusiti*.

48 Uvodnik v 1993 razdelek, kjer "podjetja ponujajo svoje izdelke in storitve", imenuje za vsebinski sklop, sestavljen in enakovredni del "priročnika" – na koncu vodnika si tako v strnjenej zaporedju sledi 14 oglasov; v 2001 in 2005 sta oglasa 2; v 2004a najdemo bodisi besedila, ki so v celoti oglaševalska (npr. oglasi za določeno restavracijo, za določeno zdravilišče, za različne hotele, za izlet v Benetke, za portoroški kazino, za turistične prireditev), bodisi se oglaševalske prvine pojavljajo v primarno neoglaševalskih besedilnih enotah, npr.: *Priporočamo vam knjižico Kosovelova pot, avtorja Pavla Skrinjarja, ki jo je izdala občina Sežana ob stoletnici pesnikovega rojstva*. Teh zadnjih je nekaj tudi v ostalih vodnikih, npr.: *Hkrati z vodnikom je pripravljen tudi zemljevid z območja Slovenske Istre, Čičarje, Brkinov in Krasa, in to v razmerju 1:50.000. Planinci, ki jih bo vodila pot po tem delu Slovenije, naj vodnik uporablajo skupaj s karto* (1997); *Med izbrane restavracije sodi Skiper v marini, ki poleg izjemnega pogleda na morje razvaja z izbranimi mesnimi jedmi in bogato izbiro rib in drugih dobrot iz jadranskih globin* (2009).

49 Ugotovitve analize zavračajo trditev, ki pravi, da so besedila turističnih vodnikov "napisana okorno, v puščobnem, neprivlačnem, napol strokovnem jeziku. [...] Sodobna zasnova takih besedil, nova, bolj bogata vsebina bi seveda vplivala tudi na jezikovno kulturo sporočil, na opuščanje suhega 'uradniškega' obravnavanja podatkov in s tem na večjo izrazno samozavest" (Pogorelec, Sršen, 1983, 63) – razen 1993 namreč vsi analizirani vodniki izkazujejo slikovito, "privlačno" izražanje, kar pojasnjujemo z njihovim pozivnim

Glede na povedano se lahko strinjamo z ugotovitvama o poljudnoznanstvenih besedilih, kamor se glede na standardno funkcionalno klasifikacijo (Toporišič) najpogosteje uvrščajo besedila turističnih vodnikov: da so v primerjavi z znanstvenimi, ki so usmerjena pretežno na predmet, precej bolj usmerjena na naslovnika (Sajovic, 1986, 56), ter da njihov tvorec z namenom pridbitve oz. pritegnitve naslovnika v besedilo vključuje za znanstveni jezik netipične prvine, kot so neposredni stik, prepričevalnost in čustvenost (Kržišnik Kolšek, 1986, 61). Ob tem se moramo zavedati, da ugotovitvi izhajata iz razlaganja narave poljudnoznanstvenega besedila v odnosu do znanstvenega, iz iskanja sorodnosti in razlik med eno in drugo vrsto besedil, kar za nas ni relevantno; pri opisovanju besedilne vrste turističnega vodnika smo namreč njene lastnosti opredeljevali same na sebi, in sicer predvsem kot odraz tvorčevega namena oz. funkcije spremnjanja, vplivanja na zunajjezikovno dejanskost – posamezna besedila, besedilne vrste oz. funkcijalne zvrsti (če uporabimo standardno strukturalistično terminologijo) se medsebojno ločijo glede na to, za kakšne vrste vplivanje gre (Skubic, Mikolič). Skladno z opredelitvijo namenske strukture turističnega vodnika kot reprezentativno-direktivne lahko analizirano besedilno vrsto brez težav uvrstimo na področje Skubičevega sporočanjsko-vplivanskega oz. pragmatičnega diskurza, katerega bist-

vena značilnost je želja tvorca, da naslovnik na podlagi informacij, ki se mu jih posreduje v besedilu, prilagodi svoje mišljenje in delovanje, kar povsem sovpada z našo analizo, ki je pokazala, da tvorec turističnega vodnika sicer prikazuje (oz. informira, sporoča), vendar na določen, zanj prikladen način, s čimer poziva (oz. vpliva). Po Mikolič gre torej za vplivanje (direktivna funkcija) na naslovnikovo vednost (reprezentativna funkcija). Pač pa smo vzpostavljanje Skubičevega "zaupanja vrednega" tvorca, ki naj bi bil ključen pogoj za delovanje sporočansko-vplivanskega diskurza (naslovnik bo namreč lažje sprejel informacije, če mu jih posreduje "primerna" oseba), opazili le v treh vodnikih – v 2004b, 2005 in 2009. V vseh treh primerih se avtorja izpostavlja kot nekoga, ki se poklicno in/ali ljubiteljsko tako ali drugače ukvarja z območjem Slovenske Istre oz. ima z njim bogate izkušnje, navaja se njegovo predhodno avtorstvo del (publikacij, dokumentarnih filmov) s sorodno tematiko – gre skratka za nekoga, ki je dober poznavalec v vodniku predstavljenega območja in ki mu naslovnik lahko zaupa. V primeru ostalih petih vodnikov je avtorjev praviloma več, nihče od njih pa ni posebej izpostavljen v smislu poklicnih referenc, ljubiteljskih izkušenj ali posebnih dosežkov v zvezi s predstavljenim območjem; v teh primerih v uvodnikih namesto avtorjev nastopajo uredniki ali pa avtor uvodnika ni identificiran.

THE TEXT-TYPE OF A TOURIST GUIDEBOOK – OUTLINING THE INTENTIONAL STRUCTURE OF A TEXT TYPE IN THE CASE OF TOURIST GUIDES TO SLOVENE ISTRIA

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SUMMARY

The basic purpose of this paper is to describe a type of text – a tourist guide, which has not yet been analysed in the scope of Slovene linguistics. Our theoretical starting points represent a cross-section of findings from the fields of text linguistics, pragmalinguistics, and functional stylistics. Our basic research unit is the text as defined by Dressler and Beaugrand – a communication phenomenon that meets the seven standards of textuality. The texts that arise in everyday communication can be organised, according to their affinities and differences, into various text types, that is text classes with dominating common traits. The traits refer primarily to the array of specific linguistic or expressional means that are organised in a specific manner within a certain text. With this in mind we refer to stylistic (non)markedness – the stylistically non-marked elements represent standard elements and their use is customary in a

namenom. Ob tem je treba pripomniti, da je zgornji navedek nastal l. 1979 (tedaj je potekalo strokovno oz. znanstveno srečanje, zbornik referatov je izšel l. 1983), medtem ko sta 2 od analiziranih vodnikov iz 90. let 20. stoletja, vsi ostali pa iz prvega desetletja 21. stoletja. V tem času so se korenito spremenile družbene razmere, obenem pa tudi besedilne vrste oz. konvencije, ki vplivajo na njihovo tvorjenje in sprejemanje. Ugotovitev o suhoparnosti jezika turističnih vodnikov je bila tako (lahko) v času svojega nastanka točna, danes pa ni več.

certain types of text, while the stylistically marked elements are those that represent a deviation from standard conventions. In analysing text type we can use a description of circumstances, the context in which the analysed text is formed and received; this involves the participants in communication – the creator and addressee of the text, their abilities, expectations, points of view, level of knowledge, mutual relations, time and space of text occurrence, etc. Knowing the context is crucial when identifying the purpose that has been realised through the text by its creator; as the creator chooses means of expressing and does so in a manner that allows the most efficient expression of his or her purpose – this is the so called intentional structure of text or a specific text type. According to pragmalinguistic taxonomy of illocutionary acts by Searle, each text can be assigned to one of five text types or their combinations: 1) representatives; 2) directives; 3) commissives; 4) expressives; and 5) declarations. The creator's intention is compatible with text function – with respect to the purpose the creator is trying to achieve, the text serves a function of: 1) representing; 2) inviting; 3) obligating; 4) associating; 5) performing. In the realm of Slovene structural linguistics (Toporišič) the functions of language and consequentially of texts have traditionally been explained by their applicational purpose and fields of social activities – according to this, the functional type is understood as a specific sort of language, the purpose of which is to satisfy the needs of a certain social scope to express themselves, which is realised in individual texts or in the functional text-type. Pragmalinguistics takes a different approach (Mikolič, Skubic), which understands function as a capacity of language to change the world or influence the reality existing outside language. Typology of functional types and text types then originates from various types of influence. According to the classical functional typology, the tourist guidebook is a sub-type of popular science text type. Skubic assigns it to the sphere of discourse-influential speech, while Mikolič attributes to it a communicational demonstrational influential function as a popular scientific text or a professional text.

To achieve the goals of this research we have analysed eight tourist guidebooks to Slovene Istria that met the three crucial criteria of our selection: 1) focus on the geographical area of Slovene Istria, 2) publication in 1991 or later, 3) the use of Slovene language. We have described the circumstances of their creation and receiving, identified the creator's purpose, and observed how it is realised in individual texts. We have established that a tourist guidebook is a portable written text form intended for a wide and usually non-specific audience. There is no hierarchical relationship between the writer (or a group of writers) and the reader. The reader freely decides to use a tourist guidebook text when he or she wishes to acquire information concerning travel in a certain geographical area due to eventual travel or holiday plans. The type of text is representatively-directive: on one hand the writer wishes to inform the reader about the geographical, historical, cultural, ethnological etc. characteristics of Slovene Istria, thus to represent, while on the other hand the writer wants to convince the reader that the area in question is attractive and interesting enough on multiple levels to be worth affording it a visit, thus to invite.

Key words: tourist guidebook, text, text type, functional types, circumstances of text formation and receiving, text type as an intentional structure of text, the creator's intention as a text function, Slovene Istria

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IDENTIFIKACIJA TERMINOV ZA TURISTIČNI TERMINOLOŠKI SLOVAR

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IZVLEČEK

V prispevku je predstavljen postopek urejanja turističnega terminološkega slovarja s poudarkom na identifikaciji terminov, ki je potekal po korpusnem pristopu. Najprej je pozornost posvečena izboru in klasifikaciji besedil za korpus turističnih besedil TURK, ki danes obsega približno 30 milijonov besed. Na osnovi korpusa je bila avtomatsko generirana lista besed (monogramov) in besednih zvez (bigramov in trigramov), urejena po pogostosti od najvišje k najmanjši. Nadaljnji postopek luščenja turistične terminologije je bil izveden na osnovi predhodne razvrstitev turističnih besedil v korpusu glede na vrsto turizma in glede na družbeno področje, ki se vključuje v turizem. Prav družbeno področje, ki se v geselskem članku terminološkega slovarja izrazi kot kvalifikator posameznega tērmina, se je izkazalo za najbolj relevantno pri odločitvi za nabor turističnih terminov.

Ključne besede: turizem, terminologija, terminološki slovar, terminološki kandidat, specializirani korpus, področna besedila, funkcionalna zvrstnost, geselski članek

IDENTIFICAZIONE DEI TERMINI PER IL VOCABOLARIO TERMINOLOGICO DEL TURISMO

SINTESI

Nell'articolo viene illustrata la procedura adottata nella compilazione di un vocabolario terminologico del turismo, con particolare riferimento al processo di identificazione dei termini avvenuta secondo l'approccio per corpus. Si è iniziato con la selezione e la classificazione dei testi per il corpus specialistico di turismo TURK che oggi si compone di 30 milioni di parole circa. In base al corpus è stata automaticamente composta la lista di parole (monogrammi) e di associazione di parole (bigrammi e trigrammi), organizzata per frequenza d'uso, dalla maggiore verso la minore. La successiva selezione della terminologia del turismo è stata eseguita in base alla precedente classificazione dei testi nel corpus a seconda della tipologia di turismo e del segmento sociale che interagisce con il turismo. Proprio il segmento sociale che nell'articolo descrittivo del lemma del vocabolario terminologico qualifica il singolo termine, si afferma quale aspetto più rilevante nella selezione dei termini del turismo.

Parole chiave: turismo, terminologia, vocabolario terminologico, candidato termine, corpus specialistico, testi appartenenti a linguaggi settoriali, tipologia funzionale, articolo descrittivo dei lemmi

POMEN TURISTIČNE TERMINOLOGIJE

Terminologija predstavlja pomemben del besedja vsakega modernega jezika, ki med drugim odraža dogajanja v določeni družbi, življenje neke skupnosti, suverenost narodnega jezika in naroda kot takega. Za sodobni čas je značilno izredno hitro širjenje informacij, nastajanje novih izdelkov, naprav, odkrivanje novih spoznanj. Vse to je potrebno poimenovati, zato imata terminologija in terminografija zelo pomembno vlogo. Tvorjenje strokovnega izrazja je v teoriji knjižnega jezika ena temeljnih nalog jezikovne skupnosti, ki svoj jezik uporablja na različnih sporazumevalnih področjih. Tako se z nastankom države Slovenije slovenski jezik uporablja na vseh sporazumevalnih področjih, tudi v vojski, carini, diplomaciji, kjer se je v nekdanji Jugoslaviji uporabljala srbohrvaščina. Slovenci se zavedamo pomembnosti terminologije – na to kaže veliko število terminoloških slovarjev, izdanih zlasti v 90-ih letih prejšnjega stoletja. Kljub temu pa se kažejo razlike med področji, ki so hkrati z razvojem skrbela za slovenska poimenovanja, npr. informacijska tehnologija in mobilna telefonija (Stramlič Breznik, 2003), in nekaterimi drugimi področji, ki pod vplivom globalizacijskega jezikovnega enotnega in pod pritiskom državne politike ocenjevanja opuščajo razvijanje slovenske terminologije (Humar, 2009, 42).

Zaradi spoznanja, da turistična terminologija v slovenščini še nima nobenega enojezičnega ali večjezičnega slovarja ali leksikona, se je priprava terminološkega slovarja s področja turizma pokazala kot nuja. Slovenija namreč že od nekdaj velja za turistično deželo, z vstopom v Evropsko unijo pa je naša država kot posebej zanimiva turistična destinacija še pridobila pomen. Številni razgovori, ki smo jih med večletnim ukvarjanjem z oglaševanjem v turizmu opravili z nosilci in izvajalci turističnih dejavnosti, so pokazali, da so le-ti še kako zainteresirani za učinkovita orodja, ki bi pripomogla k učinkovitosti njihovih trženjskih procesov. Terminološki slovar na osnovi elektronskega večjezičnega jezikovnega korpusa kot statistično relevantne zbirke različnih turističnih besedil bo tako pomenil osnovo za delovanje celotne turistične stroke, in sicer tako neposrednih nosilcev turistične dejavnosti, tj. podjetij (hotelskih, gostinskih, transportnih idr.), kulturnih centrov in društev, zvez kulturnih organizacij, kot tudi za posredne nosilce te dejavnosti, kot so različna poslovna združenja, turistična društva in zveze, lokalne skupnosti, gospodarske zbornice idr. Hkrati pa bo seveda pomembna osnova za vse vede, ki se s turizmom ukvarjajo kot s predmetom svojega preučevanja.

Terminološki slovarji so namreč atributi razvitih strok, omogočajo strokovno in jezikovno ustrezeno komunikacijo, predlagajo slovensko izrazje za nove predmete in pojme hitro razvijajočih se ali novih strok, odražajo duha in kulturo naroda (če so narejeni na domačem gradivu!) ter odražajo politične tendence (Humar, 2004, 23). Hkrati večjezični terminološki slovarji omogočajo tudi mednarodno komuniciranje v novih družbenih in političnih razmerah.

Seveda se tu pojavi vprašanje zasnove in načina oblikovanja terminološkega slovarja. Logarjeva (2009, 321) navaja tri faze v nastajanju terminološkega slovarja, in sicer: opredelitev besedil, iz katerih bo pridobljena leksika; oblikovanje meril, na podlagi katerih bo leksika vključena v geslovnik; določitev podatkov, ki bodo vključeni v geselski članek. Pričujoči prispevek ima namen prikazati teoretske opredelitve in praktične rešitve, pomembne za vse tri faze nastajajočega turističnega terminološkega slovarja, s poudarkom na identifikaciji terminov.

Slovenski razlagalni turistični terminološki slovar z vzporednico v angleškem jeziku nastaja v okviru aplikativnega projekta "Turistični terminološki slovar" Znanstveno-raziskovalnega središča Univerze na Primorskem, financer: ARRS, nosilka: dr. Vesna Mikolič, 2008–2011. Kodificiranje slovenske turistične terminologije v okviru omenjenega projekta temelji na:

- evidentiranju strokovnih izrazov ali terminov,
- pomenski analizi terminov in ugotavljanju pomenskih odnosov med njimi (sopomenskost, protipomenskost, večpomenskost, nad- in podpomenskost),
- normirjanju glede na knjižno normo in zahteve urejene terminologije.

Osnova za izdelavo slovarja je specializirani jezikovni korpus s področja turizma, ki zajema 30.000.000 besed in je nastal v okviru temeljnega raziskovalnega projekta "Večjezični korpus turističnih besedil – informacijski vir in analitična baza slovenske naravne in kulturne dediščine" istega izvajalca, financerja in iste nosilke v letih 2006–2008. Cilj projekta je bila izdelava elektronske zbirke turističnih besedil v slovenskem, italijanskem in angleškem jeziku, oblikovane na osnovi statistično relevantnih kriterijev in z nizom pomožnih jezikovnih orodij.

IZBOR IN KLASIFIKACIJA BESEDIL TURISTIČNEGA JEZIKOVNEGA KORPUSA KOT VIRA PODATKOV ZA TERMINOLOŠKI SLOVAR

Specializirani ali področni korpus¹ zajema besedila z določenega predmetno-pojmovnega področja, ki je lahko zelo razvijano in mnogoplastno. Takšen primer je

¹ Za utemeljitev strokovnega izraza področni korpus glej Mikolič, 2009, 257–263.

tudi jezikovni korpus s področja turizma, pri gradnji katerega je potrebno upoštevati vsaj dve posebnosti turizma kot hitro razvijajočega se družbenega področja. Prvič, turizem kot tak zajema vse vidike družbe, saj kot množični pojav temelji na številnih gospodarskih in tudi negospodarskih dejavnostih. In drugič, turizem je področje, na katerem jezik v globalizacijskih procesih sodobne evropske in svetovne družbe intenzivno prihajajo v stik z drugimi jeziki. Tako je turizem (poleg diplomacije, gospodarstva, znanosti, visokega šolstva – učiteljske in študentske izmenjave, vsakdanjega življenja na obmejnih območjih idr.) eno ključnih področij, kjer se tudi slovenski diskurz sooča s tujejezičnimi diskurzmi. Zaradi teh specifičnosti turizma v terminologijo prihajajo tujejezične prvine ter izrazi iz drugih stok v stiku, ki jih je zato potrebno urediti skladno s sodobnimi načeli leksikografije in terminografije.

Tako se v primeru turistične področne sfere oblikujejo in uporabljajo različne besedilne zvrsti in vrste s specifičnimi jezikovnimi zvrstmi in sredstvi, pri čemer se določena jezikovna sredstva lahko istočasno pojavljajo v različnih besedilnih zvrsteh in vrstah. Npr. tipična sredstva področnega strokovnega jezika, npr. tērmine, lahko srečamo tako v znanstvenih, umetnostnih, pravnih in sporazumevalnih (strokovnih, publicističnih, oglaševalskih idr.) besedilih s tega področja. Ali obratno, npr. v oglaševalskih besedilih lahko srečamo sredstva, značilna za področje oglaševanja (npr. slogan), pa tudi določene stroke (npr. tērmini). Kaže se torej, da področje in v okviru tega oblikovana besedilna zvrstnost določata izbiro jezika, zato se sodobne usmeritve jezikoslovnega raziskovanja, ki postavljajo besedilo ali diskurz pred jezik, kažejo za utemeljene.

Pri gradnji večjezičnega korpusa turističnih besedil je bilo nujno ločevanje med besedili glede na turistična (pod)področja in vrste turizma ter glede na vplivansko vlogo in druge okoliščine sporazumevanja, v katerih se oblikujejo različne zvrsti in vrste besedil, kar je predstavljeno v nadaljevanju tega poglavja (povzeto po Mikolič, 2009, 257–263).

Turistična besedila glede na (pod)področja in vrste turizma

Turizem je izrazito sestavljena dejavnost, ki jo poleg turistične industrije kot turistične dejavnosti v ožjem pomenu besede sestavljajo tudi dejavnosti na skoraj vseh družbenih področjih, saj turizem kot družbeni pojav prežema najrazličnejše vidike družbe. Tako poleg turizma v ožjem pomenu besede vstopajo v okvir turistične dejavnosti tudi družbenaa področja in vede, kot so: ekonomija, pravo, geografija, zgodovina, umetnost, umetnostna zgodovina, arhitektura, urbanistično in regionalno planiranje, antropologija, sociologija, komunikologija, jezikoslovje, psihologija, etnologija, kemija, medicina, botanika, ekologija, agronomija, gozdarstvo,

veterinarstvo, lovstvo, ribištvo, kulinarka, šport, alpinizem, jamarstvo, javna uprava, zdravstveno varstvo in zdravstveno zavarovanje, javna varnost in policija, promet, logistika, zaposlovanje, vzgoja in izobraževanje, prostočasne dejavnosti, publicistika. Seznam je delno povzet po Goeldner in Brent Richie (2003, 23–25), dopolnjen je še z nekaterimi turističnimi področji, ki jih v okviru 20 pomenskih področij (*semantic fields*) navaja *Tezaver turizma in prostočasnih dejavnosti* Svetovne turistične organizacije (World Tourism Organization, 2001), ter nekaterimi področji, ki so se zdela še relevantna za turistično dejavnost ob pregledu področij dela vseh ministrstev slovenske vlade (spletne strani ministrstev).

Vsa ta družbena področja in vede se srečujejo v okviru različnih vrst turizma, ki izpostavljajo točno določeno turistično ponudbo. Ob pregledu obstoječih klasifikacij in delitev posameznih vrst turistične dejavnosti je bil za potrebe označevanja besedil v sklopu obravnavanega korpusa v veliki meri upoštevan *Tezaver turizma in prostočasnih dejavnosti* Svetovne turistične organizacije (2001), ki s svojim podrobnim vsebinskim razločevanjem turističnih dejavnosti (24 vrst turizma) jasno definira poglavitev zvrsti znotraj te družbene dejavnosti. Zaradi izrazite usmerjenosti posameznih vrst turizma na nekatera "nišna" področja znotraj turistične dejavnosti in hkrati smiselne vsebinske dopolnitve same klasifikacije za označevanje besedil smo izbrano zvrstno delitev Svetovne turistične organizacije dopolnili najprej še s šestimi dodatnimi vrstami turističnih aktivnosti ter splošno kategorijo "turizem", v katero so bila uvrščena besedila, ki jih bodisi zaradi pomanjkanja ključnih pojmov bodisi zaradi prepletanja več vrst turizma ni bilo mogoče umestiti v posamezno zvrst besedil. Tako se besedila glede na vrsto turizma v obravnavanem korpusu razvrščajo v naslednje zvrsti: religiozni turizem, kulturni turizem, poslovni turizem, pustolovski turizem, industrijski turizem, festivalski turizem, izobraževalni turizem, kmečki turizem, podeželski turizem, urbani turizem, naravni turizem, gorniški turizem, podzemski turizem, turizem bližnjih destinacij, zdraviliški turizem, turizem za osebe s posebnimi potrebami, mladinski turizem, družinski turizem, turizem za starejše, luksuzni turizem, avtodomni turizem, rečni turizem, obmorski turizem, morski turizem, zimski turizem, športni turizem, seksualni turizem, igralniški turizem, kulinarični turizem.

V korpusu turističnih besedil smo besedila razvrščali samo glede na vrsto turizma in ne glede na družbeno področje, saj se različna področja vključujejo v različne vrste turizma. Določanje podpodročja turizma pa je postalo relevantno v procesu identifikacije terminoloških kandidatov (glej poglavje 3) pri pripravi terminološkega slovarja, saj je področje lahko pomembno kot kvalifikator posameznega tērmina.

Turistična besedila glede na vplivansko vlogo in druge okoliščine sporazumevanja

Turistična besedila se z vidika osnovne vplivanske vloge razvrščajo med znanstvene, sporazumevalne in uradne besedilne zvrsti. Tako na osnovnem nivoju razlikovanja besedil glede na zvrstnost obravnavani korpus, enako kot referenčni korpus Fidaplus, ločuje med 'umetnostnimi' in 'neumetnostnimi' besedili, pri čemer prvi korpus turističnih besedil ne vključuje. Besedila se dalje delijo na šest velikih skupin:

- pravna (besedila z izvršilno vlogo): to je edina skupina, ki ostaja le pri tej prvostopenjski oznaki; gre namreč za sorazmerno lahko prepoznavna besedila z visoko stopnjo konvencionaliziranosti oblike, kot so zakoni, pogodbe, odločbe, akti, sklepi ipd.;

- znanstvena (besedila s spoznavno vlogo): 'znanstvene monografije', 'znanstveni članki' ter 'magistrska in doktorska dela';

- strokovna: 'naravoslovna in tehnična' ter na 'humanistična in družboslovna', slednja pa še naprej na 'strokovne monografije', 'strokovne članke', 'poljudno-znanstvene monografije', 'poljudnoznanstvene članke', 'diplomske naloge', 'učbenike' in 'drugo';

- poslovna: 'korespondenca' (tu je mišljena običajna pošta) ter 'elektronska pošta';

- oglaševalska: 'oglasna sporočila', 'letake, prospkte, brošure, kataloge', 'prodajne oglase', 'oglase na prostem', 'vodnike' in 'drugo' ;

- publicistična: novinarski članki' (npr. vest, poročilo, članek, komentar), 'strokovni novinarski članki', 'reportaže', 'članki v turističnih prilogah' in 'drugo' .

Vsa besedila sodijo med besedila s sporazumevalno vlogo.

Seveda se je zato pokazalo metabesedilno označevanje korpusa turističnih besedil za zelo zahtevno naložo; navkljub dokaj razdelanemu naboru oznak smo naleteli na veliko besedil, ki jih je bilo težko natančno in nedvoumno označiti. Najpomembnejši razlog za to sta gotovo kompleksnost in razvejanost turistične stroke oz. področja, ki prav zato potrebuje sistematično analizo tipologije turističnih besedil glede na različne kriterije. Poleg tega pa takšno metabesedilno razlikovanje in označevanje narekujejo tudi različni nameni gradnje korpusa, ki bo uporaben kot prevajalski vir, za raziskave turizma in različne jezikoslovne raziskave, predvsem pa kot osnova za izdelavo turističnega terminološkega slovarja.

IZBOR TERMINOLOŠKIH KANDIDATOV

V procesu izbora terminoloških kandidatov smo moralni razrešiti nekaj temeljnih dilem sodobne leksikologije in terminografije. Osnovna dilema, ali temeljiti na elektronski ali neelektronski obliki jezikovnih podatkov, je bila sicer že razrešena takoj, ko smo se pri pripravi turističnega terminološkega slovarja odločili za korpusni pristop. Kljub temu pa so ostala odprta vprašanja o smiselnosti vključevanja nedokumentirane leksike, in sicer o dopolnjevanju geslovnika s prevajanjem in priejanjem delov tujih slovarjev in o tvorbi novih terminov zgolj zaradi normativnosti. Skladno s tujimi in domačimi sodobnimi usmeritvami (glej Logar, 2009, 321–326) pri odločitvah dajemo prednost izpričani jezikovni rabi v korpusu turističnih besedil. Dopolnjevanje geslovnika s pomočjo tujih slovarjev in enciklopedij turizma se pojavlja le v primerih, ko turistična stroka presodi, da je tiste izraze, ki se kot tujke pojavljajo v turističnem diskurzu v slovenščini, zaradi njihove uporabnosti smiselnovključiti v slovar. Hkrati se poskušajo oblikovati novi izrazi za določene žargonske izraze,² ki so tudi večinoma prevzeti iz angleškega jezika.

Iz korpusa turističnih besedil, ki je bil oblikoslovno označen in lematiziran z orodjem TOTALE (Erjavec, 2006), je bila avtomatsko generirana lista besed (monogramov) in besednih zvez (bigramov in trigramov), urejena po pogostosti od najvišje k najmanjši. Oznake ter leme smo uporabili za izbiro monogramov na osnovi lem, saj predstavljajo slovarske iztočnice. Za iskanje bigramov in trigramov kot terminoloških kandidatov leme niso uporabne, uporabili pa smo oznake, saj smo tako lahko izločili nemogoče kombinacije bigramov ter trigramov. Ker so avtomatsko generirani seznam besed predvsem iz večjih korpusov lahko zelo obsežni in je v kasnejši fazi identifikacije terminoloških kandidatov potrebno tudi ročno luščenje kandidatov, je bilo potrebno te izjemno dolge sezname primerno avtomatsko skrajšati oz. očistiti.

Sezname smo najprej skrajšali tako, da smo jih prečesali s tujimi (angleškim, italijanskim, nemškim) leksikonimi. Računalniški algoritem je tako s seznama izločil vse besede, ki so se pojavljale v naštetih tujih leksikonih. S to odločitvijo smo se zavestno odpovedali iskanju določenih tujk, predvsem v angleškem jeziku, ki so v slovenskem turističnem diskurzu precej pogoste, nekatere pa celo nimajo prevodne ustreznice v slovenščini (npr. *last minute, all-inclusive*). Da bi ne izgubili tega, za

2 O navzočnosti žargonizmov tujega porekla kot o sestavnem delu besedišča različnih strokovnih področijh gl. tudi Makarova, 2009, 115: "Vobšče pri uglubljenii v ljubju oblast' dejatel'nosti, istoričeski svjazannju s kakim-libo remeslom (osobenno gorodskim) [...] v slovenskom razgovornom jazyke s vysokoj stepenju reguljarnosti vstrečaetsja plast zaimstvovanij, kotore, preterpev fonetičeskuju i morfoložičeskuju adaptaciju, učastvujut v formirovani remeslennogo žargona". ("Na splošno pri obravnavi besedišča neke stroke, ki zgodovinsko izhaja iz obrtniške dejavnosti (še posebej v mestih) [...] v slovenskih kolokvialnih različicah dokaj pogosto naletimo na tujke in sposojenke, ki po končani glasoslovni in oblikoslovni adaptaciji bistveno prispevajo k slovenskemu obrtniškemu žargonu").



Sl. 1: Turistični vodniki po Slovenski Istri (foto: M. Koderman).
 Fig. 1: Tourist guidebooks to Slovenia Istria (photo: M. Koderman).

slovar gotovo pomembnega leksikalnega gradiva, smo seznam kasneje prečesali še s slovenskim, italijanskim in nemškim leksikonom, ter tako pridobili seznam angleških besed, ki je bil uporaben z dveh vidikov:

- v njem smo lahko z ročnim pregledovanjem identificirali tiste izraze, ki se kot tujke pojavljajo v turističnem diskurzu v slovenščini;

- seznam besed je uporaben tudi kot baza prevodnih ustreznic za terminološki slovar, ki bo po svoji zasnovi dvojezičen, slovensko-angleški; omenjene izraze in njihovo ustreznost lahko preverimo v korpusu in drugih dostopnih referenčnih virih.

Seznam smo dodatno omejili tudi s tem, da smo določili mejo števila pojavitev, do katerega bomo gradivo, pridobljeno iz korpusa, še pregledovali. Logar Berenc in Vintar (2008) na primeru KoRP-a (Korpusa odnosov z javnostmi) sicer ugotavlja, da načelna odločitev, ki velja za splošne slovarje in mejo pojavitve v korpusu postavlja relativno visoko (npr. na 100 pojavitev v 100 ali večmilijonskem korpusu), za terminološke slovarje ne velja, saj je za strokovni jezik značilno, da je razmerje med specifičnostjo terminološkega poimenovanja in pogostnostjo v korpusu pogosto prej obratno kot premosorazmerna. Liste besed bi bilo tako v našem primeru treba pregledati v celoti: ker pa bi lista besed iz več kot 30 milijonskega korpusa besed potrebovala izjemno velik obseg vključevanja dodatnih sodelavcev pri projektu (seznam monogramov, pridobljenih iz korpusa, je obsegal 500.000 različnic), smo se tu vendarle morali odločati pragmatično: meja pogostosti je bila tako postavljena na nizko mejo treh pojavitev (ročno pregledane so bile vse različnice, ki se v korpusu pojavljajo vsaj trikrat).

Nato smo za vsak seznam pripravili še nabor besed, ki naj jih program avtomatsko izloči, saj smo zanje lahko z gotovostjo predpostavljeni, da ne predstavljajo kandidatov za termine. Take besede so bile določeni vezniki (*in, ter, ker, če, da, ampak ...*), osebni, kazalni, celostni in oziralni zaimki; predlogi (*v, k, h, od, o, z, s, za*), členki (*tudi, že, še, le, no, mar ...*), naklonski izrazi (*naj, lahko ...*); pomožni glagoli ter prislovi (*zdaj, tedaj, danes, jutri, včeraj, odslej, odtlej, poslej, tukaj, tam, prvič, drugič, tretjič*). Očiščene sezname smo nato sodelavci pri projektu ročno pregledali in po svoji presoji v njih

označili kandidate za termine. Pri tem smo upoštevali sprejeto odločitev projektne skupine, da bo slovar vseboval predvsem terminologijo turistične industrije in infrastrukture (ali "turizem v ožjem pomenu besede"), poleg tega pa tudi nekatere termine, ki izvorno prihajajo z drugih področij, npr. zgodovine, arhitekture ali geografije, ki pa so s turizmom kot sestavljenou dejavnostjo neločljivo povezani. Ker je glede na naravo turizma kot dejavnosti teh področij kar nekaj, bi lahko postal slovar hitro preobsežen, zato smo se odločili s teh področij zajeti res samo tiste termine, ki so za turistični diskurz tako značilni in pogosti, da je upravičena njihova vključitev v slovar; nismo pa v slovar vključevali vseh tistih, ki bi glede na področje smiselnno spadali v okvir terminoloških slovarjev z omenjenih področij, npr. v arhitekturni terminološki slovar. Dodati je treba, da smo v korpusu iskali ne le termine, temveč tudi terminološke kolokacije, saj predstavljajo pomemben del strokovnega izražaja.

Odločitev, katere leksikalne enote vključiti v slovar in katere ne, je seveda "mehka" oziroma v določeni meri subjektivna. Kot opozarjata Logar Berginc in Vintar (2008, 14), so "korpsi strokovnih besedil razrahljali več mej: mejo med terminološko in neterminološko leksiko, mejo, do katere še govorimo o večbesedni poimenovalni enoti in čez katero je že prostor kolokacij, ter mejo, ki določa, ali gre za termin področja, ki ga obravnavamo, ali ne".

Zato smo v primeru dvoma, ali naj določeno leksikalno enoto označimo kot termin ali ne, izvedli še korpusno poizvedbo: preverili smo pogostost besede, njen besedilno okolje, besedna skica, ki jo nudi programska oprema SketchEngine, nam je pokazala leksemske povezave, za mnene smo povprašali tudi zunanje strokovnjake s področja turizma, ki sodelujejo pri projektu (Slovenska turistična organizacija kot partner in sofinancer projekta ter Fakulteta za turistične študije Turistica Univerze na Primorskem).

OBLIKOVANJE GESELSKEGA ČLANKA

Pri oblikovanju geselskega članka je bilo treba sprejeti odločitev o tem, katere vrste informacij bomo v članek vključili in na kakšen način. Poleg standardnih slovarskih informacij, kot so npr. oznake za besedno vrsto, morebitni fonetski zapis, definicija in prevodna ustreznica v tujem jeziku (pri večjezičnih slovarjih), smo se tu odločali še za določene oznake, ki so specifične za terminološki slovar. Geselski članek smo strukturirali v obvezna in dodatna ali opcionalna polja. Med obvezna polja smo tako poleg seveda iztočnice vključili še oznako besedne vrste (brez navajanja sloveničnih posebnosti), definicijo oziroma definicije, številčene po vrstnem redu, ter prevodno ustreznico v angleškem jeziku.

Med dodatna opcionalna polja smo vključili:

- kvalifikator za turistično zvrst, povzeto in prilagojeno po Tezavru turizma in prostočasnih dejavnosti

Svetovne turistične organizacije (celoten seznam zvrst je objavljen v Mikolič et al., 2008);

- kvalifikator za področje družbene dejavnosti, in sicer za področja družbene dejavnosti, ki ne sodijo v okvir turistične industrije kot turizma v ožjem pomenu besede, pač pa v okvir turizma kot sestavljene dejavnosti, kot npr. zgodovina umetnosti ali geografija, ki pa vsebujejo lekseme, ki so v tolikšni meri značilni za turizem, da jih lahko štejemo za turistično terminologijo;

- pogoste terminološke kolokacije, torej besedne zvezze, ki jih ne moremo uvrstiti pod iztočnice, so pa reprezentativne za turistični diskurz;

- sopomenke, kjer obstajajo;

- kazalke na druga, pomensko sorodna gesla, z dve ma oznakama: oznako PRIM. ("primerjaj") za lekseme, med katerimi obstaja skoraj sinonimija ali navidezna sinonimija, ter GL. ("glej") za druga pomensko sorodna gesla;

- normativno oznako, s čimer smo želeli odgovoriti na občuteno potrebo turistične stroke in industrije po pomensko jasni in normativno ustreznji terminologiji.

Strukturo geselskega članka navajamo v nadaljevanju:

Geslo / slovenična oznaka / normativna oznaka / kvalifikator (tur. zvrst) / kvalifikator (področje družbene dejavnosti) / definicije (številčene po vrstnem redu, zaporedne številke v krepkem tisku) / pogoste kolokacije / sopomenke / kazalke na druga gesla (GL. in PRIM.)

Ustreznica v angleškem jeziku (ločena vrstica)

SKLEP

Korpusni pristop k luščenju turistične terminologije se pokaže kot dovolj objektivna in uporabna metoda za identifikacijo terminoloških kandidatov, pri čemer je pomembna jasno utemeljena klasifikacija besedil, zajetih v področni korpus. Dopolnjevanje geslovnika s pomočjo tujih slovarjev in enciklopedij turizma se pojavlja le izjemoma, zaradi manjkajočega termina v slovenskem jeziku za tiste izraze, ki se kot tujke pojavljajo v turističnem diskurzu v slovenščini, in za žargonske izraze.

Slovar bo na voljo v elektronski in tiskani obliki. Geselski članki se urejajo s sodobno in po zasnovi zelo prožno in uporabniku prijazno programsko opremo, ki nam jo je v uporabo ponudilo podjetje Amebis. V elektronski verziji slovarja bo mogoče iskati slovenske in angleške iztočnice, pri čemer bodo slovenske iztočnice obdelane v geselskem članku, angleškim iztočnicam pa bo dodana samo prevodna ustreznica v slovenskem jeziku. Tiskana različica slovarja pa bo v prvem delu obsegala slovenske iztočnice, obdelane v geselskem članku, drugi del slovarja pa bo vseboval seznam angleških iztočnic s prevodnimi ustreznicami v slovenskem jeziku. Taka zasnova slovarja je utemeljena v ciljih aplikativnega raziskovalnega projekta Turistični terminološki slovar, ki poteka v sodelovanju s Slovensko turi-

stično organizacijo. Namen aplikativnega projekta je bil namreč prav odzvati se na potrebe turistične stroke in industrije v Sloveniji po nedvoumni terminologiji in kakovostnem strokovnem sporazumevanju predvsem v domačem, pa tudi mednarodnem okolju. Elektronska oblika obeh orodij, korpusa in slovarja, omogoča, da se lahko sproti dopolnjujeta. Sprotno ažuriranje teh orodij, ki so na eni strani nepogrešljiva za razvoj nekega področja, na drugi strani omogoča sledenje hitri rasti tega področja, kar za turizem nedvomno velja.

Sklenemo lahko, da so odločitve, do kolikšne mere posegati na različna družbena (pod)področja, ki se vključujejo v turizem, vedno težavne in tudi bolj ali manj subjektivne, še posebej zato, ker je turizem tako široko in sestavljeno področje. Če bi se v primeru turskičnega

slovarja odločali zajeti samo termine s področja turizma v ožjem pomenu besede, tj. turistične industrije, bi bil izbor ožji in zato lažji. Ker pa je bil naš namen na turizem pogledati širše in torej zajeti tudi različna (pod)področja, ki se vključujejo v turistično dejavnost, bi lahko postal slovar hitro preobsežen, zato je bilo v procesu identifikacije terminoloških kandidatov potrebno ob podatku o številu pojavitev v korpusu vsak izraz analizirati tudi z vidika njegovega pomena, ki ga ima za specifično strokovno področje (ali več področij) na eni strani in za področje turizma v širšem pomenu besede na drugi strani. Tudi zaradi tega je kvalifikator, ki spošruča (pod)področje rabe nekega termina, pomemben element geselskega članka.

IDENTIFYING TERMS FOR A DICTIONARY OF TOURIST TERMS

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SUMMARY

Dictionaries of terms are characteristic of highly developed expert fields and enable linguistically appropriate expert communication, they suggest Slovene terms for new subjects and terms within quickly developing or new expert fields, reflect the spirit and culture of a nation (if they are based upon local material!) as well as political tendencies (Humar, 2004, 23). At the same time the multilingual terminological dictionaries enable international communication within new social and political circumstances. At this point, surely, the way a terminological dictionary is conceived and formed, should be put into consideration. Logar (2009, 321) refers to three phases in the creation of a dictionary of terms, namely: determining the texts suitable for term acquisition; defining the standards for including words into the dictionary; defining information included within a dictionary article. The aim of the present paper is to show the theoretical definitions and practical solutions important for all three phases of the developing dictionary of tourist terms with an emphasis on term identification. Editing a dictionary of tourist terms was based on corpus approach. Firstly, the paper focuses on selection and classification of texts for the TURK corpus of tourist texts, which currently includes approximately 30 million words. The corpus was used as a basis for an automatically generated list of words (monograms) and phrases (bigrams and trigrams) arranged from most to least frequent. The further procedure of selecting tourist terms was performed on the basis of preliminary sorting of tourist texts in the Corpus according to the type of tourism and the included social sphere. It was precisely the social sphere, which is expressed in the dictionary article as a qualificator of an individual term, that has proven to be the most relevant when making a selection of tourist terms.

Key words: tourism, terminology, dictionary of terms, candidate term, specialised corpus, field-specific texts, functional typology, dictionary article

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**OCENE
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REVIEWS**

Jože Pirjevec: "TRST JE NAŠ!". BOJ SLOVENCEV ZA MORJE (1848–1954). Ljubljana, Nova revija, Zbirka Korenine, 2007, 542 str., ilustr.

Med mesti, ki jih pogosto izpostavljamo v razpravah o tradicionalni slovenski pomorski usmerjenosti, zavzema Trst nedvomno ključno vlogo. Nedavno je del italijanske politične javnosti razburil film, ki si je naslov izposodil po starem geslu slovenskih narodnjakov na Primorskem: "Trst je naš!" Akademik prof. dr. Jože Pirjevec velja nedvomno za glavnega poznavalca tržaškega vprašanja, ki mu je posvetil tudi pomemben del svojega ustvarjalnega opusa. Že leta 1984 je izdal prvo temeljno monografijo na to temo, ki govorji o reševanju "tržaškega vozla" po drugi svetovni vojni. Po več kot dveh desetletjih dodatnih raziskav v številnih arhivih od Združenih držav Amerike in Velike Britanije do Italije in Slovenije pa je pri *Založbi Nova revija* izdal obširno študijo, ki obsega dolgo obdobje od oblikovanja prgrama *Zedinjene Slovenije* leta 1848 pa vse do sprejema *Londonskega memoranduma* leta 1954. Pirjevecova monografija še zdaleč ni zgolj pregled razvoja tržaškega vprašanja, ampak je tudi pravi vrelec različnih tez, ki so v skladu z avtorjevo tradicijo pogosto inovativne do te mere, da nas vedno znova silijo k dodatnemu razmišljjanju o obravnavani temi.

Izhodiščna teza je, da je bil Trst že v času habsburške monarhije za slovensko politiko izjemnega strateškega pomena, saj je na predvečer prve svetovne vojne v njem živilo več Slovencev kot v Ljubljani. V svoj program ga je v času "marčne revolucije" uvrstil že Matija Majar Ziljski, nato pa je postal obvezen del programskega govorov vseh ključnih slovenskih politikov. Kot lahko preberemo v Pirjevecovi študiji, je ob koncu poslovnega leta 1913 italijanski kapital v Trstu le za 9 odstotkov presegal slovenskega, hrvaškega in češkega. Poleg tega je bilo kar 88 odstotkov vse zemljiške posesti na Tržaškem v slovenskih rokah. Nič čudnega, da je v začetku 20. stoletja del slovenskih intelektualcev zagovarjal ustanovitev slovenske univerze v Trstu.

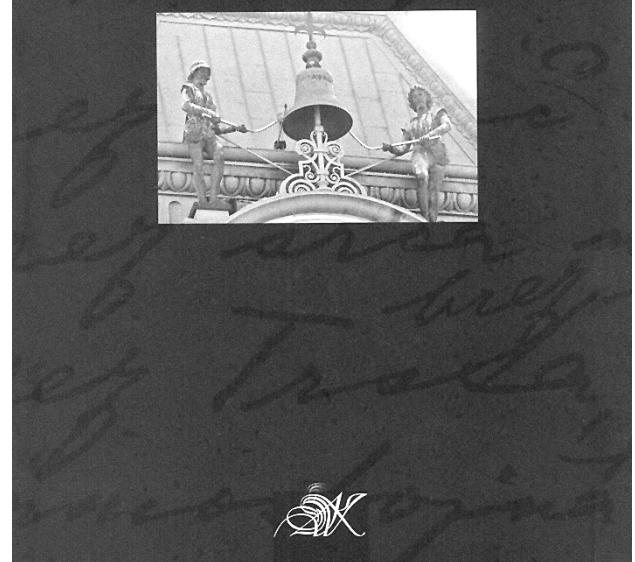
O takratnem pomenu Trsta za Slovence priča tudi delovanje Ivana Nabergoja in Otokarja Rybařa, slovenskih tržaških poslancev v dunajskem parlamentu. Nabergoj se je v začetku devetdesetih let 19. stoletja pri obrambi narodnih pravic primorskih Slovencev celo zaptel v besedni spopad s hrvaškimi pravaši. Obtožil jih je, da želijo Trst in Goriško podrediti hrvaški upravi. Menil je, da je naloga slovenskih poslancev prizadevanje za uresničitev programa *Zedinjene Slovenije*, ne pa obramba hrvaškega državnega prava. Rybař je leta 1913 v dunajskem parlamentu takole označil pomen Trsta za slo-

venstvo: "Samo Trst nam more dati slavo in moč. V boju za Trst bomo sledili našim koristim in koristim vseh slovenskih narodov". Rybař je bil izvoljen v parlament na podlagi državnozborske volilne reforme leta 1906/1907, ki je po besedah Vasilija Melika izrisala svojevrstno podobo *Zedinjene Slovenije*. Med drugim je določila tudi poseben slovenski državnozborski mandat na severu Istre, na kar pa v aktualnih razmejitvenih razpravah nihče več ne opozarja.

Pariška mirovna konferenca je po koncu prve svetovne vojne čez noč odpihnila sanje primorskih Slovencev o vključitvi v jugoslovansko državo. A kljub fašističnemu terorju je narodna zavest Primorcev ostala zgodovinski zgled, čemur Pirjevec posveča posebno počitje. V njem opozarja na protifašistične aktivnosti slovenskih rodoljubov, hkrati pa podrobno analizira tudi mednarodne okoliščine postrapalske dobe, ki so vplivale na njihova dejanja. Kot ključni osebnosti sta izstopala Josip Vilfan in Engelbert Besednjak, ki sta poskušala v okvirih za Slovence krivičnega versajskega sistema ohranjati upanje na prihodnost.

Vihar druge svetovne vojne, ki ga Pirjevec na podlagi svojih raziskav v britanskih, ameriških in italijanskih

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» T R S T J E N A Š ! «
BOJ SLOVENCEV ZA MORJE (1848-1954)



arhivih podrobno opiše, je vzbudil tudi novo upanje za primorske Slovence. Kapitulacija Italije ga je še okrepila, čeprav diplomatski signali iz prestolnic anglo-ameriških prestolnic glede pripadnosti Trsta niso bili ravno ohrabrujoči. Pirjevec v svoji knjigi z izjemnim občutkom za detailj opiše vse pomembnejše koncepte o mednarodnih dimenzijsah tržaškega vprašanja, od diplomatskih salonov v Londonu, Washingtonu in Moskvi do publicistične propagande slovenskih politikov v emigraciji, kot je bil na primer vsestransko aktivni Ivan Marija Čok.

Z zmagami Titovih čet so se povečali tudi apetiti slovenskih politikov. Ko so 1. maja 1945 partizani vkorakali v Trst in za las prehiteli anglo-ameriške zaveznike, je nekdanji kraljevi poslanik v Buenos Airesu in Ottawi Izidor Cankar v pismu soprogi Niči zapisal: "Nocoj me je zbudilo grmenje topov – Gorica, Trst, Tržič so naši, držimo fronto na Soči. Samo to je važno, vse drugo ni. Sen mojega življenja se izpolnjuje, smisel je dobilo to bedno slovensko življenje. V resnici bi rajši ležal nag pred svojo malo hišo ob morju blizu Trsta, kot sedel v fraku pri diplomatski večerji". A tudi diplomacija nove Jugoslavije v boju za Trst ni bila uspešna. Velika kvaliteta Pirjeveve knjige ni samo predstavitev Titovih osebnih pogledov na tržaški problem (o čemer bo avtor verjetno še več zapisal v novi biografiji tega državnika, ki je v pripravi), ampak tudi doslej najbolj podrobna ocena diplomatskih aktivnosti Edvarda Kardelja in Aleša Beblerja v luči pariške mirovne konference leta 1946.

Ob ohlajevanju odnosov z anglo-ameriškimi zavezniiki in posledično vse bolj očitnem igranju na sovjetsko karto je Trst močno presegel okvire zgolj še enega bilateralnega razmejitvenega vprašanja. Pirjevec je tudi s citatom Edvarda Kocbeka podkrepil tezo, da je bila povezava Trsta s slovenskim zaledjem v predhladnovojnem kontekstu "eminently evropsko vprašanje in je kot tako vzvišeno nad italijanskim iredentizmom, pa tudi nad jugoslovanskim patriotizmom, še posebej v obliki komunističnega režima".

Ko je Jugoslavija izgubila možnost priključitve Trsta, je postal slovensko okno v svet Koper. Leta 1957 je bila ustanovljena Luka Koper, ki se je v naslednjih desetletjih razvila v ključno pristanišče na severnem Jadranu. V aktualnih razpravah o potrebi po ohranitvi slovenskega ozemeljskega stika z mednarodnimi vodami se kot ključni argument omenja prav prihodnost Luke Koper. Dejstvo je, da je prav po njeni zaslugi slovensko gospodarstvo že v času komunistične Jugoslavije ohranilo mednarodne razsežnosti. Kot ugotavlja Pirjevec, si je Slovenija s tem zagotovila večjo politično in gospodarsko avtonomijo nasproti Beogradu, kar je gotovo vplivalo na slovensko osamosvojiteljsko zavest ob razpadanju komunistične Jugoslavije. Tako je ključno in tudi danes še kako aktualno sporočilo Pirjeveve knjige, da so tako stoletni boj za Trst kot prizadevanja za nadaljnjo rast Kopra (ki ga je Jugoslavija dobila kot kompenzacijo za tržaški neuspeh) neločljivo povezani ne samo s sloven-

sko pomorsko identiteto, ampak tudi s slovensko državnoščjo nasploh. Pa četudi je Trst ostal "njihov".

Andrej Rahten

Patrizia Battilani: VACANZE DI POCHI, VACANZE DI TUTTI. L'EVOLUZIONE DEL TURISMO EUROPEO.
Bologna, Società editrice il Mulino, 2009, 412 str.

Avtorica tretje izdaje knjige *Vacanze di pochi, vacanze di tutti. L'evoluzione del turismo europeo* (Počitnice redkih, počitnice vseh. Razvoj evropskega turizma), ki je prvič izšla pri založbi Il Mulino leta 1998, v poglobljeni obliki leta 2001, pri isti založbi pa je ponovno izšla leta 2009, predava gospodarsko zgodovino turizma na sedežu bolonjske univerze v Riminiju (Ekonomska fakulteta) in je avtorica številnih študij z omenjenega področja. Knjiga, ki je kronološko in tematsko razdeljena na osem poglavij, predstavlja pregled in sintezo razvoja pojava turizma v Evropi, s posebnim pogledom na njegov razvoj v Italiji. Vendar se avtorica ob upoštevanju različnih oblik turizma, zlasti modernih, iz evropskega prostora obrne tudi v Ameriko, ki je začetnica novega trenda, in sicer turizma v naravnih parkih. Pri tem bi na Slovenskem (še v okviru Avstro-Ogrske) v povezavi z odkrivanjem turističnih destinacij v naravi lahko govorili še o eni vrsti turizma, ki ga sicer ne omenja, saj gre za specifiko tega območja, to je obiskovanje jam in drugih naravnih kraških pojavov, ki se pojavlja pred modernim turizmom industrijske revolucije in po njej, ko z lažjim in hitrejšim dostopom do prevoza dobi nove, množičnejše dimenziije. Z masifikacijo turizma v 20. stoletju pa se z vidika turistične privlačnosti Battilanijeva obrne tudi na razvoj t. i. dežel v razvoju (Afrika, Sejšeli, Maldivi, Daljni vzhod).

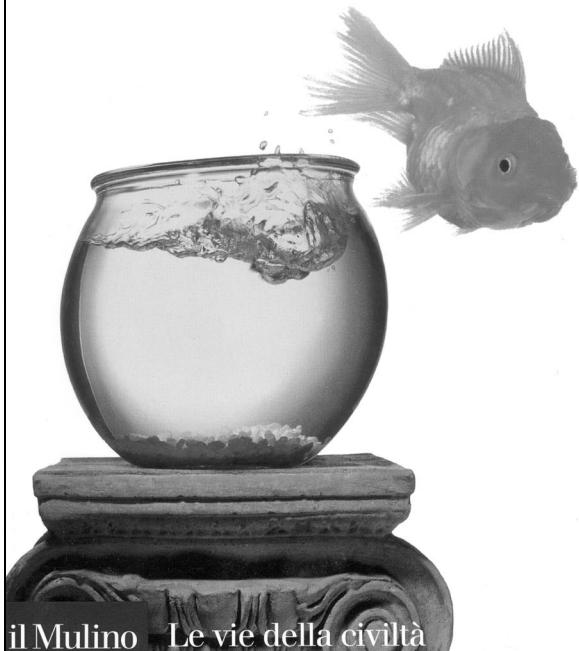
Pričujoča raziskava o zgodovini turizma se osredinja na analizo tega fenomena z metodološkim pristopom ekonomske zgodovine, ki je vsaj do druge polovice 20. stoletja le-temu tako v evropskem kot tudi v slovenskem zgodovinopisu posvetila manj pozornosti. Nova, poglobljena izdaja, v uvodnem poglavju odpira nekatera teoretična vprašanja o turizmu in gospodarskem razvoju ter dejavnikih, ki vplivajo na turistično dejavnost in napredek. V prvem delu se posveča analizi dejavnikov, ki so vplivali na povpraševanje po storitvah v turizmu skozi čas, in sicer s postopnim večanjem dohodka in možnostjo razpolaganja s prostim časom. Drugo podpoglavlje obravnava ponudbo turističnih storitev na trgu, z analizo prispevka s strani države in lokalnih ustanov oziroma njihovo vlogo pri uspešnem razvoju turističnih krajev. Avtorica na podlagi predstavitev življenjskega cikla turističnega kraja (ki ga je vpeljal Butler) preverja interakcijo med povpraševanjem in ponudbo v različnih fazah razvoja turistične destinacije. Pri tem izpostavi transformacijo dveh izmed najbolj uspešnih turističnih krajev, Batha

in Brightona, ki sta se v prvi fazi razvila kot zdravilišči, nato v letovišči in nazadnje v rezidencialni središči. Battilanijeva v zaključnem delu prvega poglavja posveti pozornost tudi prispevku turizma h gospodarskemu razvoju posameznih držav, zlasti tistih manj razvitetih. Naslednja poglavja si sledijo kronološko, in sicer od izvorov in začetnih počitnic v antiki, verskem in termalnem turizmu ter obdobju "Grandtouristov". Tretje poglavje podrobneje analizira pojav modernih oblik turizma, ki so se razvile pod vplivom industrijske revolucije, in sicer angleški termalni turizem, privlačnost in zdravilnost mrzlega morja, v nadaljevanju pa avtorica obravnava proces pomika kopalcev proti toplemu Sredozemskemu morju in soncu, turizmu v hribih in gorah, zimskemu smučarskemu turizmu ter turizmu v naravnih parkih. Battilanijeva pojasni, zakaj so Angleži "izumili" turizem in bili pobudniki novih trendov, kar je relevantno za razumevanje nadaljnega razvoja tega fenomena in dejavnikov, ki so nanj vplivali. V nadaljevanju podrobneje analizira izbruh pojava masovnega turizma, ki po Burkartu in Medliku označuje fenomen množičnega vključevanja ljudi v ta proces oziroma sposobnost koriščenja njegovih storitev, ki je v drugi polovici prejšnjega stoletja zaznamovalo eno najbolj plodnih obdobij obravnawanega sektorja. Počitnice in potovanje so se razširili na vedno širši sloj prebivalstva. Nova prevozna sredstva (avtomobil, letalo) so pojavu omogočila nove razsežnosti. Temu primerno je v pričujoči izdaji knjige posvečena pozornost. Masovni turizem predstavlja namreč eno najbolj pestrih obdobij tega pojava, ki je v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja pričel dobivati nove oblike (in nove produkte), ki jih avtorica označuje kot postmoderni turizem. Peto poglavje se posveča "turizmu v svetu" s prikazom turističnega razvoja na primeru nekaterih destinacij na različnih celinah. V prvi vrsti se na evropskih tleh posveti osrednji vlogi Sredozemlja in ovrednoti njegov turistični uspeh. Nato se posveti obravnavi turističnega razvoja v ZDA, ki jo zaznamujejo visoki prihodki iz turizma in je hkrati ena najbolj inovativnih na področju te dejavnosti. Azija se na drugi strani predstavlja kot celina, kjer je danes turistični razvoj v porastu. Pozornost nameni tudi afriškim državam, kjer je turizem še vedno omejen zgolj na nekatera območja in kjer gospodarska zaostalost negativno vpliva tudi na ta sektor. Posebej analizira tudi turizem na Maldivih in Sejšelih ter nove turistične regije na Dalnjem vzhodu. Šesto poglavje obravnava razširjenost razvoja turizma v Italiji, vse od obdobja "Grandtura", kulturnega in termalnega turizma, do razvoja njegovih modernih oblik v deželi, ki je takrat zaostajala v razvoju, ter se nato posveti turističnemu razvoju v 20. stoletju in novim izzivom obdobja postmodernega turizma, kjer na uspeh turistične destinacije ne vplivajo zgolj naravne danosti, temveč sposobnost promocije in inovacije produktov in procesov. Naslednje poglavje še podrobneje analizira turistični razvoj v posameznih regijah Italije, kjer predstavi specifične oblike turizma, kot sta

morski in zimski (Lido di Venezia, Cortina, Rimini, Sicilija, Sardinija). Na koncu se avtorica posveti obravnavi pomembnega dejavnika turističnega procesa, in sicer razvoju turistične infrastrukture in namestitvenih kapacitet, potovalnih agencij in "tour operatorjev", kjer podrobneje prikaže razvoj preteklih oblik omenjenih dejavnosti – od brezplačnih nastanitev do organiziranih in plačljivih kapacetet (12.–14. stoletje), ki so skrbele za goste in popotnike, do prenočišč v obdobju "Grandtura" in vse do bolj razčlenjene ponudbe s pojavom modernih oblik turizma in afirmacijo razkošnih hotelov za elitne goste v 18. in 19. stoletju. Avtorica pa obravnava tudi potrebi po novih oblikah namestitev za srednji in nižji sloj, ki so se pojavile z obdobjem masovnega turizma, zlasti v 20-ih in 30-ih letih prejšnjega stoletja. Te namestitve so zadoščale potrebam in finančnim zmogljivostim manj zahtevnih in ne zgolj elitnih turistov. Nova dognanja te izdaje ponuja tudi prikaz vzpostavitev hotelskih mrež (verig), ki so se kot prve pojavile v ZDA že na začetku 20. stoletja, sicer sprva bolj na regionalni ravni. Posamezni hoteli, povezani v mreže, so tedaj še ohranjali relativno samostojnost, ponujali pa so določene skupne storitve. Postopoma so nekatere povezave pridobile bolj centraliziran

Patrizia Battilani

Vacanze di pochi vacanze di tutti L'evoluzione del turismo europeo



il Mulino Le vie della civiltà

značaj, kar Battilanijeva prikaže na primeru nekaterih hotelskih verig (Hilton, Itt Sheraton, Best Western, Intercontinental itd.). Pri obravnavi začetkov organiziranih potovanj vsekakor ne moremo mimo omembe Thomasa Cooka, začetnika sodobne dejavnosti, ki je skrbela za storitve, vezane na organizacijo turističnih potovanj (40. leta 19. stoletja), kateremu je v delu prav tako namenjena pozornost.

Battilanijeva je strukturo knjige smiselnost vsebinsko opredelila, kar bralcu predstavi jasno in sintetično kronološko sliko turističnega razvoja. Knjiga, kakor nakujuje že njen naslov, nastopa kot strnjen prikaz razvoja turizma v Evropi, v kateri je prikazano osnovno, a hkrati tudi poglobljeno znanje o razvoju tega fenomena. Osredotočena je na evropski prostor, zato so začetna poglavja predmodernih oblik turizma namenjena temu prostoru, kjer je ta fenomen v taki obliki tudi prisoten. V fazi modernega turizma pa avtorica poseže tudi izven evropskega prostora. V takem pregledu je nemogoče raziskati in prikazati celoten razvoj turizma, česar pa raziskava praviloma ne napoveduje. Deloma pomanjkljiva oziroma preveč strnjena je obravnavna obdobja tik pred prvo svetovno vojno in med obema vojnoma, saj tu prejšnja turistična obdobja nekako zasenčijo velike razsežnosti turističnega razvoja po drugi svetovni vojni, čeprav je zaradi velikih razsežnosti pojava namenjena večja pozornost. Monografija govori o razvoju evropskega turizma, vendar se deloma posveti tudi obravnavi turističnega razvoja na posameznih celinah, kjer izpostavi tiste oblike turizma, ki so se tam najbolj razvile. Primat v turističnem razvoju danes še naprej ohranja stara celina, zlasti sredozemske države (kulturne in kasneje morske destinacije), sledijo ji Združene države Amerike.

Predstavitev knjige, ki je ponovno izšla v lanskem letu, opisuje delo kot sintezo zgodovinskega razvoja globalne dejavnosti – turizma. Poseben poudarek je na njegovi ekonomski dimenziji, ki je bila v okviru gospodarske zgodovine v preteklosti prezrta. Avtorica presoja turizem skozi dolgo obdobje in prizmo gospodarske zgodovine ter na ta način priporoča k premočanju nekaterih preteklih stereotipizacij in generalizacij razvoja in oblik turizma, ki povsem loči sodobne turiste, le-ti namreč uporabljajo standardizirane produkte, od njihovih avanturističnih predhodnikov, ki jih je gnala želja po znanju, dogodivščinah in religioznih vzgibih. Avtorica ovrže predpostavko, da ima sodobni masovni turizem povsem svojevrstne značilnosti, kot sta homogeniziranost in standardiziranost, ter da se je povsem razlikoval od turizma iz preteklosti oziroma od njegovih starejših, predindustrijskih oblik, saj primerno izpostavi, da romarji in "Grandturisti" niso nujno potovali neorganizirano, brez spremstva oziroma pomoči na poti in da pri tem ne gre za izum modernega turizma. Podobno funkcijo imajo danes denimo organizatorji turističnih potovanj. Znano dejstvo je, da popotniki predindustrijske dobe namreč niso zoglj sledili želji po iskanju znanja in izobraz-

be, temveč so potovali tudi pod vplivom trenutnih modnih smernic in pripadnosti določenemu družbenemu sloju (ang. *upper class*) ali skupini (npr. umetniki). Kasnejše letovanje na podeželju je prav tako izkazovalo pripadnost določenemu (višjemu) družbenemu sloju in finančni zmogljivosti aristokratskih družin, kar je služilo njihovemu ugledu. Romarji prav tako niso potovali zoglj iz religioznih namenov, saj je bilo romanje v določene (oddaljene) kraje za vernika pravzaprav nepogrešljiva "verska praksa". Motivi in načini so se skozi obdobja ohranjali, vendar je industrijska revolucija pustila poseben pečat, saj je postopoma omogočila množičnost potovanj in temu je sledil večji ekonomski učinek. Temu obdobju je v zgodovini turizma pripisan prelomni pomem, saj izum parnega stroja drastično spremeni način potovanja. Popotniki predindustrijske dobe niso močno zaznamovali ekonomije nekega območja, kar pa se spremeni zlasti v 20. stoletju, ko turistična dejavnost postane pomemben segment gospodarstva.

Zgodovina turizma je izrazito kompleksna. Gospodarski zgodovinarji (Leonardi, Heiss, Cavalcanti) zagovarjajo tezo, da turizma zaradi svojih specifičnih in povezovalnih značilnosti ne moremo obravnavati ločeno od njegovih predhodnih oblik in Battilanijeva turistični razvoj deli na štiri obdobja. Prvo je prototurizem, ki ni imel močnega ekonomskega učinka in je trajal vse do začetka industrijske revolucije. Po revoluciji se pojavi t. i. moderni turizem, ki je še vedno omejen bolj na elito, njegove organizirane strukture se šele začenjajo intenzivneje razvijati, prave množične dimenzije pa dobi v 20. stoletju (npr. ZDA 20.–30. leta), ko turistične storitve postanejo dostopnejše tudi drugim družbenim slojem. To je turizem, ki je namenjen vsem in se pojavlja povsod (it. *turismo di tutti e in tutti i luoghi*). Danes živimo v obdobju postmodernega turizma, ki ima močan ekonomski in okoljski učinek. Posamezne navedene oblike turizma lahko nastopajo v zaporedju ali sočasno, ponekod prej, drugod kasneje. Fenomen turizma ni nov pojav, ki bi se razvil v industrijski dobi, ampak predstavlja nadgradnjo, intenzifikacijo, razširjanje in kakovosten razvoj pojavov iz preteklih obdobij, ki so po industrijski revoluciji dobili nove vsebine in so s svojimi storitvami postali vpliven dejavnik v gospodarskem sektorju, ki je še danes izrazito pomemben, saj se razvija in dobiva nove vsebine. Rojstvo "turistične industrije" v 19. stoletju je torej zoglj konsolidiralo fenomen, ki se je skrival že v starodavnih oblikah potovanj.

Pred nami je torej študija, ki se distancira zoglj od klasičnih raziskav posameznih oblik turizma oziroma turističnih destinacij. V strnjeni obliki ponuja jasno sliko najpomembnejših segmentov in trenutkov turističnega razvoja v Evropi. Zato je to delo več kot dobrodošlo, saj bralcu omogoča vpogled v proces razvoja globalnega fenomena – turizma in kot tako predstavlja izhodišče za nadaljnje raziskave.

Petra Kavrečič

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PROF. DR. DARJA MIHELIČ – ŠESTDESETLETNICA

Tretjega marca 2010 je šestdesetletnico praznovala ena izmed najbolj priznanih slovenskih zgodovinark, prof. dr. Darja Mihelič.

Njena strokovna pot se je začela 1974, ko se je po diplomi zaposlila na Zgodovinskem inštitutu (Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra) Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti. Njeno znanstveno pot je v veliki meri zaznamovalo dejstvo, da je hčerka enega največjih slovenskih zgodovinarjev, dr. Boga Grafenauerja. Domnevam, da se ji ni bilo lahko dokazovati v senci velikega očeta, ki je dolgo časa igrал vlogo arbitra v slovenski zgodovinski stroki. Gotovo pa jo je obdaril z izjemnim kulturnim kapitalom in širokim humanističnim znanjem, pa tudi natančnostjo in vestnostjo, ki jo nedvomno odlikuje. Zato najbrž ni naključje, da si je za mentorja izbrala enega najbolj zahtevnih profesorjev tistega časa – dr. Ferda Gestrina in leta 1983 doktorirala s tezo *Neagrarno gospodarstvo Pirana 1280 do 1340*.

Na drugi strani je njen raziskovalno delo zaznamovala fascinacija z Mediteranom, ki je tako pogosto lastna ljudem s celine. V ospredju njenega raziskovalnega zanimanja je nenehoma stal srednjeveški in novočeški Piran s svojim bogatim arhivom. Njeno znanstvenoraziskovalno delo zajema objave in analize latinskih in latinsko-italijanskih izvirnikov severnoistrskih mest srednjega in prvih stoletij novega veka.

Sicerjne raziskave dr. Darje Mihelič zadevajo tudi gospodarsko in družbeno zgodovino Slovencev, problematiko zgodovine mest, zgodovino historiografije ali na primer zgodovino vsakdanjega življenja. Jubilantka jih je predstavila v številnih vabljениh predavanjih doma in v tujini, znanstvenih člankih in monografijah. Kot pove sama, je v zgodovinopisu ni nikoli zanimalo nizanje političnih dogodkov ali faktografskem poznavanju minucioznih dejstev, pač pa t.i. mali ljudje, njihova življenja in usode, zgodovina žensk in otrok, mestni srednjeveški vsakdan, prebivalstvo, obrti ipd. V letih 1995–2000 je vodila projekt *Gospodarska in družbena zgodovina Slovencev*, nato program *Slovenska zgodovina od antike do 16. stoletja (2000–2004)*, od leta 2004 pa vodi program *Temeljne raziskave slovenske kulturne preteklosti*.

Z velikim veseljem se poleg raziskovanja posveča tudi pedagoškemu delu. Krasi jo odlika pedagoga, ki se zaveda, da je znanje študentov v veliki meri odvisno tudi od učitelja, ki mora znati študente motivirati in vzbuditi v njih pristen interes.

Leta 1985 je Darja Mihelič na Univerzi v Ljubljani pridobila naziv docentka za zgodovino Slovencev do konca 18. stoletja, od leta 1990 je bila izredna ter od

leta 1995 redna profesorica za isto področje in obdobje.

Kot zunanjega sodelavka je na Oddelku za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani najprej predavala izbrana poglavja iz *srednjeveške zgodovine vzhodnoalpskega prostora*, od leta 1995 pa zgodovino srednjega veka na Oddelku za arheologijo. Zdaj predava na Oddelku za zgodovino na Fakulteti za humanistične študije Koper Univerze na Primorskem predmet *vzpon in propad kulturnih in gospodarskih središč Sredozemlja ter občo zgodovino srednjega veka*.

Jubilantka je opravljala različne strokovne funkcije in je članica različnih znanstvenih komisij in strokovnih teles: Od leta 2000 do 2010 je bila predstojnica Zgodovinskega inštituta Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU, bila je predsednica Zgodovinskega društva Ljubljana (1982–1986), Zveze zgodovinskih društev RS (1988–1992). Na Ministrstvu za šolstvo, znanost in šport je bila predsednica Znanstvenoraziskovalnega sveta za področje narava in civilizacijsko-kulturna podoba Slovenije in Slovencev (1999–2002), članica Nacionalnega znanstvenoraziskovalnega sveta, v letih 2004 in 2005 je bila koordinatorka za zgodovino in s tem članica znanstvenoraziskovalnega sveta na področju humanistike.



Prof. dr. Darja Mihelič v Marini Portorož, 2010
(foto: D. Darovec).

Leta 1994 je bila kot slovenska predstavnica izvoljena v mednarodno Komisijo za zgodovino mest (Commission internationale pour l'histoire des villes), kjer je od leta 2002 članica njenega 15-članskega izvršnega odbora. Prav tako je slovenska predstavnica v leta 1995 ustanovljenem izvršnem odboru mednarodnega združenja za zgodovino Alp (Comité de l'Association internationale pour l'histoire des Alpes).

Za svoje delo je naša jubilantka prejela tudi več mednarodnih priznanj in nagrad. Leta 1974 je prejela Prešernovo nagrado za diplomsko delo, 1986 pa nagrado sklada Borisa Kidriča za raziskovalne dosežke na področju raziskovanja starejše zgodovine naših mest. V letih 1990/1991 je bila štipendistka sklada Alexandra von Humboldta v Münchnu in Münstru.

Svoj pečat pa ni dala le proučevanju istrske zgodovine, pač pa tudi razvoju stroke v tem okolju. Bila je ena od ustanovnih članic Zgodovinskega društva za južno Primorsko (ZDJP), ki je pričelo z izdajanjem revij *Annales za istrske in mediteranske študije* in *Acta Histriae*. Je članica njunih uredništev, v revijah pa tudi redno objavlja. Sodeluje na simpozijih in strokovnih srečanjih, ki jih prijelamo na Univerzi na Primorskem in ZDJP.

Kar pa se pri orisu njene življenske poti mogoče zdi še najpomembnejše, pa je to, da se kljub vsem naštetim dosežkom odlikuje s skromnostjo, odkritosrčnostjo in spoštivim odnosom do drugega. Občudujemo njeno pristno ljubezen do življenja, ki ga v prostem času skupaj z možem Tacijem in psičko Čupo izraža skozi strastno ukvarjanje z jadranjem in odkritosrčno družabnostjo, ki jo raznamuje iskriva, skorajda otroška vedrina.

Iz uredništva revij *Annales in Acta Histriae*, ki ju kot glavni urednik vodi in ureja Darjin učenec dr. Darko Darovec, jubilantki od srca čestitamo in ji želimo še obilo znanstvenih dosežkov, predvsem pa osebnega zavzetja in prijetnih trenutkov v krogu njenih bližnjih.

Vida Rožac Darovec

**AKADEMIK PROF. DR. JOŽE PIRJEVEC –
SEDEMDESETLETNIK**

Težko je na kratko pisati o človeku, kot je Jože Pirjevec, saj njegova profesionalna, osebna in družbena zanimanja ter s tem povezane številne dejavnosti posegajo na zelo različna področja in jih tudi nesprekledljivo raznamujejo.

Dr. Jože Pirjevec se je rodil 1. junija 1940 v Trstu. Leta 1966 je diplomiral iz novejše zgodovine na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Trstu, med letoma 1967 in 1969 se je izpopolnjeval na visoki šoli v Pisi, v obdobju 1969–1971 pa na Diplomatski akademiji na Dunaju, kjer je študiral mednarodno pravo ter sodobno evropsko in avstrijsko zgodovino.



Akademik prof. dr. Jože Pirjevec.

Leta 1971 je bil imenovan za profesorja za zgodovino vzhodne Evrope na Fakulteti za politične vede Univerze v Pisi, leta 1976 pa je na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani, pod mentorstvom prof. dr. Frana Zwittra, dosegel doktorat iz zgodovinskih ved.

Na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Trstu je bil leta 1977 imenovan za rednega profesorja zgodovine slovanskih narodov, kjer je leta 1996 postal predstojnik katedre za zgodovino slovanskih narodov, potem pa je od leta 1986 do 1996 kot redni profesor za zgodovino vzhodne Evrope predaval na Fakulteti za politične vede Univerze v Padovi.

V Trstu je bil na dodiplomskem in poddiplomskem študiju mentor dolgi vrsti slovenskih zgodovinarjev s te in one strani meje, s čimer je ustvaril celo generacijo mladih zgodovinarjev. Eni so mu tako hvaležni za diplomo, drugi za doktorat, spet tretji smo mu iskreno hvaležni za nenehno nesebično in požrtvovalno pomoč pri mednarodnih štipendijah, gostovanjih v tujini, nasvetih in recenzijah, mnogi mu dolgujejo zahvalo za zgled in usmeritev na življensko znanstveno pot.

Leta 2002 smo ga uspeli pridobiti za nastop službe rednega profesorja na Fakulteti za humanistične študije

Univerze na Primorskem v Kopru, kjer predava na dodiplomskem in poddiplomskem programu in je tudi predstojnik Oddelka za zgodovino. Je eden najbolj priljubljenih profesorjev med študenti, njegova predavanja pa so po širini zastavljenega pristopa in retorični kvaliteti vselej posebna, s prepoznavnim osebnim pečatom in znanstveno impresivna.

Dr. Jože Pirjevec je bil v svoji izjemni znanstveni karieri gostujoči predavatelj že na številnih evropskih univerzah – v Ljubljani, Turinu, Bochumu, Varšavi, Celovcu, na Dunaju in na Norveškem Nobelovem inštitutu (Oslo), če naštejemo le nekatere... Bil je štipendist avstrijske vlade, Sovjetske akademije znanosti, Humboldtove ustanove (A.v.Humboldt-Stiftung), Wilsonovega centra v Washingtonu, Nobelovega inštituta v Oslu in še in še bi lahko naštevali.

Tudi v tem so se izoblikovale njegove neštete povezave, sodelovanja in prijateljstva z znanstveniki z vsega sveta. V parku Pirjeveče vile v Trstu, ki je pravzaprav že kar svojevrsten prostor "akademije", kjer se prepleta intelektualna in siceršnja gostoljubnost našega jubilanta, sem samo v zadnjih dveh letih tako lahko spoznal dolgo vrsto zgodovinarjev – od Američanov, Avstrijev in Italijanov do na primer profesorja, ki predava teorije fašizma na univerzi v Tokiu.

Enako pesta je kronologija Pirjevečevih družbenih aktivnosti in funkcij. V obdobju od leta 1984 do 2001 je predsedoval Narodni in študijski knjižnici v Trstu, od leta 1987 do 1991 pa je bil predsednik upravnega sveta Slovenskega stalnega gledališča v Trstu. Leta 1995 je bil izvoljen za člana Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, kjer od leta 2001 predseduje Odboru SAZU za preučevanje narodnih manjšin, leta 2009 pa je bil izvoljen za rednega člana SAZU. Angažirano pozornost za slovensko aktualnost izražajo njegovi številni, nemalokrat brez obotavljanja kritično presojajoči komentarji in kolumnne v periodičnem tisku, radijskih in televizijskih oddajah.

Vsebinsko je raziskovalno delo dr. Jožeta Pirjevca izjemno razgibano in raznoliko, saj sega od raziskav italijansko-južnoslovanskih odnosov v času Risorgimenta do zgodovine Rusije v 19. stoletju, v zadnjih letih pa se posveča predvsem zgodovini Jugoslavije med letoma 1918 in 1991, vojnimi dogodki v njem prostoru pa tudi zgodovini Slovencev v Italiji od srede 19. stoletja do danes. Zato bi znanstveni opus dr. Pirjevca po raznolikosti vsebin in obsegu lahko primerjali z opusom le malokaterega slovenskega zgodovinarja, saj obsega prek deset monografij, objavljenih v slovenščini, italijansčini in češčini ter dolgo vrsto znanstvenih člankov, ki so izšli v nemščini, angleščini, francoščini, srboščini in hrvaščini.

Poleg številnih dokumentarnih filmov, pri pripravi katerih je sodeloval, je za RTV Slovenija leta 2005 napisal scenarij za serijo celovečernih dokumentarnih filmov z naslovom *Dnevnik nekega naroda*, v katerem je predstavil zgodovino Slovencev v 20. stoletju. Za niz teh dokumentarnih oddaj je junija 2006 dobil priznanje *Erasmus EuroMedia organizacije European Society for Education and Communication*.

Leta 1996 je bil dr. Jože Pirjevec v okviru Znanstveno-raziskovalnega središča v Kopru imenovan za znanstvenega svetnika in do danes mu je bilo zaupano vodenje številnih raziskovalnih projektov, ki so v domačem in mednarodnem zgodovinopisju uveljavili pomen raziskovalnega delovanja Univerze na Primorskem.

Za svoje znanstvene dosežke je dr. Jože Pirjevec prejel vrsto slovenskih in mednarodnih nagrad in priznanj, in sicer nagrado Kidričevega sklada (1988), Premio Acqui Storia (2002), zlato plaketo Univerze na Primorskem (2006), priznanje društva TIGR (2006), zlato plaketo ZZB NOB Slovenije (2007) in nazadnje državno priznanje *Ambasador znanosti Republike Slovenije* (2007).

In še bi lahko opisovali znanstvene, pedagoške in druge medsebojno močno povezane vidike življenja in dela našega jubilanta, skratka – impozantna bibliografija in še bolj interesantna biografija.

Kar pa pri dr. Jožetu Pirjevcu še posebej privlači in imponira, je nekakšen otroško radoveden odnos do sveta znanosti in sveta naspoloh, nekakšen straten odnos do življenja kot celote, pri čemer se neločljivo prepleta preprosta človeška radovednost z vodoželjnostjo ter znanstvenim pristopom k posameznim objektom zanimalja in proučevanja. To pa je tista razsežnost, ki jo človek ima ali pa je nima in se je ni mogoče priučiti.

Njegovo ustvarjalno delo je zato neločljivo povezano s konkretnim poznavanjem življenja, politike, kulture in družbe na različnih koncih sveta, kamor naš jubilant nenehoma potuje in za kar, ob izjemni ustvarjalnosti in produktivnosti, vedno znova najde čas.

Dr. Jože Pirjevec je zato človek, sogovornik, priatelj, ob katerem se ni mogoče dolgočasiti. V pogovorih z njim in ob branju njegovih besedil ni snovi, o kateri ne bi imel lastnega, originalnega mnenja, za katerega se vedno znova izkaže, da mu je vredno pozorno prisluhniti. Sodelavci in prijatelji mu ob jubileju srčno čestitamo in mu želimo še mnoga ustvarjalna leta.

Egon Pelikan

IN MEMORIAM

DUŠAN PODGORNIK (1956–2010)

Novica o smrtni nesreči našega dolgoletnega oblikovalca Dušana Podgornika je pretresla člane uredništva Založbe Annales, pa tudi vse druge, ki so ga poznali. Dušan je bil akademski slikar, grafik, fotograf in oblikovalec, ki se je v zadnjem času intenzivno predaval potapljanju, pri katerem je na koncu sklenil svojo ustvarjalno in plodno življenjsko pot, potem ko je reševal tovariša.

Po diplomi leta 1980 na oddelku za grafiko na beograjski Akademiji uporabnih umetnosti je sodeloval na več samostojnih in skupinskih razstavah, še posebej pa velja opozoriti na odmevno razstavo *Grafika v Sloveniji* po letu 1945 v koprski galeriji Meduza. Bil je zelo po-

nosen, da so njegova dela uvrstili v zbirko dunajske Albertine. Leta 2004 je skupaj s sodelavci Pomorskega muzeja dobil Valvasorjevo priznanje za Ulični muzej v Izoli, oblikoval je tudi številne druge razstave za Pokrajinski muzej Koper, Narodno in univerzitetno knjižnico, Škocjanske lame idr. Mi smo ga poznali predvsem kot odličnega fotografa in grafičnega oblikovalca in prav zaradi tega dela njegove plodne ustvarjalne osebnosti smo začeli pred leti sodelovati. Živo nama je ostal v spominu dan, ko smo leta 1990 začeli sodelovati pri snovanju revije Annales. Ko smo se v okviru uredništva sestali, da nam predstavi zaščitni znak revije, je vse prisotne presenetil z miško, ki je čepela na vrhu stiliziranih črk AN. Na vprašanje, zakaj miška, se je izrazil nekako takole: "Zato, da se ustaviš in vprašaš, zakaj miška, in potem je na delu domišljija". Še danes ima miška na logotipu založbe isto vlogo. Temu prvemu srečanju je sledilo skoraj dvajsetletno sodelovanje, ki je obrodilo številne publikacije. Dušan je bil zanesljiv sodelavec, pa tudi trd pogajalec, ko je branil svoja načela, in tako dal našim publikacijam neizbrisen pečat. Nenavdnom gre tudi njemu zasluga, da je Založba Annales leta 2005 dobila priznanje Prometej znanosti za odličnost v komuniciranju znanosti.

Na spletu lahko zasledimo številne zadetke, ki pričajo o njegovi raznovrstni dejavnosti. Zapis ob njegovi razstavi Podobe časa, v kateri je med drugim na ogled postavil svojega sina Tadeja, o katerem je vedno pripovedoval s posebno skrbjo in zanosom, pa zgovorno priča o njegovem odnosu do umetniške fotografije in sveta: "Biti dober poslušalec in se znati tudi ustaviti, tako kot fotografski zapis ustavi trenutek in ga odvzame svetu minljivosti, je privilegij, ki si ga lahko kadarkoli privoščimo. Če ima ta zapis sposobnost, da se tudi koga dotakne, mu je s tem ponujeno življenje ... Ti zapisi so namenjeni našemu srcu in jih delimo s sobivajočimi na drug, neviden in zato še bolj dragocen način. Tudi srce ima zaklopko, prav tako kot kamera. Vase sprejema nevidne slike in jih čuva. Vrača se k njim znova in znova, da lahko živi. Včasih jih komu pokaže in jih je pripravljeno deliti. Takrat slike oživijo in so srečne. To se redko dogaja in je velika skrivnost. Tako naj tudi ostane." Dušanova tragična nesreča je grobo ustavila trenutek; s številnimi deli, ki so ostala za njim, pa se je sam že pred tem povzpel nad svet minljivosti.

Bil je karizmatičen človek, popotnik in nemiren duh, ki je vse življenje iskal varen pristan. Po dolgem popotovanju po Indiji je na koncu našel svoj mir na dnu morja.

Njemu v spomin posvečamo to številko, ki jo krasí njegova fotografija s skupnega terenskega potepanja po Istri.

Darko Darovec
Vida Rožac Darovec



*Z Dušanom na terenu; Berlina pri Saležu (Hr), 2006
(foto D. Darovec).*